

Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500

Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication

*Edited by Alexander D. Beihammer,
Maria G. Parani and Christopher D. Schabel*



Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean
1000–1500

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A.D.B., M.G.P., and C.D.S.
Nicosia, May 2007

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AOL</i>	<i>Archives de l'Orient latin</i>
<i>BF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CFHB</i>	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
<i>CSFS</i>	Collana storica fonti e studi
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EKEE</i>	<i>Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών</i>
<i>LBG</i>	E. Trapp, <i>Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität</i> (Vienna, 2001).
<i>̑ÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>MGH</i>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
<i>MM</i>	F. Miklosich and I. Müller, <i>Acta et Diplomata graeca mediæ aevi sacra et profana</i> , 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–1890).
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
<i>ODB</i>	A. P. Kazhdan, ed., <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , 3 vols. (New York, 1991).
<i>PG</i>	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 pts. (Paris, 1857–66).
<i>PL</i>	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. in 222 pts. (Paris, 1844–1880).
<i>PLP</i>	E. Trapp et al., <i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i> , 12 vols., 2 addenda and index (Vienna, 1976–1996).
<i>RÉB</i>	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
<i>RHC</i>	<i>Recueil des historiens des croisades</i>
<i>ROL</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient latin</i>

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EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN DIPLOMATICS: THE PRESENT STATE OF RESEARCH

Alexander D. Beihammer

Over the past few decades the multiethnic and multilingual character of the Eastern Mediterranean basin in the High and Late Middle Ages has become a subject of growing importance in medieval scholarship. The onset of the Crusades, the commercial and political expansion of the Italian maritime republics into Byzantium and the Crusader States and, from a Muslim point of view, the conquest of Asia Minor and other regions in the Near East by the Seljuk Turks not only brought about a series of political upheavals in the entire area, but also generated a wide range of contact situations between peoples of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds and encouraged processes of cross-cultural permeation. As a result, modern historical research, inspired by contiguous disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and linguistics, has formulated new questions concerning phenomena of acculturation and the views of the Other and has developed subtle methodological approaches in order to investigate these problems accurately.

The present volume constitutes an attempt to examine aspects of intercultural communication as reflected in documentary sources related to or originating from the Eastern Mediterranean in the period from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. The basic idea of the project was a comparative approach to chancery products of the Levant that, on the one hand, display a great variety of languages, modes of expression and cultural attitudes and, on the other, are interconnected by mutual influences. Diplomatic relations both within the Eastern Mediterranean and between Eastern and Western rulers created a constant need for suitable instruments of communication in the framework of letter exchanges, political negotiations and conclusions of treaties. Thus, Byzantine, Muslim and Latin chanceries employed multilingual scribes and emissaries who were familiar with the language, customs and legal principles of their interlocutors. These practices are reflected impressively, for instance, in bilingual (Greek-Latin or Greek-Arabic) letters of Byzantine emperors—which, when addressed to especially high-ranking recipients, were drafted in gold ink on purple parchment—in

a series of treaties between Arab and Latin sovereigns, and in Greek letters issued by the Seljuk and Early Ottoman sultans for Frankish and Byzantine recipients.

The overall instability ensuing from the multiplication of political powers in the East as well as the incessant succession of conquests and re-conquests in regions like Palestine, Northern Syria, Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula led to the superimposition of foreign forms of rule and concepts of authority on preexisting cultural, political and institutional substrates. In order to establish authority through taxation and justice and to facilitate communication with its subjects, the new ruling class integrated into its own system of government legal and administrative practices of the predecessors as well as indigenous personnel trained to read and to use official acts and records of the previous bureaucracy. Conversely, the conquered people were forced to adjust themselves to practices and legal concepts imposed by the new lords. This process, while determining nearly all aspects of social life, naturally affected chancery traditions as well. This process involved a mutual exchange of working habits, the adoption of ideological elements in titles, subscriptions and purely formalistic parts of legal documents, the influx of loanwords and foreign expressions on the linguistic level, an increasing need for translations and so on.

Other phenomena of intercultural communication in the field of diplomacy can be observed in cases where members of different ethnic groups cooperated in legal transactions of private law stemming from marriages, bequests, sales, loans, exchanges, slave emancipations and other sorts of contracts. The multicultural society in the trade centres of the Levant, as is attested in a large number of Latin deeds mostly drafted by Venetian and Genoese notaries, generated and enhanced those forms of cooperation between persons of Frankish, Greek and Arab origin appearing as scribes, contracting parties and witnesses. Thus it seems that cross-cultural and multilingual perspectives of legal documents or, in other words, the multidimensionality of literacy actually formed an integral part of the political culture and the social life in the Eastern Mediterranean World between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries and deserves to be examined more extensively.

The prospects and possibilities we enjoy, in comparison to the mass of material and the high methodological level of Western medieval diplomacy, are of course quite limited and every scholar who is familiar with the history of the Eastern Mediterranean, be it Byzantium, the Muslim World or the Latin East, continually laments this situation. The

dearth of documents is mainly due to the institutional discontinuity in the East, which caused a deplorable state of transmission for nearly all kinds of official acts. Western archives, often based on an unbroken tradition from the High and sometimes even from the Early Middle Ages, offer us an enormous amount of charters issued by ecclesiastical and secular authorities of all levels. From the Carolingian period alone, for instance, there survive about twice as many royal diplomata as we have imperial documents for the whole Byzantine period, and the entire output of the papal chancery up until the twentieth century is estimated at about 30,000,000 documents.¹ In contrast, in most regions of the Levant medieval archives are completely lacking in the secular domain and very few in number as far as ecclesiastical institutions and monasteries are concerned,² and hence original documents or contemporary chancery copies are much sought-after rarities. This is all the more unfortunate as these two categories of transmission form the backbone of every kind of diplomatic research and they alone enable us to draw conclusions on the script, the sealing and the general outward appearance of a given chancery's products. Thus we depend primarily on copies preserved in registers of issuing authorities or in cartularies of receiving institutions. Additional material can be found in letter collections and formularies and sometimes even in narrative sources.

In what follows I will attempt to give a general outline of the most important material we have at hand for diplomatic research in the Eastern Mediterranean. This survey is by no means intended to be complete, but rather aspires to gather and present the most important data and especially some significant achievements of recent research in terms of new discoveries or editions of unpublished or insufficiently published documentary sources.

¹ Cf. Th. Frenz, *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 1986), p. 9.

² For comprehensive overviews of Byzantine archival material and the most important editions, see F. Dölger and J. Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre*, Erster Abschnitt: *Kaiserurkunden* (Munich, 1968), pp. 11–20; J. Karayannopoulos and G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324–1453)*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 549–564. For Byzantine imperial documents, see: F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, vol. 1/2: *Regesten von 867–1025*, revised edition A. E. Müller and A. Beihammer (Munich, 2003), vol. 2: *Regesten von 1025–1204*, revised edition P. Wirth (Munich, 1995), vol. 3: *Regesten von 1204–1282*, revised edition P. Wirth (Munich, 1977), vol. 4: *Regesten von 1282–1341* (Munich and Berlin, 1960), vol. 5: *Regesten von 1341–1453* (Munich and Berlin, 1960).

The Surviving Sources

In the main lands of the Byzantine Empire on the Balkan Peninsula and in Asia Minor only the monasteries of Mount Athos and the monastery of Saint John in Patmos maintain archives preserving a considerable number of original documents dating from the tenth century onwards.³ The series of political upheavals in these regions culminating in the Ottoman conquest in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries caused an almost total destruction of preexisting Byzantine or Frankish institutions and their corresponding chanceries and archives. What has come down to us in terms of original material either pertains to the sphere of foreign affairs—such as letters addressed to and treaties concluded with the Italian maritime republics, Western rulers and the pope⁴—and, therefore, was preserved in the recipients' archives, or survived as a result of mere coincidence, because favourable circumstances allowed its transfer into Western harbours, whence it was dispersed into European archives and libraries.

Important collections of copies supplementing the material of Mount Athos and Patmos are transmitted in a number of monastic cartularies that gather together all sorts of acts issued by secular and ecclesiastical authorities concerning the landed property of monasteries. Most of these monasteries no longer exist, but the cartularies have made their way to Western libraries. The late thirteenth-century MS *Historicus graecus* 125 of the Austrian National Library, for instance, transmits the cartulary of the Lembiotissa Monastery, which was situated on Mount Lembos near Smyrna. Comprising around 180 documents, it can be considered as one of the richest extant collections of Byzantine

³ For Byzantine official documents preserved in the monastery of Saint John in Patmos, see *Βυζαντινά έγγραφα της μονής Πάτμου*, vol. 1: *Αυτοκρατορικά*, vol. 2: *Δημοσίων λειτουργιών*, ed. E. L. Branousi and M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou (Athens, 1980); the French series *Archives de l'Athos* has now reached vol. 22: *Actes de Vatopédi II, de 1330 à 1376*, Archives de l'Athos 22, ed. J. Lefort, V. Kravari, Ch. Giros and K. Smyrlis (Paris, 2006).

⁴ For new editions partly replacing the older collections of Miklosich-Müller (cf. below, n. 5), Tafel-Thomas (cf. below, n. 30) and the *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum* (cf. below, n. 30), see the volumes of the *Pacta Veneta* series (cf. below, n. 31). For documents of the 13th century see now L. Pieralli, *La corrispondenza diplomatica dell'imperatore bizantino con le potenze estere nel tredicesimo secolo (1204–1282). Studio storico-diplomatico ed edizione critica*, Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 54 (Vatican City, 2006).

official acts.⁵ Another cartulary of Western Asia Minor is that of the monastery of Saint Paul at Mount Latros near Milet.⁶ In this case we do not even possess the original manuscript, but a fifteenth-century copy written by the late Byzantine man of letters John Chortasmenos in the miscellaneous manuscript *Vaticanus Urbinus graecus* 80.⁷ But even in the course of the twentieth century the fate of some Byzantine cartularies continued to be turbulent. Two cartularies of the monastery of Saint John the Baptist near Serres, for instance, were confiscated, along with many other precious manuscripts, by the Bulgarian Army during the Second Balkan War of 1913. Several decades had to pass until they were rediscovered, one, the so-called Codex A, in Prague and the other, Codex B, only a few years ago in the Ivan Dujčev Centre in Sofia.⁸ Another Byzantine cartulary, that of the monastery of the Holy Virgin Macrinitissa near Dimitrias (Volos) (Cod. *Taur. gr.* 237), was entirely destroyed in the 1904 fire that engulfed the *Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria* of Turin. Therefore, in order to study the documents contained in it, one depends on the library's catalogue by Pasini and the old and insufficient edition of Miklosich and Müller, which paradoxically has become the last and most important witness of the cartulary's manuscript tradition.⁹

Concerning Byzantine registers, the only one that has survived at least in fragments is that of the patriarchate of Constantinople. It was Augerius de Busbeck, a sixteenth-century ambassador of Emperor Ferdinand I to the Ottoman court, who, along with a total number of ca. 260 Greek manuscripts, transferred two of the register's volumes to Vienna, where they can be found today as MSS *Historicus graecus* 47 and 48 in the Austrian National Library.¹⁰

⁵ First edited by F. Miklosich and I. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata graeca mediæ aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–1890), 4: pp. 1–289 (hereafter MM). A new edition is currently being prepared by Paris Gounarides (University of Thrace).

⁶ First edited MM, 4: pp. 290–329. A new edition is currently being prepared by O. Kresten and Ch. Gastgeber (Academy of Sciences in Vienna).

⁷ For John Chortasmenos and his manuscript production, see H. Hunger, *Johannes Chortasmenos (ca. 1370–ca. 1436/37), Briefe, Gedichte und kleine Schriften*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 7 (Vienna, 1969).

⁸ For the archival material of the monastery in general, see: A. Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée* (Paris, 1955); edition of Codex A: *Cartulary A of the Saint John Prodromos Monastery*, facsimile edition by I. Dujčev (London: 1972); edition of Codex B: L. Bénou, *Le Codex B du monastère Saint-Jean-Prodrome (Serres)*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1998).

⁹ MM, 4: pp. 330–430. I am grateful to Prof. Otto Kresten (Vienna) for giving me information about the fate of the manuscripts of Serres and Turin.

¹⁰ First edited in MM, vols. 1–2. A new edition is currently being prepared by the Institute of Byzantine Studies at the Academy of Sciences in Vienna. At present, three

The geographical limits chosen for this volume exclude the archives of Norman Southern Italy and Sicily where, as a result of a peculiar intermixture of Byzantine, Arab and Latin cultural layers, a considerable number of bilingual or purely Greek charters, for the greatest part private acts, but also royal documents, is preserved and in part still waits to be published.¹¹ Interestingly and at the same time astonishingly, by virtue of historical vicissitudes the present state of transmission offers us much more possibilities for diplomatic research in the realm of this, quite marginal from a Constantinopolitan viewpoint, Greco-Norman material than in the main lands of the Byzantine State.

In the future hitherto unpublished or even unknown material from the Holy Mountain archives is expected to be published in the volumes *Vatopedi III*, *Chilandar II* and *St. Paul* of the *Archives de l'Athos* series. The archive of Patmos, too, besides the imperial and administrative acts that were published in 1980, still contains a considerable number of ecclesiastical and private acts, among them the oldest original patriarchal charters preserved from the eleventh century, which are accessible only through the edition of Miklosich and Müller.¹² The re-edition of this material is among the urgent needs in the field and it is hoped that the Institute for Byzantine Research at the National Hellenic Research Foundation will soon be able to complete this important project. All in all, Byzantine diplomatics, despite the relative scarcity and inaccessibility of the material preserved, can still be considered a widely unexplored field where much basic work has to be done and even the most fundamental tools of research—reliable catalogues (*Regesten*) and up-to-date manuals for the various sorts of Byzantine official acts—are lacking.

volumes covering the period 1315–1363 have been published: H. Hunger, J. Koder, O. Kresten et al., *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, 3 vols., CFHB 19/1–3 (Vienna, 1981–2001).

¹¹ Above all the rich collection of Greek private documents preserved in the Archivio General de la Fundacion Casa Ducal de Medinaceli (now in Toledo): C. Rognoni, *Les actes privés grecs de l'Archivio Ducal de Medinaceli (Tolède)*, vol. 1 (Paris, 2004). For a good overview of the Greek archival sources in Norman Sicily, see V. von Falkenhausen, “The Greek Presence in Norman Sicily: The Contribution of Archival Material in Greek,” in G. A. Loud and A. Metcalfe, eds., *The Society of Norman Sicily, The Medieval Mediterranean* 38 (Leiden, 2002), pp. 253–287. The most important recent studies based on this material: A. Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam* (London and New York, 2003); J. Johns, *The Royal Dīwān: Arabic Administration and Norman Kingship in Sicily* (Cambridge, 2003).

¹² MM, 6.

Turning now to documentary sources originating from Frankish authorities in the Eastern Mediterranean, we observe that the state of transmission is quite uneven and differs greatly between regions and political entities. The reasons lay in part in the varying character of the Latin presence in the East, which can be explained by a wide range of factors such as conquest, colonialism, immigration and commercial expansion. First of all, the situation has to be viewed in connection with the nature of Frankish authority. In this respect it is helpful to recall the categories of Latin rule, as David Jacoby defined them in his fundamental article on the Latin states in Romania: feudal, semi-feudal and colonial.¹³ The centralized colonial system of government as it was established mainly in regions under Venetian and Genoese rule, because of its close supervision by the central assemblies of the metropolis and its highly bureaucratized and hierarchically organized forms of administration, produced and preserved many more administrative records and legal documents than the states that were governed by Frankish lords according to feudal principles. Since relationships to the lands of origin were much looser, archival material from these latter regions would not be transferred abroad, so that it survived only to the extent it was preserved in archives or transcribed in cartularies of the receiving institutions or their heirs. Moreover, the material suffered tremendous losses in the catastrophes of the following centuries, most lamentably in the case of the Angevin archives of Naples, which in large part were destroyed under unclear circumstances by the retreating Germans in World War II.¹⁴ Thus it is hardly surprising that even important royal chanceries in the Levant are poorly documented. A case in point is the chancery of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which was

¹³ D. Jacoby, "Les états latins en Romanie: phénomènes sociaux et économiques (1204–1350 environ)," in *XV^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines* (Athènes 1976). *Rapports et co-rapports*, vol. 1. *Histoire* (Athens, 1976), pp. 1–51; reprinted in idem, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle. Peuples, sociétés, économies*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1979), no. I. In addition cf. idem, "From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change," in B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby, eds., *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London, 1989), pp. 1–44, and idem, "Social Evolution in Latin Greece," in K. M. Setton, H. W. Hazard and N. P. Zacour, eds., *A History of the Crusades VI. The Impact of the Crusades on Europe* (Madison, 1989), pp. 175–221.

¹⁴ P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean 1204–1500* (Harlow, 1995) p. 26. For the Angevin registers, see B. Capasso, *Inventario cronologico-sistematico dei registri angioini conservati nell'archivio di stato di Napoli* (Naples, 1894); *I Registri della cancellaria angioina ricostruiti da Riccardo Filangieri con la collaborazione degli archivisti napoletani*, 30 vols., Accademia Pontaniana, Testi e documenti di storia napoletana 1–30 (Naples, 1950–1971).

investigated extensively by Hans E. Mayer. From the chancery's entire output over the 126 years of its existence between 1099 and 1225 only around 200 charters, that is roughly 2% of the entire production, have been transmitted, and only a small portion of these has come down to us as originals.¹⁵

The figures just mentioned reflect the enormous losses of documentary sources in the Crusader States on the Palestinian mainland,¹⁶ though a high number of issuing authorities and receiving institutions, both secular and ecclesiastical, produced, used and kept all kinds of legal acts for nearly two centuries. The best survey of charters and letters issued by chanceries of Latin lordships in Edessa, Antioch, Tripoli and Jerusalem is still R. Röhricht's classic work *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*,¹⁷ which was composed according to the principles of F. Böhmer's *Regesta imperii*. Over the last hundred years, of course, many new documents unknown to Röhricht have come to light and many others had to be re-dated. Nevertheless, the *Regesta* remain the starting point for every inquiry into crusader diplomatics.

The general state of transmission resembles the situation in Byzantine diplomatics. Some examples of original charters can be found in the archives of the Military Orders or, as is the case with the abbey of Saint Mary in the Valley of Josaphat, in the *Archivio di Stato* in Palermo. By far the greatest number of documents, however, have come down to us as copies in a few cartularies that as a result of mere chance survived the frequent destructions between the years 1187 and 1291. The cartulary of the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre, which was composed in Jerusalem in the years 1162–1165, is preserved in the Vatican MSS *Vat. lat.* 4947 and *Vat. lat.* 7241 from the second half of the twelfth and the third decade of the thirteenth century respectively.¹⁸ Another cartulary of an ecclesiastical institution situated in the vicinity

¹⁵ Cf. H. E. Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, 2 vols., MGH Schriften 40 (Hannover, 1996), 1: pp. 4–5.

¹⁶ I am very grateful to Prof. H. E. Mayer for providing me with valuable information on documentary sources of the Palestinian Crusader States.

¹⁷ R. Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII–MCCXCI)* (Innsbruck, 1893), Additamentum (Innsbruck, 1904); both parts were reprinted in New York, 1960.

¹⁸ The cartulary was first published on the basis of the more recent manuscript (*Vat. lat.* 7241) by E. de Rozière, *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1849). The new edition of G. Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades 15* (Paris, 1984), has clarified problems related to the composition and the dating of the manuscripts, but has not replaced the older edition entirely, since the latter frequently has the better text.

of Jerusalem is that of the Lepers of Saint Lazarus outside the city. It is nowadays preserved in the archives of the *Ospedale Mauriziano* in Turin (Religione di S. Lazzaro, Scritt. Div. 1142 a 1549, mazzo 1).¹⁹ Of major importance, too, is the cartulary of the Teutonic Knights, which survived the termination of the Military Order's presence in Palestine in 1291 and was transferred along with other archival material to the West, where it ended up in Prussia as a result of the moving of the Grand Master's seat to Marienburg. There, the manuscript known today as MS I. HA., Rep. 94. V. E. b 1 was deposited in the archive of the Teutonic Order, which until World War II formed a part of the Historical State Archive of East Prussia in Königsberg. After the war the whole collection was incorporated into the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (GStA PK), so that Berlin became the final destination of the Teutonic Knights' cartulary. The manuscript is all the more important because it contains the only seigniorial archive of the Crusader States, that of the Seigneurie de Joscelin, which was acquired by the Teutonic Knights in 1220. The *Tabulae ordinis Theutonici* published by E. Strehlke in 1869 for the greater part reproduce the contents of the Berlin manuscript.²⁰ Besides the material preserved in the GStA PK in Berlin, original charters issued by or concerning the Teutonic Knights can be found mainly in the *Zentralarchiv des Deutschen Ordens* (DOZA) in Vienna, which contains the acts of Major and General Chapters since 1444 and more than 12,000 charters from various European countries, and in the *Archivio di Stato* in Venice. Generally speaking one might say that the archives of the Military Orders are among the most important depositories for documentary sources of the Latin East.²¹ In this respect, even richer than the archives of the Teutonic Knights are the archives

¹⁹ Edited by Comte de Marsy in *AOL* 2^b (1884), pp. 121–157.

²⁰ *Tabulae ordinis Theutonici ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum*, ed. E. Strehlke (Berlin, 1869, 2nd edition Toronto, 1975).

²¹ The most important collections of documents concerning the Military Orders: *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris, 1894–1906); *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?–1150: recueil des chartes et des bulles relatives à l'ordre du Temple*, ed. G. d'Albon, vol. 1 (Paris, 1913), fascicule complémentaire (Paris, 1922); R. Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificus: I. Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Archivberichte und Texte* (Göttingen, 1972); idem, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificus: II. Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Neue Folge* (Göttingen, 1984); E. Joachim, *Regesta historico-diplomatica ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum, 1198–1525*, ed. W. Hubatsch, 5 vols. (Göttingen, 1948–1965). Hitherto unpublished documentary sources, for the most part summaries but also some full-text editions, can be found in P.-V. Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple en Terre Sainte et à Chypre aux XIII^e siècle*, 3 vols., *Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus* 53 (Nicosia, 2005).

of the Knights Hospitaller of Rhodes, which the Order managed to transfer to Malta after the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1522.²² Official acts concerning the knights of Rhodes in the fifteenth century were published a decade ago by Z. N. Tsirpanlis.²³

A similar situation as in the Palestinian Crusader States prevails in the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus, where the largest single group of surviving royal charters is found in the Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom in Nicosia, transmitted in the sixteenth-century MS *Lat. IV, 56* (= 2303) of the *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*. Some Greek documents emanating from the royal administration are transmitted in the MS *Palatinus graecus 367* of the Vatican Library.²⁴ A very small number of original royal charters of Cyprus can be found in the State Archive of Venice and in the Vatican Archive.²⁵ Thanks to a French vice-consul we still have at our disposal the only surviving volume of the *Livre des remembrances*, one of the main registers of Lusignan administration in Cyprus, presently in the Vatican Library as well.²⁶

The feudal states of Frankish Greece, such as the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the Kingdom of Thessaloniki, the Principality of Achaëa in the Morea, the Duchy of Athens, the Duchy of the Aegean

²² J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Archives, la bibliothèque et le trésor de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem à Malte*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 32 (Paris, 1883); A. Zammit Gabarretta and J. Mizzi, *Catalogue of the Records of the Order of St. John in the Royal Malta Library*, 13 vols. (Malta, 1964–1976).

²³ Z. N. Tsirpanlis, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα για τη Ρόδο και τις νότιες Σποράδες από το αρχείο των Ιωαννιτών ιπποτών*, vol. 1: (1421–1453) (Rhodes, 1995).

²⁴ *Griechische Urkunden und Briefe aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrzeit. Die Formularsammlung eines königlichen Sekretärs im Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 367*, ed. A. Beihammer, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus (Nicosia, 2007) (forthcoming).

²⁵ Cf. *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, ed. N. Coureas and Ch. Schabel, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 25 (Nicosia, 1997); *Documents chypriotes des Archives du Vatican (XIV^e et XV^e siècles)*, ed. J. Richard, Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 73 (Paris, 1962).

²⁶ *Le livre des remembrances de la secrète du royaume de Chypre (1468–1469)*, ed. J. Richard in collaboration with Th. Papadopoulos, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 10 (Nicosia, 1983). The most comprehensive collection of documentary sources on Frankish Cyprus is still L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852–1861, reprinted Famagusta, 1970); idem, “Nouvelles preuves de l'histoire de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan,” *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 32 (1871), pp. 341–378, 34 (1873), pp. 47–87, 35 (1874), pp. 99–158; idem, “Documents nouveaux servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan,” *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de la France, Mélanges historiques* 4 (Paris, 1882), pp. 337–619. The “Nouvelles preuves” and the “Documents nouveaux” are reprinted together as vol. 4 of the *Histoire de l'île de Chypre* in Famagusta, 1970.

Archipelago and some other minor lordships have left us only some isolated documents for the thirteenth century. More documentary sources on both internal administration and external affairs are available for the years following the seizure of power by the Angevin kings of Naples in Achaea (1278) and the establishment of Catalan rule in the Duchy of Athens and Thebes (1311). The main core of the preserved material is published in the collections of Ch. Perrat, J. Longnon and P. Topping and above all in Antoni Rubió I Lluch's monumental *Diplomatarium* of the Catalan East, which includes documents from the archive of the Crown of Aragon, the city archive of Barcelona, the royal archive of Majorca as well as the archives of Palermo, Venice and the Vatican.²⁷ The period of decline in the later part of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century, where the Acciaiuoli of Corinth and Athens, the Byzantine despots of Mistra, a company of Navarrese mercenaries, the Venetians and the Ottoman Turks were engaged in a fierce struggle for superiority in the Peloponnesus and Southern Greece, has been thoroughly investigated with respect to archival sources by J. Chrysostomides.²⁸ She brought to light 320 documents covering the years 1356–1432, which for the most part come from Venetian registers and are supplemented by material from Florence, Malta, Paris, Turin and Ragusa (Dubrovnik). It is, however, characteristic of the whole situation of archival sources of Frankish Greece that even in case of relatively well-documented periods the bulk of the preserved documents originates from external political powers and claimants such as the government of Venice, the Knights Hospitaller of Saint John, the Florentine government, Duke Amadeus of Savoy or King Ladislas I of Naples, whereas letters, judicial decisions and notarial deeds issued by local authorities in Greece are very few in number.

Given this overall lacuna in terms of documentary sources, it comes as no surprise that entire regions in the Levant nowadays do not possess

²⁷ Ch. Perrat and J. Longnon, *Actes relatifs à la principauté de Morée, 1289–1300*, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, série in—8°, 6 (Paris, 1967); J. Longnon and P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1969); A. Rubió I. Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (1301–1409). Col·lecció de documents per la història de l'expedició Catalana a Orient i dels ducats d'Atenes i Neopàtria* (Barcelona, 1947, reprinted Barcelona, 2001).

²⁸ J. Chrysostomides, *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca: Documents in the History of the Peloponnese in the 14th and 15th Centuries* (Camberley, 1995). In addition, see now the useful list of summaries of Acciaiuoli documents composed by W. Haberstumpf, "Dinasti italiani in Levante. Gli Acciaiuoli duchi di Atene: registri (secoli. XIV–XV)," *Θησαυρίσματα* 35 (2005), pp. 19–93.

even one medieval charter. An illustrative case is once more the island of Cyprus, where not a single original document of the Byzantine and Lusignan period has survived *in situ*, while a small number of Venetian documents have returned to the island via purchase.²⁹

The transmission of documentary sources originating from or concerning the Venetian or Genoese colonies in the Eastern Mediterranean is much more abundant. The investigation and edition, both full-text publications and summaries, of the decisions, observations and assessments of the metropolis' central organs and assemblies, which are preserved especially from the end of the thirteenth century onwards in various series of Venetian registers, began in the middle of the nineteenth century with the collections of G. L. F. Tafel, G. M. Thomas and C. N. Sathas and were continued with unbroken interest throughout the twentieth century by F. Thiriet, R. Morozzo della Rocca, A. Lombardo and others.³⁰ Recent research programme aiming at either a critical re-edition of known documents or the publication of new material are well under way and have already had important results. To give but a few examples, we should mention the *Pacta Veneta* series published by M. Pozza and others, which covers the treaties between Venice and other potentates in the Levant,³¹ the edition of the registers of the *Deliberazioni*

²⁹ For some documents now preserved in the Cultural Foundation Library Collections of the Bank of Cyprus, cf. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis and M. Iacovou, eds., *Byzantine Medieval Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1998), pp. 62–63.

³⁰ *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856–1867, reprinted Amsterdam, 1964); *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum sive acta et diplomata res Venetas Graecas atque Levantis illustrantia*, ed. G. M. Thomas, vol. 1: a. 1300–1350, vol. 2: a. 1351–1454 (Venice, 1880–1899, reprinted New York, s. a.); *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*. Première série: *Documents tirés des archives de Venise (1400–1500)*, ed. C. N. Sathas, 3 vols. (Athens, 1880–1882) (the entire series of the *Documents inédits* consists of 9 vols.); *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la Domination Vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485 tirés des archives de Venise*, ed. H. Noiret (Paris, 1892); *Documenti del commercio Veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII*, ed. R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, 2 vols., *Documenti e Studi per la Storia del Commercio e del Diritto Commerciale Italiano* 19–20 (Turin, 1940); *Nuovi documenti del commercio veneto dei sec. XI–XIII*, ed. A. Lombardo and R. Morozzo della Rocca (Venice, 1953); *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, ed. R. Cessi, 3 vols. (Bologna, 1931–1950); F. Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1958–1961); idem, *Délibérations des Assemblées vénitienes concernant la Roumanie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1966–1971).

³¹ *I trattati con Aleppo 1207–1254*, ed. M. Pozza, *Pacta Veneta* 2 (Venice, 1990); *I trattati con Bisanzio 992–1198*, ed. M. Pozza and G. Ravegnani, *Pacta Veneta* 4 (Venice, 1993); *I trattati con Bisanzio 1265–1285*, ed. M. Pozza and G. Ravegnani, *Pacta Veneta* 6 (Venice, 1996); *I trattati con Genova 1136–1251*, ed. M. Giordano and M. Pozza, *Pacta Veneta* 7 (Venice, 2000); *I trattati con il regno armeno di Cilicia 1201–1333*, ed. A. Sopracasa,

miste of the Venetian Senate, which is intended to cover the period from 1332 to 1381 in twenty volumes,³² and the edition of unpublished documents on the history of Cyprus by A. Aristeidou, which covers the period from 1474 to 1540.³³ Concerning Genoese sources we now have at our disposal a new edition of the *Libri Iurium*.³⁴ In addition, there is the recent publication of parts of the registers of the *Officium provisionis Romaniae*, a central organ of supervision, coordination and control, the existence of which is first attested in 1377.³⁵ The surviving records of this institution cover the years 1424–1428, 1447–1449 and in some fragments 1450–1453.

In contrast to most other Frankish states in the Levant, Venetian and Genoese colonies, through the institutional framework of their hometowns, were able to preserve at least parts of their local administrative records and registers. It is above all the archive of the *Duca di Candia* which has an extraordinary importance in terms of both quantity and quality and still remains the focus of scholarly interests.³⁶ Among recent research projects that have been done in this field, it is worth mentioning above all Ch. Gasparis' excellent edition of the *Catasticum Feudorum* of Dorsoduro in Crete.³⁷

Pacta Veneta 8 (Venice, 2001); *I patti con l'impero latino di Costantinopoli 1205–1231*, ed. M. Pozza, Pacta Veneta 10 (Rome, 2004).

³² *Venezia—Senato: Deliberazioni miste, Registro 18 (1339–1340)*, ed. F.-X. Leduc (Venice, 2005); *Registro 19 (1340–1341)*, ed. F.-X. Leduc (Venice, 2004); *Registro 20 (1341–1342)*, ed. F. Girardi (Venice, 2004); *Registro 21 (1342–1344)*, ed. C. Azzara (Venice, 2006); *Registro 23 (1345–1347)*, ed. F. Girardi (Venice, 2004); *Registro 25 (1349–1350)*, ed. F. Girardi (Venice, 2006). The oldest 14 registers of the series covering the period 1293–1332 were destroyed by a fire in the Palazzo Ducale. For the fragments, see *I «Misti» del Senato della Repubblica Veneta 1293–1331, trascrizione dell'indice dei primi quattordici volume perduti e regesto di un frammento del primo volume*, ed. G. Giomo (Venice, 1887, reprinted Amsterdam, 1970).

³³ *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα της κυπριακής ιστορίας από το αρχείο της Βενετίας*, ed. A. Aristeidou, vol. 1 (1474–1508), vol. 2 (1509–1517), vol. 3 (1518–1529), vol. 4 (1530–1540) (Nicosia, 1990–2003).

³⁴ *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, ed. A. Rovere, D. Puncuh et al., 8 vols., Fonti per la storia della Liguria 4 (Genoa, 1992–2002).

³⁵ *Liber Officii Provisionis Romaniae (Genova, 1424–1428)*, ed. L. Balletto, Università degli Studi di Genova, Collana di Fonti e Studi 6 (Genoa, 2000).

³⁶ For older publications on the Duca di Candia collection, see *Duca di Candia, Bandi (1313–1319)*, ed. P. Ratti Vidulich, Fonti per la Storia di Venezia (Venice, 1965); *Duca di Candia: ducali e lettere ricevute (1358–1360, 1401–1405)*, ed. F. Thiriet, Fonti per la Storia di Venezia (Venice, 1978); *Duca di Candia, Quaternus consiliorum, 1340–1350*, ed. P. Ratti Vidulich, Fonti per la Storia di Venezia (Venice, 1978); *Régestes des arrêts civils et des mémoriaux (1366–1399) des archives du duc de Crète*, ed. E. Santschi (Venice, 1976).

³⁷ *Catastici Feudorum Crete. Catasticum sexterii Dorsoduri. 1227–1418*, ed. Ch. Gasparis, 2 vols., National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, Sources 6 (Athens, 2004).

As far as the archival sources of Genoese Romania are concerned, notwithstanding the fact that scholarship mainly focuses on the edition of notarial protocols, in recent years a number of administrative and judicial records issued by Genoese colonial authorities have come to light. A case in point is the Cypriot harbour of Famagusta, which, especially in the years following the conquest in 1374, evolved into one of the most important Genoese trade centres in the Eastern Mediterranean. While documentary sources for the first decades of Genoese rule in Famagusta seem to be very scarce, there is much extant material dating to the fifteenth century. C. Otten-Froux has published the protocol of an inquest (*sindicamentum*) dated to 1459, and S. V. Bliznyuk brought to light a number of judicial documents preserved in the collection *Diversorum Communis Janue*.³⁸ But there are still many unpublished records from Genoese Famagusta, as M. Balard demonstrates in his paper in this volume on the registers of the treasury (*massaria*) dating to the period 1391–1465.

The expansion of the Italian notarial system into the colonies of the Eastern Mediterranean from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards introduced western legal concepts into the Latin East, according to which transactions between private individuals gained legal validity by an officially authorized *manus publica*. As a result, in many regions formerly under Byzantine rule one can observe the coexistence of traditional Greek and newly established Latin notarial systems, as is the case in Lusignan Cyprus, or the integration of Greek notaries into the Latin administrative framework, as happened in Venetian Crete.³⁹ A great number of protocols of Venetian and Genoese notaries who were active in various regions of the Levant have survived and constitute a source of primary importance for economic activities, social structures, demographics, topography and other related topics. For many years now scholars of Frankish Romania have focused their

³⁸ *Une enquête à Chypre au XV^e siècle. Le sindicamentum de Napoleone Lomellini, capitaine Génois de Famagouste (1459)*, ed. C. Otten-Froux, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 36 (Nicosia, 2000); S. V. Bliznyuk, *Die Genuesen auf Zypern. Ende 14. und im 15. Jahrhundert. Publikation von Dokumenten aus dem Archivio Segreto in Genua*, Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik 6 (Frankfurt am Main, 2005).

³⁹ For this process, see Ch. A. Maltezou, “Portrait of the Notary in the Latin-ruled Greek Regions of the 14th Century,” in W. Seibt, ed., *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzzeit, Referate des Internationalen Symposions zu Ehren von Herbert Hunger (Wien, 30. November bis 3. Dezember 1994)* (Vienna, 1996), pp. 121–132.

attention on the protocols of Venetian notaries in Crete, which have survived from the end of the thirteenth century onwards, forming a part of the archive of the *Duca di Candia*.⁴⁰ One of the most impressive highlights in the research work dedicated to this material is undoubtedly the recent publication of 790 wills from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, an invaluable source of information for both the notarial practices of Venetian Crete and Cretan society in this period.⁴¹ As for Venetian notaries working in other regions of the Levant, over the past few years protocols from Modon and Coron on the Peloponnese and from Famagusta in Cyprus have been brought to light.⁴² Equally abundant are the protocols of Genoese notaries who worked in places like Caffa, Pera, Chios, Mytilene, Cyprus and Laiazzo in the gulf of Alexandretta (modern Iskenderun). This material, which is now preserved in the *Archivio di Stato di Genova*, has been or is still being published in the series *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*.⁴³

⁴⁰ *Documenti della colonia Veneziana di Creta*, vol. 1: *Imbreviature di Pietro Scardon (1271)*, ed. A. Lombardo, *Documenti e Studi per la Storia del Commercio e del Diritto Commerciale Italiano* 21 (Turin, 1942); *Benvenuto de Brixano, notaio in Candia (1301–1302)*, ed. R. Morozzo della Rocca, *Fonti per la Storia di Venezia, Sezione 3: Archivi notarili* (Venice, 1950); *Leonardo Marcello, notaio in Candia (1278–1281)*, ed. M. Chiaudano and A. Lombardo, *Fonti per la Storia di Venezia, Sezione 3: Archivi notarili* (Venice, 1960); *Zaccaria de Fredo, notaio in Candia (1352–1357)*, ed. A. Lombardo, *Fonti per la Storia di Venezia, Sezione 3: Archivi notarili* (Venice, 1968); *Pietro Pizolo, notaio in Candia (1300)*, ed. S. Carbone, 2 vols., *Fonti per la Storia di Venezia, Sezione 3: Archivi notarili* (Venice, 1978); *The Documents of Angelo de Cartura and Donato Fontanella. Venetian Notaries in Fourteenth-Century Crete*, ed. A. M. Stahl (Washington, D.C., 2000) (dating to 1305–1306 and 1321 respectively).

⁴¹ *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete 1312–1420*, ed. S. McKee, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1998).

⁴² *Documenta Veneta Coroni et Methoni rogata. Euristică e critica documentaria per gli oculi capitales Communis Veneciarum (secoli XIV e XV)*, vol. 1: *Documenta a presbiteris et notariis castellanorum cappellanis rogata*, ed. A. Nanetti (Athens, 1999); *Nicola de Boateriis, notario in Famagosta e Venezia (1355–1365)*, ed. A. Lombardo (Venice, 1973); C. Otten-Froux, “Un notaire vénitien à Famagouste au XIV^e siècle. Les actes de Simeone, prêtre de San Giacomo dell’Orto (1362–1371),” *Θησαυρισματα* 33 (2003), pp. 15–159.

⁴³ For the edition of the notarial deeds of Lamberto di Sambuceto issued in Famagusta, see the contribution of N. Coureas in this volume. *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Chio (1453–1454, 1470–1471)*, ed. A. Roccatagliata, CSFS 35 (Genoa, 1982); *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Pera e Mitilene*, vol. 1: *Pera 1408–1490*, vol. 2: *Mitilene, 1454–1460*, ed. A. Roccatagliata, CSFS 34/1–2 (Genoa, 1982); *Notai Genovesi in Oltremari. Atti rogati a Chio da Donato di Chiavari (17 Febbraio–12 Novembre 1394)*, ed. M. Balard, CSFS 51 (Genoa, 1988); *Notai Genovesi in Oltremari. Atti rogati a Laiazzo da Federico di Piazzalunga (1274) e Pietro di Bargone (1277, 1279)*, ed. L. Balletto, CSFS 53 (Genoa, 1989); *Notai Genovesi in Oltremari. Atti rogati a Chio da Giuliano de Canella (2 Novembre 1380–31 Marzo 1381)*, ed. E. Basso (Athens, 1993); *Notai Genovesi in Oltremari. Atti rogati a Chio da Gregorio Panissaro (1403–1404)*, ed. P. Piana Toniolo (Genoa,

The establishment of the Latin Church in the Eastern Mediterranean chronologically partly coincides with the preservation of regular registers in the papal chancery under Innocent III. Mainly for this reason the ecclesiastical history of the East from the end of the twelfth century onwards can be studied on the grounds of an ever increasing number of papal letters, which, especially from the beginning of the fourteenth century, becomes nearly incalculable. On the other hand, the material issued by Latin ecclesiastical authorities residing in the East underwent the same processes of destruction as official acts of the secular sphere, so that the perspective of the papal chancery is the dominant one in nearly all issues of ecclesiastical life. Only a few collections, such as the *Synodicum Nicosiense* and the Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom in Nicosia,⁴⁴ permit us a few glimpses into the local point of view and the everyday business local ecclesiastical dignitaries had to cope with. As a result, scholarly efforts mainly concentrate on the investigation and publication of material preserved in the papal registers. As research progresses, it is becoming more and more obvious that a great number of documents published or summarized in the volumes of the *Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis* or in the series of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* have never been analyzed in depth, so that many important details and sometimes even basic concepts regarding the role

1995). For Genoese notarial deeds from the Black Sea colonies, see *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Caffa e a Licostomo (sec. XIV)*, ed. G. Balbi and S. Raiteri, CSFS 14 (Genoa, 1973); *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, vol. 1: *Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto 1289–1290*, vol. 2: *Actes de Kilia du notaire Antonio di Ponzò*, ed. M. Balard, Documents et Recherches 12–13 (Paris, 1973–1980). As for Genoese notarial deeds preserved from the late 12th century and the first quarter of the 13th century, see the series *Notai liguri* published between the years 1938–1953: M. Moresco and G. P. Bognetti, *Per l'edizione di notai liguri del sec. XII* (Genoa, 1938); *Oberto Scriba de Mercato (1190)*, ed. M. Chiaudano and R. Morozzo della Rocca, *Notai liguri del sec. XII 1* (Genoa, 1938); *Guglielmo Cassinese (1190–1192)*, ed. M. W. Hall, H. C. Krueger and R. L. Reynolds, 2 vols., *Notai liguri del sec. XII 2* (Genoa, 1938); *Bonvillano (1198)*, ed. J. E. Eiermann, H. G. Krueger and R. L. Reynolds, *Notai liguri del sec. XII 3* (Genoa, 1939); *Oberto scriba de Mercato (1186)*, ed. M. Chiaudano, *Notai liguri del sec. XII 4* (Genoa, 1940); *Giovanni di Guiberto (1200–1211)*, ed. M. W. Hall-Cole, H. G. Krueger, R. G. Reinert and R. L. Reynolds, 2 vols., *Notai liguri del sec. XII 5* (Genoa, 1939–1940); *Lanfranco (1202–1226)*, ed. H. C. Krueger and R. L. Reynolds, 3 vols., *Notai liguri del sec. XII e del XIII 6* (Genoa 1951–1953).

⁴⁴ *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196–1373*, ed. and trans. Ch. Schabel, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 39 (Nicosia, 2001); *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, ed. N. Coureas and Ch. Schabel, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 25 (Nicosia, 1997).

of the papacy in the Latin East, the relationship between clerics and lay powers and the controversies between the Latin and the Eastern Churches require a thorough re-evaluation. At present there are two research programmes in progress that are dedicated to this objective. *A Bullarium Hellenicum* edited by Ch. Schabel and W. Duba intends to publish almost 250 letters of Pope Honorius III (1216–1227) involving Frankish Greece and Constantinople. *A Bullarium Cyprium* edited by J. Richard and Ch. Schabel is a three-volume project aiming to publish all papal letters concerning Frankish Cyprus in the period from 1196–1378, two volumes containing the full text and summaries of more than 500 letters down to 1314 and a third volume comprising summaries of the letters for the period 1314–1378.

Glancing at the Muslim Near East extending from Seljuk and early Ottoman Asia Minor to Syria and Egypt, ruled successively by Fatimids, Seljuks, Ayyubids, Mamluks and other minor dynasties, the state of transmission with respect to documentary sources is even more disappointing than in the Frankish and the Byzantine world. Apart from a large corpus of Egyptian papyri and the unique collection of the Cairo Genizah documents, which mainly concerns the Jewish community of Egypt, two centuries of Fatimid rule, for example, have handed down to us only about a dozen original decrees preserved in the Greek monastery of Mount Sinai.⁴⁵ The situation improves considerably with the beginning of the Mamluk period in 1250, so that we possess some important collections of original documents in the archives of Cairo, the Ḥaram aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem, and some Christian ecclesiastical institutions such as the Greek Orthodox patriarchate of Jerusalem and the monastery of Mount Sinai.⁴⁶ This is not the place to go into detail regarding the transmission of Arab and Seljuk legal documents in narrative sources and secretary manuals such as the monumental *Ṣubḥ al-ašā fi šināʿat al-inšāʿ* (“The Dawn of the Blind: On the Art of Letter Writing”) of the fifteenth-century Egyptian author al-Qalqašandī.⁴⁷ In recent decades scholars like P. Holt, A. Wansbrough and H. Theunissen

⁴⁵ S. M. Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees: Original Documents from the Fāṭimid Chancery* (London, 1964).

⁴⁶ For a very useful overview of all kinds of Arabic documentary sources, bibliography, reference works and available editions, see P. M. Sijpesteijn, J. F. Oates and A. Kaplony, “Checklist of Arabic Papyri (Beta Version) (last updated April 2006),” *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 42 (2005), pp. 127–166.

⁴⁷ For a good survey, see W. Björkman, G. S. Colin and H. Busse, s. v. “Diplomatic,” *New Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2: pp. 302–308. For official documents of Seljuk Asia Minor,

have done important work on documentary sources (letters, treaties) evolving from the diplomatic relations between Muslim and Christian sovereigns.⁴⁸ New discoveries in Greek and other Balkan archives are also to be expected in the field of early Ottoman diplomatics.⁴⁹

The Contribution of the Present Volume

What is the purpose of the present volume in the light of the state of research outlined above? It surely cannot claim to bring new results regarding the formalistic aspects of diplomatics. Mutual influences between Latin, Byzantine and Muslim chancery practices or the differences between Latin documents from the East and their western counterparts have to be studied much more systematically in long-term projects. Such basic research cannot be replaced by a collective volume, however ambitious it might be. The papers gathered in this volume constitute a modest attempt to present certain groups of Byzantine, Latin and Arabic documentary sources with respect to their forms and contents as well as their possibilities and limits of historical interpretation. According to cultural and geographical criteria the papers fall into three thematic units.

The first one deals with archival sources originating from or concerning the Latin East in general. One of the crucial problems in the history of Frankish Greece is the process of continuity and change that transformed the Byzantine administrative system and its social fabric into what we call Latin Romania. Efficient forms of communication between Frankish rulers and the overwhelming majority of Greek subjects formed a vital part of this process. With special emphasis on the Venetians in Constantinople and Crete, David Jacoby examines the

see *Türkiye Selçukluları hakkında resmî vesikalar. Metin, tercüme ve araştırmalar*, ed. O. Turan, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları VII. Dizi—Sa. 32^a (Ankara, 1988).

⁴⁸ On the topic, see the references in the paper of B. Kedar in this volume. In addition, see H. Theunissen, *Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats: The Ahd-Names. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents*, electronically published in the *Electronical Journal of Oriental Studies* 1 (1998), no. 2, pp. 1–698.

⁴⁹ G. Salakides, *Sultansurkunden des Athos-Klosters Vatopedi aus der Zeit Bayezid II. und Selim I.* (Thessaloniki, 1995); E. A. Zachariadou, *Δέκα τουρκικά έγγραφα για την Μεγάλη Εκκλησία (1483–1567)* (Athens, 1996).

institutional framework through which Latins and Greeks communicated with each other as well as the persons who served as intermediaries.

The establishment of new forms of government also included the adoption of Byzantine administrative and fiscal practices. This aspect is exemplified by the contribution of Charalambos Gasparis on the *Catastica Feudorum Crete*, a collection of Venetian fief registers that survives from parts of the *territorio di Candia* and from Chania in the eastern part of Crete. Basically, the Venetian *catasticum* and the Byzantine *κατάστιχον* and/or *πρακτικόν* are two types of administrative records that differ clearly in both structure and contents. There are, however, some striking similarities as well, which hint at unbroken lines of institutional continuity.

William Duba and Chris Schabel explore papal letters issued by Innocent III and Honorius III for evidence on crucial facets of the history of early thirteenth-century Frankish Greece. The foundation of a Latin Empire in Constantinople entailing the substitution of the Greek Orthodox patriarch by a Latin raised the question of how the relationship between the pope and the head of the Latin ecclesiastical organization in the newly established empire had to be regulated. The basic problem was to arrive at theoretical models and to make practical decisions that were consistent with theological premises such as apostolic foundation, apostolicity and papal sanction and at the same time were able to promote the papacy's claims to supremacy and universal rule within the reunified Church. Inspired by the imagery of Christ and the Four Evangelists, Pope Innocent III formulated a theory according to which Rome had the supreme position with Constantinople enjoying the first position among the other patriarchates, which were second in rank. In practice, however, papal policy strove for an increasing restriction of the Latin patriarch's prerogatives and rights. The case of Antelm, the first Latin archbishop of Patras after 1204, reveals how the papal government regulated ecclesio-political affairs related to the installation of ecclesiastical institutions in Frankish Greece and settled all sorts of quarrels between the Church and secular powers over landed property.

The contributions of Hubert Houben and Karl Borchardt present documentary sources originating from the Military Orders in the Levant. After the last possessions of the Teutonic Order in Palestine were conquered by the Mamluks, only some scattered fragments of its archives made their way through Italy to the new seat of the Grand Master in Marienburg in Prussia. Nevertheless, these few documents are still able

to offer valuable glimpses into the Teutonic Knights' administration of their estates in Palestine, Cyprus and Lesser Armenia and show how the Germans integrated themselves culturally and linguistically in the mixed Frankish-Greek-Arab environment of the Levant. Much better is the state of transmission with respect to the archive of the Knights Hospitaller in Malta. Thirty-one register volumes dating to 1409–1459 form the documentary basis from which Karl Borhardt has gleaned a sample of acts issued by the Grand Master and/or the Convent of Rhodes concerning the order's relationship with the Kingdom of Cyprus. The material covers a wide spectrum of subjects such as appointments of officials, various kinds of payments, travel permissions and some major political events, as for instance the Mamluk invasion of Cyprus.

A considerable number of official acts and letters is known to us exclusively through literary sources. This form of transmission, in which documentary sources appear within a narrative context, poses particular problems that make the interpretation of these texts a difficult task. One must consider the possibility of omissions or other alterations in the original wording, and the circumstances in which a given document was composed and found its way into a certain chronicler's hands often remain obscure. In some cases these texts are suspected of being forgeries or pieces of literary fiction. A case in point is the letter of Rāšid ad-Dīn Sinān, the Grand Master of the Syrian Assassins, which in 1195/1196 circulated at the courts of Duke Leopold V of Austria and other illustrious western princes. Through an extensive investigation of the letter's content and political and ideological background, Brenda Bolton arrives at the conclusion that the letter is the product of a well-informed and skilful scribe in King Richard I of England's chancery who aspired to exonerate the king from charges concerning his responsibility for the murder of Conrad of Montferrat. Probably the composer of the forged letter can be identified as Philip of Poitiers.

The second thematic unit of the present volume is dedicated to chancery traditions in Frankish Cyprus. As a result of the conquest in 1191 and the creation of a Latin kingdom on the island, along with other fiscal, judicial and ecclesiastical institutions a royal chancery came into being that modeled itself on the usages of the chancery of Jerusalem. At the same time the new lords made extensive use of the pre-existing Byzantine substrate of the island by integrating elements of the old fiscal administration into their own system of government and by employing Greek officials at the royal court. Another institutional

framework in which Greek chancery traditions were able to survive was the ecclesiastical organization of the local Orthodox Church. The establishment of Genoese and Venetian trading colonies brought the Italian notarial system to the island, and as a result of the Genoese conquest of Famagusta in 1374 a colonial administration presided by a Genoese *capitaneus* made its appearance.

Jean Richard presents a survey of the Latin notarial system in Cyprus. The kings of Cyprus did not appoint public notaries themselves, but they created a framework regulating the supervision of legal transactions between individuals and the validation of private documents, especially with respect to deeds of purchase and cases related to landed property. The sources of the Lusignan period have so far yielded some sixty names of public notaries endowed with apostolic or imperial authority, who worked on the island for certain periods of time and for various masters such as the royal chancery, Latin bishops and Italian traders.

The most voluminous collection of Cypriot notarial deeds—more than 1,500 instruments—is transmitted in the protocols of the Genoese notaries Lamberto di Sambuceto and Giovanni da Rocha from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, nowadays preserved in the State Archive of Genoa. Nicholas Coureas presents an outline of the forms and contents of these documents analyzing the social groups involved in the legal transactions as well as the main social, judicial, economic and topographical data contained in them.

Michel Balard, Svetlana Bliznyuk and Catherine Otten-Froux deal with documentary sources emanating from the Genoese administration of Famagusta. A source of primary significance is the account books of the Genoese treasury (*massaria*), of which the State Archive of Genoa still preserves twenty registers dating to the period 1391–1465. The most important judicial institution of Genoese Famagusta was the *curia*, the law court of the captain, which replaced the older *cour de vicomte* of the Lusignan administration. From its archives several registers mainly dating to the fourth and fifth decade of the fifteenth century have survived. The present contribution analyzes the register covering the period from 14 April 1455 to 10 January 1457. A third group of documentary sources derives from the correspondence of Genoese citizens with the doge and the Council of Elders in the metropolis, for the greater part complaints concerning the administrative practices of Genoese officials and the policy of the king of Cyprus regarding money fiefs and debts. These documents are preserved in the collection *Diversorum Communis Janue* dating to the years 1391–1398 and 1420–1480. The information

one can obtain from the sources just mentioned covers the whole administrative system of Genoese Famagusta, diplomatic relations with the king of Cyprus and numerous facets of the city's day-to-day life, such as the presence of ethnic groups, the topography of the city and aspects of multilingual communication.

The last contribution to this section, by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, treats the transmission of legal documents in one of the major narrative sources of medieval Cyprus, i.e., the Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas. The author, due to his family background, his education and his personal career, was well acquainted with the royal administration and had a vital interest in legal documents, letters and treaties, especially for the period of Peter I and Peter II. Thus, his chronicle provides rich material for a case study revealing how a medieval author organized his narrative by inserting and making excerpts from official acts and by harmonizing them with his own concepts and assumptions of historical events and developments.

The third section of the present volume, bearing the title "Diplomatics and Diplomacy among Byzantium, Islam and the West," extends the focus of investigation from the Frankish East to Byzantium and the Muslim World and intends to present a comparative approach to archival sources emanating on the one hand from the relations and legal transactions between Ottoman and Mamluk rulers and their Christian subjects and, on the other, from diplomatic contacts between Byzantines, Muslims and Latins.

As a recent study by H. W. Lowry on the early Ottoman state has demonstrated,⁵⁰ the beginnings of the Ottoman Empire in the fourteenth century remain a dark and puzzling period that still awaits further illumination by stimulating interpretations and new source material. The study of Kostis Smyrlis on the first Ottoman occupation of Macedonia in the two decades between ca. 1383 and the treaty of Gallipoli in 1403 is mainly based on unpublished records from the Athonite monasteries Vatopedi and Saint Paul. This material sheds further light on some crucial questions concerning the early Ottoman administration in Macedonia and the relationship between the Turkish rulers and their Christian subjects. More specifically these documents reveal how the new political elite handled the problem of land possession and ownership in the years following the conquest. Two contradictory tendencies,

⁵⁰ H. W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (New York, 2003).

the one aiming at the confiscation of estates in order to create timars, the other trying to preserve previous rights and privileges in order to secure the subjects' loyalty, had to be reconciled.

Similar problems in a different geographical and political context are examined by Johannes Pahlitzsch with respect to the Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem and its relations with the Mamluk authorities in the middle of the fourteenth century. Two hitherto unpublished documents preserved in the archive of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, a protocol of a hearing issued in 1358 by a Muslim law court and a decree of Sultan an-Nāṣir Ḥasan issued in the same year in response to a petition of the monastery, demonstrate the opportunities for Christian monks living as *ḍimmīs* ("protected people") in the Mamluk state to protect their legal rights of ownership against the encroachments of Muslim state officials.

A very interesting aspect of legal documents, which historians for lack of competence usually neglect, is the sphere of material culture. In her contribution Maria Parani applies a subtle methodological approach by which data on intercultural exchange in the realm of artefacts, garments, furnishings and objects of everyday use can be extracted from Byzantine legal documents. Her analytical framework is circumscribed by linguistic features such as adjectives or non-Greek technical terms hinting at foreign provenance and by specific types of objects which either were imported from somewhere else or constitute the result of foreign cultural influences.

Mutual influences in art were often transmitted through the art of diplomacy, the main topic of the last three contributions of the present volume. Studies on Byzantine-Latin diplomacy are usually devoted to foreign relations with the great political powers of medieval Europe, such as the Italian naval states, the German Empire, the Angevin Kingdom of Southern Italy and so on. In contrast, Peter Schreiner focuses on a hitherto neglected aspect of Byzantine-Latin diplomacy, namely the relations with the Kingdom of Cyprus. Contacts with the Lusignan kings of the island, a rather insignificant factor on the chessboard of Eastern Mediterranean politics, never gained top priority among Constantinople's political targets, so that the few known cases of ambassadorial exchanges between the two sides were restricted to negotiations on marriages that for the most part failed. There remains, however, some ideological significance based on the fact that Cyprus was a former Byzantine province, the majority of its population were

“Romaioi” (i.e. Byzantine Greeks) and the Greek Church remained to a certain degree attached to the patriarchate of Constantinople.

Another important field of diplomatic contacts is the communication between Muslim rulers and ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries of the Latin West. Covering a wide range of documents extending from the period of Otto I of Germany up to the truce agreements concluded by the Mamluk Sultans Baybars and Qalāwūn with Latin sovereigns in the second half of the thirteenth century, Benjamin Kedar investigates the manner in which both sides, while communicating through letters and concluding treaties with each other, handled the problem of their religious differences and sensibilities. The attitudes expressed in these documents vacillated according to the political purposes and the concomitant circumstances between insulting and conciliatory tendencies. Where questions of translation techniques were involved, there was a general problem of rendering into Latin basic terms of Islam and religious formulas, which in most cases were abbreviated or suppressed. Arabic letters of Western rulers addressed to Muslims make use of Islamic formulas, but shrink from referring to the Prophet, while the treaties between Muslims and Franks show some impact of Frankish chancery traditions.

Michel Balivet, finally, deals with phenomena of affection and high esteem in the framework of cross-cultural contacts between Muslims, on the one hand, and Eastern and Latin Christians, on the other. Here, the notion of diplomacy is to be understood in its broadest sense, including official political contacts, forms of spontaneous diplomacy between outstanding representatives of late-medieval mysticism and a sort of imaginary diplomacy, where learned men of early European Humanism formulated ideas of a unity of nations and an international council of religions. The spectrum of personalities involved in this process of mutual approach reaches from the Greek Patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos in the first half of the tenth century to the western theologian Nicholas of Cusa in the fifteenth century. Stepping out of our scholarly personae, perhaps we can share the views expressed by outstanding sixteenth century humanists according to which cross-cultural communication might contribute to the “establishment of a Concordia Mundi, a Universal Peace or a Panthenosia.”

PART I

ARCHIVAL SOURCES FOR THE LATIN EAST

MULTILINGUALISM AND INSTITUTIONAL PATTERNS
OF COMMUNICATION IN LATIN ROMANIA
(THIRTEENTH–FOURTEENTH CENTURIES)

David Jacoby

Multilingualism and intercultural communication have lately drawn much attention. Recent studies have focused on inter-linguistic contacts between individuals living side by side within the same society yet conversing in different languages, as well as between those belonging to different societies. Bridging the linguistic gap was achieved orally or in writing in different ways, depending upon the context in which it occurred and the level of linguistic sophistication required. It could involve the use of a rudimentary form of parlance heavily infiltrated by foreign loan words, colloquial speech common in daily life, official language and terminology in administrative and judicial functions, or the translation of written documents and learned texts. It was accomplished directly with the assistance of word or phrase lists and dictionaries, or by the intervention of intermediaries such as interpreters and translators.¹

Communication was especially complex in territories experiencing the superposition of cultural and linguistic layers as a result of conquest and the imposition of long-term rule by foreigners over indigenous populations. The operation of governmental institutions in multilingual societies posed problems of verbal and written communication other than those existing between individuals. It often required more precise formulations, a broader use of written instruments, and involved a variety of strategies differing according to specific circumstances. The present paper explores the ways in which the Latins confronted and surmounted problems of inter-linguistic communication at the institutional level between themselves and the indigenous population in several regions of Latin Romania, the Byzantine territories they occupied in

¹ K. Ciggaar, “Bilingual Word Lists and Phrase Lists: For Teaching or for Travelling?,” in R. Macrides, ed., *Travel in Byzantium, Papers from the Thirty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April 2000* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 165–178.

the early thirteenth century in the wake of the Fourth Crusade. More specifically, attention will be devoted to the Latin Empire of Constantinople, some Venetian territories, and the Frankish principality of the Morea.

It is a truism that the wielding of political power primarily consists in the exercise of jurisdiction and taxation. Continuity in government over large territories requires a permanent administration, the accumulation and preservation of written records, and the presence of armed forces capable of enforcing law and order. In turn, the efficiency of the government apparatus largely depends upon the resources available for the financing of its operations. Not surprisingly, therefore, the first concern of the Latin conquerors was to assume swift control of these resources, the most important of which were urban and rural property, the peasantry, the main workforce in the largely rural economy, and rights of taxation. The confiscation and redistribution of land, buildings and workforce, as well as the collection of taxes were indispensable for the consolidation of their rule. Two factors facilitated the implementation of these measures. In the short term, both the conquerors and their new subjects had a vested interest in the preservation of the economic infrastructure and the continuity of the economy's operation, especially in rural areas. In addition, the upholding of fiscal institutions and practices and the latter's incorporation within the new governmental structures, provided they did not clash with the interests and concepts of the conquerors, ensured a smooth transition from the former regime and a rapid resumption of tax collection. However, the appropriation of Byzantine institutions and practices by the conquerors required a mustering of local administrative, fiscal, legal and social terminology, beyond the bridging of the linguistic gap, and the establishment of patterns of communication between themselves and their new subjects.

In March 1204, about a month before the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the leaders of the crusader armies and the Venetian Doge Enrico Dandolo concluded an agreement regarding the partition of the Byzantine Empire, by which they determined the portions allocated respectively to the emperor, the members of the feudal armies, and Venice.² This treaty was apparently followed by another one,

² For this paragraph and the following one, see D. Jacoby, "The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261): The Challenge of Feudalism and the Byzantine Inheritance," *JÖB* 43 (1993), pp. 141–142, 149–151, reprinted

not preserved, which dealt specifically with Constantinople, since the partition of the city on the ground between the emperor and Venice was carried out immediately after the Latin conquest of the city on 13 April 1204.³ It is clear that Byzantine cadastres, fiscal records and other documents were used to that effect. The division of the Empire outside Constantinople was devised in the following autumn by a new joint Venetian-“French” commission and recorded in the *Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae*. This body relied on registers found in Constantinople which listed the revenues accruing from yearly taxes apparently collected by the Byzantine imperial treasury in September 1203.⁴

The use of documents drafted in Greek and the occasional reliance on Greek oral testimonies posed problems of communication. At the basic level, it required familiarity with the local language. Some Latins present in Constantinople in 1204 spoke colloquial Greek, at least in a rudimentary form. Among them were former mercenaries who had been in Byzantine service, as well as monks and priests attached to Latin ecclesiastical institutions who before the Latin conquest had been living in the city or elsewhere in the Empire, whether temporarily or permanently.⁵ Some Venetians married to Greek women had resided in Constantinople, whether in or outside the Venetian quarter, while

in idem, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean*, Variorum Reprints (Aldershot, 2001), no. VI.

³ D. Jacoby, “The Venetian Government and Administration in Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261: a State within a State,” in G. Ortalli, G. Ravegnani and P. Schreiner, eds., *Quarta Crociata. Venezia—Bisanzio—Impero latino*, Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti (Venice, 2006), pp. 20–21, 23, and 38–41. On Venice’s quarter and the Venetian annexations of 1204 enlarging its territory, see D. Jacoby, “The Venetian Quarter of Constantinople from 1082 to 1261: Topographical Considerations,” in C. Sode and S. Takács, eds., *Novum Millennium. Studies on Byzantine History and Culture dedicated to Paul Speck* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 153–170, reprinted in D. Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange across the Mediterranean: Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt and Italy*, Variorum Reprints (Aldershot, 2005), no. III.

⁴ The text of the partition of 1204 in *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856–1857), 1: pp. 464–488, is now superseded by the edition with introduction and extensive commentary by A. Carile, “Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae,” *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965), pp. 125–305, with dating pp. 155–169, esp. p. 167. On the tax records, see N. Oikonomidès, “La décomposition de l’Empire byzantin de 1204 et les origines de l’Empire de Nicée: à propos de la ‘Partitio Romaniae,’” in *XV^e Congrès international d’études byzantines (Athènes, 1976)*, *Rapports et rapports*, I/1 (Athens, 1976), pp. 3–22.

⁵ Ciggaar, “Bilingual Word Lists,” pp. 172–177; S. Borsari, *Venezia e Bisanzio nel XII secolo. I rapporti economici*, Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie, Miscellanea di studi e memorie 26 (Venice, 1988), pp. 36–42, 54–57.

others who had fled the city in 1203 or 1204 returned to that quarter shortly after the conquest. Children of mixed marriages, later known as *gasmouloi* or *vasmouloi* (spelled *basmouloi*), were most likely bilingual.⁶

It is noteworthy that until 1204 there were no permanent Venetian state institutions in the Byzantine Empire, and administrative and judicial functions regarding internal Venetian matters were exercised by visiting officials. In Constantinople their operation entailed problems of oral communication, since Greeks resided in the Venetian quarter from the time of its establishment, as attested by the chrysobull issued by Alexios I Comnenus in 1082 in favour of Venice. Moreover, from 1198 Venice was entitled to try pecuniary cases opposing Venetian defendants to Greeks, if the latter were willing to submit voluntarily to its court.⁷ Bilingual Latins and Greeks must have served as intermediaries in oral exchanges between Venetian officials and Greeks. On the other hand, in Constantinople Venetians may have mainly, if not exclusively, resorted to Latin notaries for the drafting of business contracts with Greeks and, therefore, the intervention of interpreters or translators was not required, at least not to the same extent. They had no choice but to rely upon Greek notaries in locations where Latin notaries were not available. This was the case in 1150 in Sparta, where Leonardo Fradello transferred to Marino Bembo “*cartulas grecas*” regarding a transaction in oil concluded with the local *archontes*.⁸

The knowledge of Greek at whatever level was insufficient for the consultation of Byzantine fiscal registers and other documents or for the implementation of administrative measures on the basis of oral statements. Venetians held or owned land and houses in Constantinople and in some other cities of the Empire before the conquest and, therefore, were acquainted with the Byzantine taxation of urban property.⁹ This

⁶ D. Jacoby, “The Byzantine Outsider in Trade (c. 900–c. 1350),” in D. C. Smythe, ed., *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider, Papers from the Thirty-second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1998* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 135–140, 143; Jacoby, “The Venetian Government,” pp. 20, 41–42; idem, “The Greeks of Constantinople under Latin Rule, 1204–1261,” in Th. F. Madden, ed., *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions* (Aldershot, 2007), nn. 93, 116–122 (in press).

⁷ Jacoby, “The Venetian Government,” pp. 21–23; idem, “The Greeks of Constantinople,” nn. 88–93.

⁸ *Nuovi documenti del commercio veneto dei sec. XI–XIII*, ed. A. Lombardo and R. Morozzo della Rocca (Venice, 1953), p. 14, no. 11, and see also p. 11, no. 9.

⁹ See above, n. 6; D. Jacoby, “Migrations familiales et stratégies commerciales vénitiennes aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles,” in M. Balard and A. Ducellier, eds., *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (X^e–XVI^e siècles)*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 19 (Paris, 2002), pp. 359–362. On Venetians owning property in provincial cities, see also D. Jacoby, “Les

was even the case in the Venetian quarter of Constantinople, since the *terraticum* or land tax applied there, as distinct from rent paid for houses, conformed to Byzantine practice.¹⁰ Venetian merchants and skippers were surely aware of the nature and rates of commercial and port dues, although they were exempt from their payment.¹¹

Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that in 1204 neither the Venetians nor the members of the crusader armies were familiar with the fiscal terminology, registration techniques and practices of the Byzantine imperial administration. Moreover, they had no experience of rural taxation bearing upon peasant households in Byzantium, although some Venetian citizens had owned vineyards in the provinces before 1204.¹² Therefore, the partition of property in the newly annexed portion of Constantinople as well as in other cities and in rural areas included in the Venetian portion of the Latin Empire required the assistance of former imperial officials capable of conveying the content of Byzantine registers to the Latins.¹³ Some of these officials must have belonged to the corps of professional interpreters attached to the imperial court before the Latin conquest of 1204.¹⁴ It is likely that some Greek officials attested shortly after the conquest in the administration of the new Latin Empire or the one established by Venice in Constantinople had already cooperated earlier with the Latins when the latter devised the partition of the Byzantine Empire and of its capital.¹⁵

The role of former Byzantine officials as intermediaries enabling the Latin conquerors access to written records, the collection of oral evidence, and the partition of the land is fairly well documented. The evidence regarding the Venetian section of Constantinople and of the Latin Empire is more abundant than for the imperial section. The

Latins dans les villes de Romanie jusqu'en 1261: le versant méditerranéen des Balkans," in M. Balard, É. Malamut and J.-M. Spieser, eds., *Byzance et le monde extérieur. Contacts, relations, échanges*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 21 (Paris, 2005), pp. 16–18.

¹⁰ Payment of *factum* or rent for a house and *terraticum* for land in 1208: *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII*, ed. R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, 2 vols., *Documenti e Studi per la Storia del Commercio e del Diritto Commerciale Italiano 19–20* (Turin, 1940), 2: pp. 42–43, no. 502.

¹¹ D. Jacoby, "Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade: A Reconsideration," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 24 (1994), pp. 349–369, reprinted in idem, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean*, Variorum Reprints (Aldershot, 1997), no. II.

¹² Jacoby, "Migrations familiales," p. 360.

¹³ For Constantinople, see Jacoby, "The Venetian Government," pp. 41–42.

¹⁴ See *ODB* 2, p. 1004, s. v. "Interpreter."

¹⁵ On these officials, see Jacoby, "The Greeks of Constantinople," nn. 31–36. On the partition, see above, pp. 28–29.

Gallipoli peninsula had been divided in 1204 between Venice and the Latin emperor, presumably Baldwin I. The Venetians abandoned the region in February 1206 under the pressure of the invading Vlach-Bulgarian armies. Venice recovered most of its assets after the withdrawal of these forces in the same year, yet imperial and Venetian officers could not agree about the precise boundaries of Venice's possessions. The problem was eventually settled in August 1206 or somewhat later by a joint commission on the basis of evidence provided under oath by the population of the disputed villages.¹⁶ Only Greeks could have obtained the relevant testimonies.

The procedure and registration techniques implemented by the Latins in the Latin Empire shortly after its establishment are illustrated by a fiscal inquest regarding Lampsakos, a locality situated on the eastern shore of the Dardanelles. In 1214 Venice granted three of its citizens the estate of Lampsakos in return for a yearly payment. In 1219 the podestà Giacomo Tiepolo, who represented the Venetian doge in Constantinople, ordered a fiscal survey in order to determine the estate's total revenue.¹⁷ He sent one of his officials, who relied upon two types of data and added his own considerations. First, he drew his basic information about the revenue of Lampsakos from a *praktikon* that he carried along from Constantinople. The Byzantine *praktikon* was a fiscal survey of a specific estate copied from an imperial register or an inventory compiled on location and later transcribed into such a register. The *praktikon* recorded separately each fiscal unit consisting of a peasant household and its assets, as well as the taxes it had to deliver, *kata stichon*, literally "according to the line" or "line by line," which in fact meant "entry by entry."¹⁸ In addition to the information supplied by the *praktikon*, the surveyor sent by Tiepolo collected oral evidence from the inhabitants of Lampsakos, whom he questioned under oath about some of their obligations. Finally, in the absence of trustworthy evidence or doubts about the reliability of the peasants' testimonies, he used his own judgment to assess the revenue accruing from certain dues. The surveyor's task was to update the information found in the

¹⁶ J. Longnon, *Recherches sur la vie de Geoffroy de Villehardouin suivies du catalogue des actes des Villehardouin* (Paris, 1939), pp. 201–202, no. 83: "secundum quod veraciter coram nobis per sacramentum fuit testificatum ab hominibus regionis." See also Jacoby, "The Venetian Presence," pp. 146, 150–151, and 160.

¹⁷ On the office and functions of the podestà, see Jacoby, "The Venetian Government," pp. 26–29.

¹⁸ See also *ODB* 2, p. 1711, s. v.

praktikon he had brought along and on which he had initially relied. As recorded in the report he compiled, in three instances he compared his own estimates with the data registered in that *praktikon*.¹⁹

The councilors assisting the Venetian podestà in office in Constantinople were recruited from among the prominent Venetians residing in Constantinople, some of whom had acquired much experience in the city or elsewhere in Byzantium before 1204.²⁰ By 1219, the year in which the report on Lampsakos was compiled, some of these councilors may have been bilingual. It is nevertheless unlikely that any of them would have been capable of using a Greek fiscal document dealing with rural taxation or would have been entrusted with the survey. It is clear, therefore, that the surveyor sent by the podestà to Lampsakos must have been Greek, or he was assisted by a minor Greek official acquainted both with the language and fiscal terminology used in the *praktikon*. In addition, he must have been capable of collecting oral testimonies from the local peasants. There is substantial evidence to suggest that the original draft of the survey of Lampsakos carried out in 1219 was compiled in Greek.²¹ Its translation was indispensable to allow Venetian officials access to its content. The successive podestà serving in Constantinople were in office for two years only and most of them did not know Greek, although Giacomo Tiepolo, who ordered the survey, may have been familiar with the language since he had served as duke of Crete from 1209 to 1214 before being sent to Constantinople in 1218.²² Moreover, few Venetian officials serving in Venice, the ultimate destination of the survey, read Greek. The translation of the document into Latin was most likely carried out in Constantinople in the chancery of the podestà. The permanent presence of interpreters in that office may be safely assumed. They were required for a variety of functions, among them the exchange of letters between the podestà and the emperors of Nicaea.²³

¹⁹ For this whole paragraph, see Jacoby, "The Venetian Presence," pp. 164–182.

²⁰ Jacoby, "The Venetian Government," pp. 29–31.

²¹ Idem, "The Venetian Presence," pp. 170–171, 198–201.

²² On his career, see Jacoby, "The Venetian Government," p. 69. On the duration of the podestà's office, see *ibid.*, p. 26 and n. 30, pp. 64–79.

²³ On the chancery, see *ibid.*, pp. 33–36. On the relations of Venice with the emperors of Nicaea, see D. Jacoby, "The Economy of Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261," in A. Laiou, ed., *Urbs capta, The Fourth Crusade and Its Consequences. La IV^e Croisade et ses conséquences*, *Réalités byzantines* 10 (Paris, 2005), pp. 206–207.

The levy of commercial taxes on the daily movement of goods entering and leaving the Venetian section of Constantinople could be swiftly implemented after the city's conquest. It ensured an immediate, efficient and continuous flow of revenue in cash into the local Venetian treasury. The most convenient course to exploit this resource was the re-activation of the Byzantine fiscal administration, as well as the preservation of its fiscal practices, language of registration, dues and rates, in any event in the short term. This move required the stationing of Greek-speaking officials assisting Venetian officers at the markets and the customs and the appointment of Greek official middlemen brokering commercial transactions in the years immediately following the conquest. At a later period there may have been a number of bilingual Greeks, Latins or *gasmouloi* serving in such positions. Incidentally, similar measures must have been implemented in the imperial section of Constantinople. Non-Venetian merchants conducted trade in that section, although the Venetian quarter was the city's hub of commercial activity in the Latin period. In the late 1220s the Latin Empire concluded an agreement including commercial clauses with Theodore Comnenus Doukas, ruler of Epiros and emperor of Thessaloniki, and its delegation visiting the Seljuk court of Kay-Qubād I at Iconium may well have dealt with trading issues.²⁴

The survival of Byzantine commercial taxation in the Venetian section of the Latin Empire is duly attested. It is illustrated by the use of Byzantine fiscal terms in Constantinople and Rhaidestos, called Rodosto by the Latins, a city on the northern shore of the Sea of Marmara serving as the main outlet for the grain of Thrace and as port of call for ships sailing between the Mediterranean and Constantinople. The Venetians were well acquainted with Rodosto, and some of them may have been involved in its grain trade before 1204.²⁵ A Venetian survey carried out in the city in 1219 mentions three types of taxes, namely *schale*, *commercia* and *redditus*. The first two terms were transliterations from the Greek. The term *schala* or *scala* corresponded to the Byzantine *skalla* or *skaliatikon*, a tax paid for the mooring of ships along the wharf, the unloading of their cargo, and the use of the neighbouring

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 205–206.

²⁵ On the Venetians in Rhaidestos before 1204, see Jacoby, “Les Latins dans les villes de Romanie,” p. 18, and on the grain trade, D. Jacoby, “Byzantium, the Italian Maritime Powers, and the Black Sea before 1204,” *BZ*, nn. 84–88 (in press).

warehouses in the city's harbour. The *commercia* were customs, sales and market dues, known in Byzantium as *kommerkia*.²⁶

Until now we have dealt with the flow of information culled from written documents or collected from the local population to the Venetian administration. The latter's operation also required the transmission of information in the opposite direction, from its institutions to the population in the Venetian portion of the Latin Empire, as well as a free two-way flow between the state and its subjects. Communication differed according to whether it involved the multilingual society residing in the Venetian quarter in Constantinople and other cities or the exclusively Greek rural population. The complexity of institutional communication with the population was compounded by the addition of a third language to the Greek and Venetian vernaculars. Latin was the official language of registration and correspondence in Venetian governmental institutions in the thirteenth century and for a long time afterwards.²⁷ Injunctions transmitted from Venice to the Venetian administration in Constantinople had to be relayed to the public at large or to specific individuals. Transmission in the original language was excluded, whether in writing or orally, since neither the Greeks nor the overwhelming majority of Latins understood Latin. Therefore, verbal transmission was clearly the only possible mode of institutional communication along that channel. This process required a two-tier mediation, first in the *podestà*'s chancery to bridge the linguistic gap between documents drafted in Latin and minor officials incapable of understanding them and, thereafter, between Venetian or Greek officials and members of the Greek community.

There is no direct evidence regarding the operation of Greeks in specific offices of the Venetian administrative, fiscal or judicial apparatus in Constantinople in the years 1204–1261. A number of Greeks who had served in the lower ranks of the Venetian administration in an unknown capacity, possibly of a military nature, were evacuated to Venice together with their families at the state's expense when Byzantine forces recovered Constantinople in 1261. The state continued to pay them a salary in Venice. However, most of them failed to integrate within Venetian society and to adapt to the Venetian

²⁶ Jacoby, "The Venetian Presence," pp. 150–151, 177–178. For Constantinople, see idem, "The Venetian Government," pp. 43, 55–56.

²⁷ On the use of other languages in Venetian colonial territories, see below.

surroundings. The language barrier was presumably a major obstacle in that respect. In 1271 these Greeks requested permission to emigrate and most likely resettled within some Greek-speaking and Orthodox community overseas.²⁸

Later testimonies provide indirect information about the linguistic proficiency of Greeks employed by the Venetian administration in Constantinople. Greeks were included among the town criers, called *plazarii* or *precones*, who delivered official proclamations in public and summoned individuals to appear in court, among interpreters in judicial institutions and at the customs, as well as among official weighers and official middlemen.²⁹ The Greek middlemen, who operated on their own wherever transactions took place, obviously spoke some Venetian. However, neither they nor the Latin middlemen were always capable of recording in Latin the business deals in which they had mediated. This is well illustrated by a Venetian decree of 1411 regarding Constantinople, which dealt with middlemen unable to do so. They were enjoined to request the chancellor of the bailo, the podestà's successor as Venetian state representative in Constantinople from 1267 onward, or anyone else knowing Latin to register for them commercial deals for sums up to ten hyperpyra.³⁰

The number of Greeks appearing in Venetian courts in Constantinople during the Latin period must have been much larger than before 1204. Some Greeks who had resided in the old section of the Venetian quarter before the conquest remained there without apparently being affected by that event. Many more resided in the large urban territory annexed by Venice in the wake of the conquest.³¹ Moreover, it is likely that various cases regarding Greeks living outside the quarter were brought to the Venetian court. The podestà was vested with the supreme judicial authority on behalf of Venice, yet trials were generally conducted by judges chosen from among the Venetians residing in the city. They exercised jurisdiction *ratione materiae* within the entire

²⁸ D. Jacoby, "I Greci ed altre comunità tra Venezia e oltremare," in M. F. Tiepolo and E. Tonetti, eds., *I Greci a Venezia, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio, Venezia, 5-7 novembre 1998*, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti (Venice, 2002), pp. 45-46.

²⁹ On the functions of these officials, see Ch. Maltezos, *Ὁ θεσμός τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει βενετοῦ βαΐλου (1268-1453)* (Athens, 1970), pp. 79-82, and for the regulations of 1411, *ibid.*, pp. 154-155, 158-160, 163, and 165.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 159, par. 23.

³¹ Jacoby, "The Greeks of Constantinople," nn. 88-105. On the annexation, see above, n. 3.

Venetian portion of the Latin Empire, regardless of the personal status of the property holders, *ratione personae* over all those enjoying Venetian status within that portion, as well as in all cases in which the two parties were Venetians, regardless of their place of residence. The podestà only intervened in trials when the judges were in disagreement and requested him to issue the verdict.³² Since the Venetian judges permanently resided in Constantinople, some of them may have known Greek and been able to understand oral declarations in court, contrary to the podestà sent from Venice who, as noted earlier, was in office for two years only. It is highly doubtful, however, that any of them would have dealt with documents drafted in Greek. The presence of interpreters in court was indispensable, therefore, in order to translate testimonies, oral exchanges between parties and judges, as well as Greek documents presented to the judges and written verdicts delivered by the latter.

This assumption is supported by later evidence regarding the function of the interpreter attached after 1267 to the bailo's court. His intervention in judicial litigation and in cases involving testimonies concerning Venetian status is attested in 1411.³³ A sound knowledge of Byzantine Greek was required for the understanding of the legal implications of documents drafted by Byzantine notaries. Interestingly, in 1449 the Venetian merchants present in Constantinople complained that Nicolaus Langadioti, a Greek from Candia, the capital of Crete, was not fit to serve as interpreter and that the office required someone "*bene aptus et litteratus in gramatica greca.*"³⁴ On the other hand, in 1450 the Cretan Johannes Jerachus, who had lived in Venice since his youth and had served as chancellor and interpreter with several Venetian officials outside Venice, was considered "*doctus grammaticam grecam et latinam.*"³⁵

The Latin emperors also employed Greeks in their administration. Greek interpreters were indispensable both within the Latin Empire itself and for its diplomatic relations with neighboring states. An interpreter by the name of Emmanuel was active in the reign of Henry of Hainaut between 1206 and 1209.³⁶ In 1253 a Greek interpreter or scribe working in the chancery of Emperor Baldwin II composed on his behalf the Greek version of a letter requesting Scacatai, a Mongol

³² Jacoby, "The Venetian Government," pp. 27, 31–32, and 49–53.

³³ Maltezos, *Θεσμός*, pp. 155 and 163, pars. 10 and 33 respectively.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 207, n. 1, and p. 208.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³⁶ PL 216, col. 227, lib. XIII, ep. 35.

commander, to grant a safe-conduct to the Franciscan missionary William of Rubruck and his party, who intended to reach the court of Sartaq, son of Batu, who ruled over the Golden Horde.³⁷ The Greeks Nikephoritzes and Aloubardes served as high-ranking secretaries with the title of *hypogrammateus* in the chancery of Baldwin II. Their function was apparently similar to that of *grammatikos* in the Byzantine administration.³⁸ After the Byzantine recovery of Constantinople in 1261 both of them entered the service of Michael VIII Palaiologos. Shortly afterwards the emperor sent them on a mission to Pope Urban IV, presumably because they were fluent in Latin and some western vernacular languages and familiar with diplomatic negotiations.³⁹

Venice laid the foundations of its centralized maritime empire in 1207, when it began the conquest of Crete and occupied Coron and Modon, two ports in the southwestern Peloponnesus. Venice encountered in these territories the same problems of institutional communication as in the Latin Empire regarding the partition, granting and registration of property. It also followed in them Byzantine models and adopted Byzantine terminology and practices in the registration and taxing of land and peasants.

The documentation regarding Venetian Crete is especially abundant. Confiscated land and peasants were partitioned and partly allotted to Venetian citizens in return for specific military and fiscal obligations.⁴⁰ However, Venice retained under its direct authority the city and district of Candia, as well as the latter's rural work force, and appears to have acted similarly in the entire territories of Coron and

³⁷ Fr. Guillelmus de Rubruc, "Itinerarium," IX, 2 and X, 4, in *Sinica franciscana*, vol. 1, *Itinera et relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. A. van den Wyngaert (Quaracchi [Florence], 1929), pp. 188 and 190–191 respectively.

³⁸ On this function, see V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 2, *L'administration centrale* (Paris, 1981), pp. 663–667, nos. 1183–1192, and *ODB* 2, p. 866, s. v. "grammatikos."

³⁹ Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, 5 vols., CFHB 24/1–5 (Paris, 1984–2000), lib. 2, cap. 36, 1: p. 227. D. J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282. A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), p. 132, n. 65, suggests that Aloubardes was a *gasmoulos*. He was Greek, judging by his first name, Maximos, mentioned in a letter of the pope: *ibid.*, p. 141. "Maximus" is not found among Latins in that period. See also Jacoby, "The Greeks of Constantinople."

⁴⁰ D. Jacoby, "La colonisation militaire vénitienne de la Crète au XIII^e siècle: une nouvelle approche," in M. Balard and A. Ducellier, eds., *Le partage du monde. Échanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 17 (Paris, 1998), pp. 297–307.

Modon.⁴¹ The earliest partitions of property and peasants must have been based on existing Byzantine registers and oral testimonies. They have not survived, yet for Crete they are attested by a reference to earlier registration found in a report compiled in 1227: “*sicut est scripta in catastico*.”⁴² *Catastico*, from Byzantine Greek *κατόστιχον*, was a register listing households and their assets *kata stichon*, “line by line” or “entry by entry,” like the *praktikon* mentioned above.⁴³ The description often included the boundaries of the land of each household, since taxation was partly determined by the land’s extent and quality.⁴⁴ As a result, the entries in the *catastico* were also used to settle property disputes. A decree of 1390 for the territories of Coron and Modon fixed the fee for the copy of a single *stico* or entry from the *catastico*.⁴⁵ In 1237 the duke of Crete, Stefano Giustiniani, ordered the rearrangement and transcription of all the documentation regarding the assets of the Venetian knights and sergeants owing military service. A similar injunction issued in 1352 ordered the exclusive use of parchment registers, whereas previously records had also been kept on loose paper sheets.⁴⁶ Interestingly, the term *catastico* migrated from the Venetian territories in Romania to Venice proper, where it was already applied by 1243 to fiscal and cadastral registers.⁴⁷

In Crete commissions composed of two or three *partitores Communis* appointed for one year conducted successive inquests in order to update the registration of land and peasants or enable the authorities to issue verdicts in case of conflicts regarding property. This was particularly important for land held as fief or sergentry owing military

⁴¹ For Crete, see S. Borsari, *Il dominio veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo* (Naples, 1963), pp. 27–28; for Coron and Modon, D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale. Les “Assises de Romanie”: sources, application et diffusion* (Paris and The Hague, 1971), pp. 225–226.

⁴² *Catastici feudorum Crete. Catasticum sexterii Dorsoduri, 1227–1418*, ed. Ch. Gasparis, 2 vols., National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, Sources 6 (Athens, 2004), 2: p. 590, no. 1113.

⁴³ On the *catastico* registers, see *ibid.*, 1: pp. 59–81.

⁴⁴ *Documenta veneta Coroni & Mothoni rogata. Euristica e critica documentaria per gli oculi capitales Communis Veneciarum (secoli XIV e XV)*, ed. A. Nanetti, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, Sources 3 (Athens, 1999), p. 65, no. 1.1: “*Quarum possessionum (sic) finis in catasticis tam Coroni quam Mothoni plenius continetur*,” as stated in 1333.

⁴⁵ *Documents inédits relatifs à l’histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge*, ed. C. N. Sathas, 9 vols. (Paris, 1890–1900), 4: p. 121.

⁴⁶ E. Gerland, *Das Archiv des Herzogs von Kandia* (Strasbourg, 1899), pp. 76, 82.

⁴⁷ *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, ed. R. Cessi, 3 vols. (Bologna, 1931–1950), 2: p. 141: “in catastico Communis.” Hence the term “cadastre” in modern European languages.

service, which rapidly changed hands as a result of the large degree of demographic mobility among the individuals liable to that service.⁴⁸ As a rule those appointed *partitores* were Venetian citizens, yet from the 1270s some Greeks appear among them, such as Iohannes de Lasiti, Marcus de Laxiti and Gabriel Iallina.⁴⁹ The latter individual belonged to a family with extensive ties to Latin feudatories, including intermarriage, and some of its members achieved social promotion.⁵⁰ Bilingualism must have been common in their midst. In 1368 both *partitores* entrusted with an inquest were Greek, yet this appears to have been rather exceptional.⁵¹ In any event, the *partitores* also relied on the peasants' testimonies and, therefore, must have operated in the field with the assistance of Greek-speaking interpreters at a lower rank of the administration if none of them understood Greek.

Numerous Byzantine fiscal and technical terms appear in the surveys compiled in Crete and other Venetian colonies. These surveys also include a large number of transliterated Greek words describing topographical and other features, clearly because they derived from the oral testimonies of peasants and were directly noted in Greek. In a second stage the collected data was translated into Latin or a bizarre mixture of Latin and Venetian dialect, as in 1227, for the benefit of Venetian officials not familiar with Greek, while retaining abundant traces of the original Greek text.⁵² The implementation of that measure, much earlier than in the territories of Coron and Modon,⁵³ was clearly related to the military service owed by those holding fiefs or sergeantries from the state.

⁴⁸ On that mobility, see Jacoby, "La colonisation militaire vénitienne," pp. 302–303, 305–313.

⁴⁹ *Catastici feudorum Crete*, ed. Gasparis, 1: pp. 59–81, and see p. 67 for a dated list of *partitores* from 1227 to 1338; for a later period, see É. Santschi, *Régestes des arrêts civils et des mémoriaux (1363–1399) des archives du duc de Crète*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantines de Venise 9 (Venice, 1976), p. 469, index, s. v. "partitores."

⁵⁰ S. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion. Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, 2000), pp. 73, 108, 181–182.

⁵¹ *Régestes*, ed. Santschi, p. 18, no. 73. Judging by his surnames, Iohannes Cornaro Vlacho, *partitor* in 1391 and 1399, *ibid.*, p. 304, no. 1368, and p. 388, no. 1809, appears to be the offspring of Venetian-Greek intermarriage.

⁵² List of Greek words in *Catastici feudorum Crete*, ed. Gasparis, 1: pp. 171–178. See also Jacoby, *La féodalité*, p. 351. An entry of 1227 in a hybrid Latin-Venetian language begins as follows: "Comensavimus da milicia M. Barastro casalis Schilochorio et terram que remansit de Avrachation:" *Catastici feudorum Crete*, ed. Gasparis, 2: p. 588, no. 1108.

⁵³ On which see below.

The final registration in Latin was sometimes accompanied by explanations in Latin introduced by “*id est*” or “*quod dicitur latine*.” An item transcribed between 1255 and 1263 from an existing register begins as follows: “*Isti sunt parichi ecclesie archiepiscopatus. Nota quod parichi dicuntur villani*.”⁵⁴ In addition, the original drafting of the records in Greek is revealed by Greek definite articles in the nominative or genitive case in the listing of dependent peasants, like Michali o Ciminiacos in 1236, Costantinus o Cavrologo around 1247, as well as Costa o Cheretechinari and Johannes tu Scari between 1255 and 1263.⁵⁵

The survival of Byzantine law and the activity of Greek notaries were especially pronounced in the regions of Crete controlled by Greek *archontes*, beginning with the weakening of Byzantine imperial power in the island in the late twelfth century. Several *archontes* retained their judicial and fiscal prerogatives under Venetian rule. Those exercised by Alexios Kallergis in the late thirteenth century, the most conspicuous and best documented case, suggest that his ancestors too had enjoyed them.⁵⁶ A Greek priest and “notary of the island of Crete” (ταβουλλάριος νήσου Κρήτης) drafted the Greek version of the agreement concluded by Kallergis with Venice in 1299.⁵⁷ Yet Greek notaries were also active in other regions of Crete, as attested in 1281,⁵⁸ in Castronovo in 1314,⁵⁹ in Milopotamo in 1359,⁶⁰ and in Candia in the 1390s.⁶¹ The parties occasionally included Greek-speaking Jews, who remained the overwhelming majority among the members of the Jewish communities in Crete despite the arrival of Jewish immigrants from

⁵⁴ Z. N. Tsirpanlis, *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών και μοναστηριών του Κοινού (1248–1548). Συμβολή στη μελέτη σχέσεων Πολιτείας και Εκκλησίας στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη* (Ioannina, 1985), p. 146, no. 12.

⁵⁵ *Catastici feudorum Crete*, ed. Gasparis, 2: p. 300, no. 538, p. 429, no. 802, and last two cases in Tsirpanlis, *Κατάστιχο*, p. 147, no. 12.

⁵⁶ D. Jacoby, “Social Evolution in Latin Greece,” in K. M. Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols. (Madison, Wisconsin, 1969–1989), 6: pp. 181, 184–185, and 201; Ch. A. Maltezou, “Byzantine ‘consuetudines’ in Venetian Crete,” *DOP* 49 (1995), pp. 270–271; further evidence on the standing of Alexios Kallergis in eadem, “Creta fra la Serenissima e la Superba,” in L. Balletto, ed., *Oriente e Occidente tra medioevo ed età moderna. Studi in onore di Geo Pitarino*, 2 vols. (Genoa, 1997), pp. 768–769.

⁵⁷ K. D. Mertzios, “Η συνθήκη Ἐνετῶν-Καλλέργη καὶ οἱ συνοδεύοντες αὐτὴν κατάλογοι,” *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 3 (1949), pp. 264–275, esp. 275.

⁵⁸ Tsirpanlis, *Κατάστιχο*, p. 166, no. 75.

⁵⁹ *Duca di Candia, Bandi (1313–1329)*, ed. P. Ratti Vidulich, *Fonti per la Storia di Venezia*, Sez. I—Archivi pubblici (Venice, 1965), p. 11, no. 15.

⁶⁰ Gerland, *Archiv*, pp. 69–70.

⁶¹ Tsirpanlis, *Κατάστιχο*, pp. 218–219, nos. 127–128.

the West from the late thirteenth century onward.⁶² The collection of Greek wills drafted in Candia from 1486 to 1504 contains some pieces drawn up at the behest of Jews.⁶³

It is clear, therefore, that Greek notaries and scribes as well as interpreters were indispensable for the operation of the Venetian administration and courts in Crete. Documents drafted in Greek were presented to the authorities, and testimonies of Greek-speaking individuals had to be translated and summarized.⁶⁴ Such cases were handled continuously in the *curia prosoporum*, a separate court dealing with cases involving Greeks and Jews only. Its three judges, who were Venetians, visited villages when required.⁶⁵ They rendered justice according to the principles of Venetian law, except in cases involving a dower granted by the husband to his wife, for which they relied on Greek custom.⁶⁶ In fact, however, the Venetian courts also recognized Jewish custom in that respect.⁶⁷ There were presumably additional aspects of Greek and Jewish family custom that were taken into account. Greeks employed as notaries “*in scriptura graeca*” were attached to the Venetian courts.⁶⁸ Some Greek notaries were bilingual and capable of drafting Latin documents, like Stamatius Vataci, “*scriba curie maioris palacij*” of Crete in 1394,⁶⁹

⁶² D. Jacoby, “Quelques aspects de la vie juive en Crète dans la première moitié du XV^e siècle,” in *Actes du Troisième Congrès international d'études crétoises (Rethymnon, 1971)*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1974), pp. 108–112, reprinted in D. Jacoby, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle. Peuples, sociétés, économies*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1979), no. X.

⁶³ K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 6 vols. (Athens, Venice and Paris, 1872–1894), 6: pp. 654–692.

⁶⁴ An example in 1320: Tsiapanlis, *Κατάστιχο*, pp. 172–174.

⁶⁵ Gerland, *Archiv*, p. 98, par. 1, and p. 100, par. 19; verdicts of that court from 1270 to 1320 in Tsiapanlis, *Κατάστιχο*, pp. 150–161, nos. 16–51.

⁶⁶ Gerland, *Archiv*, p. 98, par. 2: “excepto de ratione repromissarum (sic).” On the principles applied, see É. Santschi, “L'apparition des considérants de droit dans la jurisprudence vénéto-crétoise du XIV^e siècle,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 12 (1975), pp. 14–34; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 27–30, yet *ratio* in the clause just mentioned means “legal case,” not “accounting” as stated *ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶⁷ *Régestes*, ed. Santschi, p. 13, no. 51, a verdict of 1368 based upon a Hebrew document produced in court. In 1424 the Venetian bailo in Constantinople relied on the custom of Cretan Jews regarding dowers in a case brought to his court: D. Jacoby, “Venice and the Venetian Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean,” in G. Cozzi, ed., *Gli Ebrei e Venezia, secoli XIV–XVIII* (Milan, 1987), pp. 42 and 54, n. 44, reprinted in D. Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion*, Variorum Reprints (Northampton, 1989), no. X.

⁶⁸ M. Chaireti, “Διοριστήριο έγγραφο Έλληνα νοταρίου της Κρήτης (1365),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 3 (1964), pp. 62–69; *Régestes*, ed. Santschi, p. 49, no. 210, p. 65, no. 257, p. 84, nos. 327–328.

⁶⁹ Tsiapanlis, *Κατάστιχο*, pp. 218–219, no. 128.

Georgius Chandaciti, attested from 1398 to 1415, who served in the same capacity, and Johannes Catacalo, who was active in the 1420s.⁷⁰

In Crete public proclamations and summons to court were delivered by officials called *gastaldio*, *ministerialis*, *preco* or *riparius*. It would seem that only limited schooling in Latin was available in Candia, the capital of Crete,⁷¹ and it is likely that only Latin notaries were sufficiently familiar with the language.⁷² It follows that the two-tier transmission of injunctions sent from Venice to the public at large was indispensable in most cases. All those serving as town criers in the years 1313–1329 were Latins, except for Iohannes de Xeno, who was Greek.⁷³ This may explain why he was sent in 1314 to the Jewish quarter, whose inhabitants spoke Greek, to enjoin the delivery of a fugitive Jewish woman who was apparently hiding in one of the quarter's houses.⁷⁴ However, in 1314 a Latin town crier was sent to the same urban area, which implies that he was bilingual.⁷⁵ The scribe Iohannes, surely a Greek, was sent in 1313 to the *burgus*, or suburb, of Candia to summon a Greek to appear before the duke and his council.⁷⁶ Venetian-Greek bilingualism appears to have been fairly common in Candia by that time.⁷⁷ The bilingual Cretans included *vasmuli* (the Venetian term for *basmouloi*, pronounced *vasmouloi*) born of mixed parentage, whose number increased in the course of time despite Venice's opposition to mixed marriages or unions between Latins and Greeks.⁷⁸

We may now turn to the Venetian colonies of Coron and Modon. In 1312 the Maggior Consiglio of Venice ordered the castellans in charge of these cities and their territories to undertake a general *anagraffi* (from Byzantine ἀναγραφή) or census, after a long period in which such fiscal surveys had not been carried out. The Maggior Consiglio added that according to the custom of the Empire, i.e. Byzantium, these surveys

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 120–121.

⁷¹ McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 116–119. The contention that “Latins of all ranks tended to pursue Italian and Latin studies,” *ibid.*, p. 123, is clearly an overstatement.

⁷² Note the case of the Greek from Candia who lacked the necessary skills to serve as interpreter, mentioned above, p. 37.

⁷³ See *Duca di Candia*, ed. Rattu Vidulich, pp. 240–244, index, under these terms.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 24, no. 50.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 19, no. 35.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 7, no. 6.

⁷⁷ McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 115–116, 126.

⁷⁸ On this opposition see Jacoby, “Social Evolution,” pp. 202–205; on mixed marriages and unions, see McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 67–74, 76–83, 126–128, 130–131.

used to be made every thirty years.⁷⁹ The Venetian authorities were thus well informed about the nature of the institutions they had appropriated. For more than a whole century after the Venetian occupation of Coron and Modon the *castastica* in their territories were drafted in Greek, which required the employment of Greek surveyors in the field and Greek scribes for registration in the local chanceries. Eventually, in 1318 the Maggior Consiglio ordered the castellans of Coron and Modon to translate their fiscal registers into Latin: “*Reducantur castastica in linguam latinam.*”⁸⁰ As elsewhere, the measure was adopted to enable Venetian officials unfamiliar with Greek to gain convenient and swift access to the data recorded in the registers, and implies that in the future any new information would be entered in Latin. This was especially important for the castellans administering these territories, who were in office for two years only.⁸¹ The chancellors of Coron and Modon, who served much longer, must have become bilingual. There was nevertheless a continuous collection of data by Greek surveyors or tax officials and a need for intermediaries ensuring both oral and written communication between the Venetian administration and the Greek-speaking population.

In the territories of Coron and Modon Greek lay and ecclesiastical notaries continued to draft private documents according to Byzantine practice. A Greek widow living in Coron referred in 1371 to a Greek document listing her dowry, drawn up by a local Greek priest and notary, “*vigore unius carte sue dotis in greco scripte manu pape Ianis Pssimari (sic) notarii et habitatoris Coroni.*”⁸² It may be safely assumed that Greek notaries operating in the Venetian colonies of the Peloponnese were

⁷⁹ Edition with some errors by F. Thiriet, *Délibérations des assemblées vénitienes concernant la Romanie*, 2 vols. (Paris and The Hague, 1966–1971), 1: p. 297, no. 254. See D. Jacoby, “From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989), pp. 11–12; also published with identical pagination in B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby, eds., *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London, 1989), and reprinted in Jacoby, *Byzantium*, no. VIII.

⁸⁰ *Le deliberazioni del Consiglio dei Rogati (Senato), Serie «mixtorum»*, ed. R. Cessi and P. Sambin, vol. 1 (Venice, 1960), p. 190, no. 160.

⁸¹ On the office of the castellans, see S. Borsari, *Studi sulle colonie veneziane in Romania nel XIII secolo* (Naples, 1966), pp. 96–98. An incomplete and partially incorrect list of these officials appears in C. H. F. J. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites et peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), pp. 378–382. On the longer term of the chancellors, see C. Hodgetts, “Venetian Officials and Greek Peasantry in the Fourteenth Century,” in J. Chrysostomides, ed., *ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ Essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* (Camberley, Surrey, 1988), pp. 484–485, 490.

⁸² *Documenta veneta*, ed. Nanetti, pp. 152–153, no. 3.40.

also familiar with other Byzantine formularies, and they must have often drafted contracts between two Greek parties. As a result, the administration and the courts had to be adequately manned to deal with such documents.

Town criers in charge of oral proclamations and notaries acting both in court and in the translation of documents in the local chanceries must have been bilingual, like the official interpreters called *dragomani* or *turchimani*. In 1333 there was a Greek *dragomanus* in Modon, whereas a local Latin resident served in that office in 1372.⁸³ Both Greek and Latin interpreters were attached to the court of Coron, respectively Mapheus Michael, mentioned in 1358 and 1370, and Michaletus Fuscar, a local resident, in 1373 and 1374.⁸⁴ In 1370–1371 the latter had acted as scribe of the local court.⁸⁵ Several officials bearing the Greek surname Vlasto, who presumably belonged to the same family, appear in various official capacities from 1333 to 1373. Georgius, who served as *dragomanus* in Modon in 1333, was the brother of Marcus, *scriba* in that city.⁸⁶ On the other hand, Nicheforus was *scriba* of the court in Coron jointly with Perucius de Ladina, clearly a Latin, on 3 October 1333. Both are mentioned on that day as notaries of the same court and thus fulfilled two functions.⁸⁷ The known town criers in fourteenth-century Modon were Greek. Dimitrius is attested in 1333 and Corci Sculoieni, married to a Latin woman, in 1343. Canulius, apparently his son, attested as town crier in 1374, must have been bilingual.⁸⁸ The Latin Speraindeo acted in the same capacity in Coron before 1334.⁸⁹

In the Frankish Morea, as elsewhere in Latin Romania, the initial partition of land and peasants after the Latin conquest was based on Byzantine documents and oral testimonies of the indigenous population. The territory was divided into fiefs, each estate or group of estates belonging to a specific lord forming a distinct administrative unit that implemented its own rules. Still, with respect to the peasantry the

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 85–86, no. 1.48, p. 172, no. 3.66.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 205–207, no. 3.109, p. 134, no. 3.4, and pp. 227–228, no. 4.25, and p. 188, no. 3.88 respectively.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 136, no. 3.8, p. 143, no. 3.24.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 85–86, no. 1.48, and see pp. 72–73, no. 1.16.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 65–66, no. 1.1, and pp. 95–97, no. 1.76.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 87, no. 1.52, p. 112 nos. 1.115–116 and p. 253, no. 4.63 respectively. The Latin woman died in 1374 or somewhat earlier: *ibid.*, pp. 249–250, 253–254, nos. 4.58, 4.63, 4.65.

⁸⁹ His widow Beatris, attested in 1334, was also Latin: *ibid.*, pp. 68–69, no. 1.6.

principality inherited from the Empire its fiscal system, terminology, registration techniques and disposition of data, despite a major change in the legal status of the dependent peasants.⁹⁰ This is amply illustrated by twelve surveys or reports of the fourteenth century bearing upon feudal estates belonging to several Latin lords.⁹¹ These surveys were clearly based upon documents originally compiled in Greek. One of them, dated 1337, explicitly refers to an earlier *praktikon*, “*practico in greca scriptura scripto*,” drafted by Johannes Murmurus. This Greek official of the Frankish Morea belonged to a family that integrated within the knighly class of the principality in the fourteenth century and was thus clearly bilingual. His survey was nevertheless recorded in Greek.⁹² Nicola de Boiano, a Latin official from the Molise region in southern Italy, reported in 1361 that he too had compiled inventories in Greek (“*o facti li inventarii in greco*”), obviously basing himself on earlier Greek surveys. He was an experienced administrator who had possibly learned Greek while serving in Italy, which may have induced Empress Mary of Bourbon to entrust him with the survey of her estates in the Peloponnesus.⁹³

In the Frankish Morea there was no systematic linguistic shift from Greek to Latin or the vernacular in fiscal surveys, similar to the one implemented in the Venetian colonies. Still, the fiscal surveys had to be reproduced in Latin or in the Florentine or Neapolitan vernaculars accessible to the Italian fief-holders, most of whom were absentee landlords.⁹⁴ Traces of the original Greek remain in the Latin or vernacular versions of the surveys, such as the genitive article in “*stasia (= tenement) tu Chinou*.”⁹⁵ When made by western scribes unfamiliar with the Greek language or Byzantine terminology, the linguistic transfer occasionally

⁹⁰ Jacoby, “Social Evolution,” pp. 189–191, 207–214.

⁹¹ *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle*, ed. J. Longnon and P. Topping (Paris and The Hague, 1969).

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 52, lines 14–15. On the family, see D. Jacoby, “The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesus after the Fourth Crusade,” *American Historical Review* 78 (1973), pp. 896 n. 108, 898, 900, reprinted in Jacoby, *Recherches*, no. II.

⁹³ *Documents*, ed. Longnon and Topping, p. 147, lines 8–9. On Nicola de Boiano, see *ibid.*, p. 144, n. 2.

⁹⁴ D. Jacoby, “Italian Migration and Settlement in Latin Greece: The Impact on the Economy,” in H. E. Mayer with the cooperation of E. Müller-Luckner, eds., *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft. Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 37 (Munich, 1997), pp. 121–122, reprinted in Jacoby, *Byzantium*, no. IX.

⁹⁵ *Documents*, ed. Longnon and Topping, p. 72, line 14, and see also line 21.

gave rise to blunders, like “*filium ypomasium*” which the scribe mistook for the name of a peasant’s son, whereas the original Greek had *παῖς ὑπομάζιος*, or “suckling.”⁹⁶ Some Greek scribes assisting the surveyors had an extremely poor knowledge, if any, of other languages. Noting data dictated by the surveyors, they reproduced the contemporary phonetic equivalent of Greek letters in their Latin records, for instance *bacca* instead of *vacca* for cow, *birum* instead of *virum* for husband and, on the other hand, *vestia* for *bestia*, animal.⁹⁷

The imposition of feudal political, social and legal structures in the Frankish Morea did not entirely eliminate Byzantine law. As attested by the *Assizes of Romania*, the treatise of feudal custom compiled in the first half of the fourteenth century, this law continued to govern patrimonial land held by Greeks regardless of their social status, from the *archontes* down the social scale, and regardless of whether the Greeks were married to Greek or Latin women. In addition, Byzantine law was applied to dowers.⁹⁸ It is likely that it also extended to additional issues of family law. As a result, when cases pertaining to these legal matters were brought to court they required the customary solutions to institutional communication problems.

Multilingualism in Latin Romania was the result of conquest.⁹⁹ It reflected the divide between Latin conquerors and immigrants on the one hand, and the indigenous population on the other. Continuity in administrative, fiscal and legal institutions and practices, whether complete or partial, was imperative to consolidate the conquerors’ rule, in any event in the short term. The appropriation of local institutions and practices implied the absorption of their administrative, fiscal, legal

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 135, line 33.

⁹⁷ For these and other examples, see *ibid.*, pp. 312–324, index rerum, and my review of that volume in *BZ* 69 (1976), pp. 88–89.

⁹⁸ D. Jacoby, “Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque,” *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967), pp. 451–463, reprinted in D. Jacoby, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1975), no. VI. G. Recoura, *Les Assises de Romanie. Édition critique avec une introduction et des notes*, Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études 258 (Paris, 1930), is now superseded by A. Parmeggiani, *Libro dele uxanze e statuti delo Imperio de Romania, edizione critica*, Quaderni della Rivista di Bizantinistica, 1, collana diretta da A. Carile (Spoleto, 1998). For the dating of the *Assizes*’ compilation between 1333 and 1346, see Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale*, pp. 75–82. Parmeggiani, *Libro dele uxanze*, pp. 31–35, suggests a date somewhat later than 1330, yet her arguments against the *terminus ad quem* of 1346 are not convincing.

⁹⁹ In this context I purposely disregard the existence of small communities such as Armenians and Albanians speaking languages other than Greek.

and social terminology. As a result, the Latins were faced with complex inter-linguistic problems of institutional communication on two levels, with respect to written documentation and to verbal contact with their Greek-speaking subjects. The strategies they adopted varied according to the circumstances.

The scope and variety of inter-linguistic communication problems at the institutional level in Latin Romania are not adequately reflected by the fragmentary and biased evidence that survives, the bulk of which is of “western” origin. The Greek speakers, who formed the overwhelming majority of the population, are clearly underrepresented in the sources. The same applies to the reliance, in varying degrees, upon Byzantine family law and custom, to the resulting Greek notarial documentation, and to the numerous legal cases involving them that were brought to court.¹⁰⁰ In short, the problems of institutional communication implied a recourse to bilingual or multilingual intermediaries, the latter with relevance to Latin, far more intensive and wide-ranging than one would expect. It also implied a number of intermediaries, especially at the lower levels of administrations, much larger than attested.

The functions of intermediaries assumed different forms, according to the location in which it occurred. In urban centres it required a constant interplay between written and oral communication. Over time functional bilingualism gained limited ground in cities, yet never bridged the linguistic gap. No such process occurred in rural areas, in which communication was exclusively verbal and limited to the local language. Village elders, recorded as *anciani*, *homines antiqui* or *seniores* in Frankish Morea and as *veterani* in the Venetian colonies, were vital intermediaries in that context. Their functions clearly reflected continuity in the social fabric of the peasantry, as well as in the structure and operation of the local community. Collective fiscal obligations, a major issue of institutional communication, acted as a powerful factor of social cohesion.¹⁰¹ Despite the partial blurring of linguistic differentiation in small pockets of population, the basic connection between language, ethnicity and social status endured to a large degree in Latin Romania.

¹⁰⁰ The reliance upon Jewish custom, mentioned above, was of marginal importance in that respect, in view of the small numbers of Jews among the Greek-speaking population and their use of Hebrew next to Greek documents.

¹⁰¹ On the functions of the village elders, similar to those of the *gerontes* or *protogerontes* in Byzantium, see D. Jacoby, “New Evidence on the Greek Peasantry in Latin Romania,” in Ch. Dendrinos, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Crook and J. Herrin, eds., *Porphrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 245–249.

CATASTICA FEUDORUM CRETE:
LAND OWNERSHIP AND POLITICAL CHANGES IN
MEDIEVAL CRETE (13TH–15TH CENTURIES)

Charalambos Gasparis

The *Catastica Feudorum Crete*: as public documents or collections of public documents, like any other historical source, contain much more information than just that referring to their main subject, i.e. the registration of the land and its owners, called feudatories (*feudatarii*). We will begin by focusing on the structure of the *catastica* and their models, if there were any, and we will continue by examining certain examples from the *catastica* reflecting the political situation in Crete from the first quarter of the thirteenth until the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The *catastica* constitute the most important documents—apart from those of the organized settlement of colonists—revealing the new political situation in Crete after 1204 and the deep changes which took place during the next centuries in the society and economy of the island.¹

The *Catastica Feudorum Crete* are parchment *codices* preserved in four files in the series of *Duca di Candia* of the State Archives of Venice.² Three of them contain *catastica* which cover the geographic area of *territorio di Candia* (almost corresponding to the modern prefecture of Herakleion) divided into six zones called *sexteria*, whereas the fourth file includes the so-called *Catasticum* of Chania for the area in the west of the island. The *catastica feudorum* of the area of the city of Candia (present-day Herakleion) display structural homogeneity and cover the period from

¹ On the history of Crete during the 13th and 14th century, see S. Borsari, *Il dominio veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo* (Naples, 1963); F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1975); Ch. A. Maltezou, “Η Κρήτη κατά τη διάρκεια της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας (1211–1669),” in *Κρήτη. Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός* 2 (Crete, 1988), pp. 105–161; eadem, “The Historical and Social Context,” in D. Holton, ed., *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 17–47; Ch. Gasparis, “Κοινωνία και οικονομία στην Κρήτη, 13ος–15ος αι.: τα χρόνια πριν από την ακμή,” *Cretan Studies* 6 (1998), pp. 23–36.

² Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter cited as ASV), *Duca di Candia*, b. 18, 19, 20, 21. For a first description of all the *Catastica Feudorum Crete*, see M. Chereti, “Τα παλαιότερα κατάστιχα του αρχείου του Δούκα της Κρήτης ως ιστορικά πηγαι,” *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 21 (1969), pp. 499–514.

1222 to 1435, with the exception of a register referring to the same region, not yet studied at all, that covers a great part of the sixteenth century.³ On the contrary, the *catasticum* of Chania covers the period 1314–1396 and its form is different, simpler than the others.⁴ From all of the above, only the *catasticum feudorum* of the *saxterio* of Dorsoduro is preserved almost in its entirety.⁵ The *catasticum* of Chania also seems to be preserved without important losses, whereas the others, covering the *saxteria* of the Santi Apostoli, San Marco, San Polo and Santa Croce, always in the *territorio di Candia*, are fragmentary and preserved in a poor or very bad condition.⁶

Let us begin with a brief survey of the *catastica*, first that of Chania, as the simplest case. This is the one that was preserved in the Central Chancellery of Candia, which is why it is still extant, and not that of the responsible Chancellery of the *rector* of Chania, although the two *catastica* must not have been very different, at least not in their basic components. It contains the decisions of the duke of Crete, by which all the transactions of land involving new owners (sales, auctions, inheritances, paternal or dowry concessions) were approved. From the structural point of view it is not of much interest, since it includes acts that are completely uniform, with only small internal differences during the course of decades, which reflect changes at a political level or in the bureaucracy that occurred during the fourteenth century. On the other hand, the process of information and communication between the local administration of Chania and the central government of Candia is more interesting, as well as the actual contents regarding the land market and the registration of landowners in a region of Crete for which very few sources are extant.

The *catastica feudorum* referring to the *saxteria* of Candia, because of the long period they cover and their structure, offer us information not only concerning the registration of the land and its subsequent changes of owners, but also about the organization of the distribution

³ The register of the 16th century is preserved in ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 20.

⁴ ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 21. The *Catasticum Canee* is being edited by the author at the Institute of Byzantine Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens.

⁵ ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 18. The *Catasticum* of Dorsoduro is edited in *Catastici Feudorum Crete. Catasticum saxterii Dorsoduri. 1227–1418*, ed. Ch. Gasparis, 2 vols., National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, Sources 6 (Athens, 2004).

⁶ Fragments of the *catastica* of these four *saxteria* are preserved in ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 19, 20.

of the land to the new Venetian feudatories.⁷ Thus, they contain the initial declarations of all lords included in each *sexterio*, in which all data referring to each fief were recorded. Every declaration includes (1) the evaluation of the fief (using the tax-units of *cavallaria*, *serventaria* and *caratum*);⁸ (2) the *varnitio*, i.e. the military service corresponding to each fief;⁹ (3) the villages with their land (for cereals, vineyards, and gardens), agricultural buildings (mills, wine-presses, etc.), salt mines and so forth;¹⁰ (4) the part of the fief in the city, called the *burgesia*, consisting of houses and fields *intra muros*;¹¹ and finally (5) the *villani*. The latter part is filled in most cases with the exchanges or transactions of *villani* following the first distribution, but only during the thirteenth century.¹² After the completion of the initial registration of the data concerning the fiefs, all changes of owners referring to the entire fief or parts of it until the beginning of the fifteenth century have been recorded in the form of ducal concessions. The part of the *catasticum* which deals with

⁷ For more information about the arrival of the Venetians in Crete, the distribution of the land, and the birth of the *catastica*, see *Catastici Feudorum Crete*, ed. Gasparis, 1: pp. 19–119.

⁸ On the tax-units of land used by the Venetians in Crete, see Ch. Gasparis, *Η γη και οι αγρότες στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη. 13^{ος}–14^{ος} αι.* (Athens, 1997), pp. 49–51; *Catastici Feudorum Crete*, ed. Gasparis, 1: pp. 39–41.

⁹ On the notion of the Cretan fief and the military service of the Venetian feudatories in Crete, see E. Santschi, *La notion de "feudum" en Crète vénitienne. (XIII^e–XV^e siècles)* (Montreux, 1976); S. Cosentino, *Aspetti e problemi del feudo veneto-cretese (sec. XIII–XIV)*, Quaderni della Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi 3 (Bologna, 1987); A. A. Settia, "L'organizzazione militare a Creta," in G. Cracco and G. Ortalli, eds., *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, II. L'età del comune*, (Rome, 1995), pp. 494–498; G. Ravegnani, "La conquista veneziana di Creta e la prima organizzazione militare dell'isola," in G. Ortalli, ed., *Venezia e Creta, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Iraklion-Chania 30 settembre–5 ottobre 1997* (Venice, 1998), pp. 33–42.

¹⁰ On the medieval village in Crete, see Gasparis, *Γη και οι αγρότες*, pp. 55–60; idem, "Il villaggio a Creta veneziana. XIII–XV sec.," in J. Lefort, C. Morisson and J.-P. Sodini, eds., *Les villages dans l'empire byzantin. IV^e–XV^e siècle*, Réalités byzantines 11 (Paris, 2005), pp. 237–246.

¹¹ On the *burgesia*, see Ch. Gasparis, "Τα αστικά φέουδα (burgesie). Η ακίνητη ιδιοκτησία των φεουδαρχών στο Χάνδακα," in *Πεπραγμένα Η' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* (Herakleion, 2000), B1: pp. 137–150.

¹² On the *villani* and their social and economic status, see Gasparis, *Γη και οι αγρότες*, pp. 60–63; idem, "Villani extra feudum: Οι άνθρωποι του φεουδάρχη," in N. M. Panagiotakes, ed., *Άνθη Χαρίτων. Μελετήματα εόρτια συγγραφέντα υπό των υποτρόφων του Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών της Βενετίας, επί τη πεντακοσιετηρίδι από της ιδρύσεως της Ελληνορθοδόξου Κοινότητος Βενετίας, έτι δε επί τη τεσσαρακονταετηρίδι από της ενάρξεως της λειτουργίας του Ινστιτούτου* (Venice, 1998), pp. 83–100. On the *villani* registered in the *catasticum* of Dorsoduro, see M. Gallina, *Vicende demografiche a Creta nel corso del XIII secolo*, Quaderni della Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi 2 (Rome, 1984).

delimitations of the fiefs, i.e. the detailed description of the boundaries separating one fief from another, is extremely interesting.

As one can observe, the material contained in the *catastica* is very rich and lends itself to multiple readings. Let us look at a few of the possible subjects. The *catastica* themselves are connected to the political change in the history of Crete after 1204 and the arrival of the new Venetian feudatories after 1211.¹³ The settlement of colonists by Venice aimed at deeper changes on the island. The first and most important change was the administration of the land by the State and the connection of land ownership with the exercise of power, the preservation of the colony, and the development of the local economy. The exact intentions of this new administration are implied by the systematic compilation of the official *codices* of the *catastica*, the rather detailed recording of the components of each fief, the attention given to any changes in ownership, even for the smallest parts of the fiefs, and the preservation of the *catastica* with the same form for two centuries.

The process of distribution and registration of land is necessarily connected with the immediate Byzantine past. We have only some general knowledge concerning land ownership in Crete during the twelfth century and we do not know exactly how the distribution of land to the new Venetian landowners was actually carried out.¹⁴ The Venetian archival material, which is rich compared to the previous Byzantine material, is only partly helpful for understanding the above subjects, and the *catastica* naturally constitute the main source of direct or indirect information.

It is impossible to verify if the data contained in the Venetian *catastica* referring to the villages, cultivated land and its evaluation, the villains, other property or delimitations of the fiefs were extracted from Byzantine documents existing at the time of the arrival of the Venetians on the island or if they were collected from oral information. Neither possibility can be excluded—or, better still, we could accept both. It is known that in many cases the Venetians used the oral testimonies of local cultivators and probably those of the Greek landowners, when-

¹³ On 13th-century Crete and the new status quo, see Ch. Gasparis, “The Period of Venetian Rule on Crete: Breaks and Continuities during the Thirteenth Century,” in A. Laiou, ed., *Urbs Capta. The Fourth Crusade and Its Consequences. La IV^e Croisade et ses conséquences*, *Réalités byzantines* 10 (Paris, 2005), pp. 233–246.

¹⁴ On Byzantine Crete, see D. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete. From the 5th century to the Venetian Conquest* (Athens, 1988). On land ownership in Crete before the arrival of the Venetians, see Gasparis, *Γη και οι αγρότες*, pp. 17–40, and the literature cited there.

ever necessary.¹⁵ However, we assume that they also used some written records, more or less detailed (concerning the *turmae*,¹⁶ the villages, personal property, etc.), which aided them in the initial planning of the distribution of land.

One wonders whether during the organization of the *catastica* the Venetians adopted some existing models, adapted those already in existence, or created new ones. At first, the Venetians adopted the Byzantine term *κατάστιχον* (*catasticum*) for the *codices* containing all the data concerning the land of the feudatories that belonged to the State. Later, however, the contents of the *catasticum* were adapted to the new political and social circumstances, but they also incorporated some features connected more directly with the Byzantine past.

In order to link the local Byzantine tradition to Venetian practice in Crete concerning the registration and taxation of land, we must look at the situation in the Byzantine Empire before the beginning of the thirteenth century. According to Byzantine practice, a *κατάστιχον* was any document whose content was organized in *στίχοι* (lines). Consequently, a *κατάστιχον* in the broader sense of the word was a group of documents accumulating all data necessary for the imposition of the land tax and its collection. Gradually, and always in relation to land taxation, *πρακτικά* (*praktika*) also appear next to the *κατάστιχα*. The *κατάστιχα* remained large *codices* in which the partition of the land of a tax-unit was recorded, regardless of its size, and where the parts of the land and the tax-payers were written down in separate lines. On the other hand, the *πρακτικά* were documents containing tax accounts of the clerks responsible for land taxation. Every *πρακτικόν* was issued for a specific purpose, concerning, that is, a change in the tax paid, such as an exemption, a reduction, or an increase. For this reason, it often included detailed data of the tax-unit, as they appeared in the *κατάστιχα*. Thus, these two types of documents, i.e. the *κατάστιχα* and the *πρακτικά*, complemented each other, since the compilation of a *πρακτικόν* was based on the *κατάστιχον*, whereas the updating or renewal of a *κατάστιχον* was necessarily based on the related *πρακτικά*,

¹⁵ We are sure about the use of oral information for the delimitations. In the *catasticum* of Dorsoduro we find phrases like “*Ostendit signa de Soskino Maçiqirius et Cavuras monachus et Sguros*” or “*similiter ostendit signa ista Limoianis*”; see *Catastici Feudorum Crete*, ed. Gasparis, 1: pp. 117–118.

¹⁶ On the Byzantine term “*turma*” and its use by the Venetians, see Ch. Gasparis, “Από τη βυζαντινή στη βενετική τούρμα. Κρήτη, 13^{ος}–14^{ος} αι.,” *Σύμμεικτα* 14 (2001), pp. 167–228.

if any had been issued.¹⁷ Comparison between the point of view of these two types of taxation documents leads to the observation that the *κατάστιχον* basically refers to the land and the partition of an entire area/tax-unit, whereas the *πρακτικόν* focuses on the taxation and, of course, on the tax-payers, by listing all components of their property subject to taxation.

According to all the above, it is not possible to identify absolutely the Venetian *catastica* of Crete with the Byzantine *κατάστιχα* or the *πρακτικά*. Of course, for both powers, the Byzantine Empire and Venice, the final object remained the taxation of land; however, for the former this taxation passed through the cultivator and his production, whereas for Venice it was related only to the landowner and the initial evaluation of the fief granted, without the mediation of the direct cultivator. This means that the taxation of the landowner in Venetian Crete was based on the evaluation of the fief, relying on the above-mentioned tax-units of the *cavallaria* and the *serventaria*. This evaluation was mainly based on the extent of the land and, to a certain degree, on its quality, on the population it included, or on other goods it encompassed. The partition of the land of Crete during the first half of the thirteenth century and the evaluation of the fiefs remained inelastic. Very few re-evaluations are recorded and only in cases where there were mistakes in the initial evaluation or registration, not for example because of an increase in the fief's production. Thus, Venice's land policy resulted in the *catastica* remaining in force with the same form for at least two centuries. Consequently, after the first registration of the fiefs and their components, the State was systematically concerned only with the change of owners as well as the partition of the initial fief due to inheritances, intermarriages, or sales. And whereas these *catastica* were opened with the registration of all feudatories and their fiefs for every *sexterio*, i.e. with the creation of shares for each feudatory, they soon ended up surveying not the feudatory and his property, but the initial fief declared by a feudatory and the course of its ownership status. Each share in the *catasticum* was transformed from a share of a taxed feudatory to the share of a taxed fief, i.e. each feudatory's name was listed under a certain fief and not vice versa. Thus, the *catastica*

¹⁷ On the terms *κατάστιχον* and *πρακτικόν* and their content, see N. Svoronos, "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI^e et XII^e siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes," in idem, *Études sur l'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'Empire byzantin*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1973), no. III, p. 19 n. 1, and pp. 57–63.

focus mainly on land, less on the feudatory and, of course, not at all on the direct cultivator.

Even though, as we have already noted, one could hardly juxtapose a Byzantine and a Venetian *catasticum* directly, nevertheless the comparison would not be inappropriate in some respects. From the purely structural point of view, we could parallel the *στίχος* (line) of a Byzantine *κατόστιχον* with the share of a feudatory at first and, later, with the share of a fief in the Venetian *catastica*. However, the contents of a *στίχος* (line) and that of a share are completely different. Of the rest of a Venetian *catasticum*, what actually recalls the Byzantine past directly is the evaluation of the cultivated land and the delimitation of the fiefs' boundaries, both the initial one, i.e. that conducted during the first concession of the fiefs, and the one carried out later for various reasons. All measures used by the appointed officers for the evaluation of the cultivated land and the compilation of the *catastica* are Byzantine, translated into Latin or not. This evaluation reflects the status of the land at the moment it was distributed to the colonists. Thus the arable land is evaluated in oxen or pairs of oxen (*bovina/terra unius bovis/βόδι, terra unius paris bovium/seugarium/ζευγάριον*) and the vineyards in *modii* (μόδιοι) or in laborers (*ovra/εργάτης*).¹⁸ The delimitations of the fiefs' boundaries are impressively similar to the equivalent Byzantine documents or parts of documents known as *περιορισμοί* (*periorismoi*). This seems logical, since, as we have already supposed, the initial partitioning of the land for the concession of fiefs to the beneficiaries was based on the preexisting situation, and contemporary and later delimitations were based on the testimonies of Greeks, who used their previous practices of delimitation and current Greek terminology, which very often passed intact into the new Venetian documents in Latin characters.¹⁹

At this point it is necessary to mention the private documents with which heirs divided a land property.²⁰ These documents played a complementary role for the data of each share of the *catastica*. Here are presented not only the structural components of the fief, but also the cultivators, their productive activity, and the owner's income, all

¹⁸ Gasparis, *Γη και οι αγρότες*, pp. 52–53.

¹⁹ See such Greek terms or words in Latin documents in *Catastici Feudorum Crete*, ed. Gasparis, 1: pp. 171–178. See, also, Ch. Gasparis, “Η γλώσσα της βενετικής γραφειοκρατίας· η αντιπαράθεση λατινικής και ελληνικής γλώσσας στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη (13ος–15ος αι.),” *Σύμμεικτα* 9/1 (1994), pp. 141–156.

²⁰ See examples of these important documents in Gasparis, *Γη και οι αγρότες*, pp. 295–372.

necessary information for the equal (at an income level) distribution of the shares among the heirs. Concurrently, the boundaries separating two or more shares of the land were also recorded in the same documents. Thus, a document of this type, usually deposited in the ducal chancellery independently from the *catastica*, and less often written in the appropriate *catasticum*, is similar to a Byzantine *πρακτικόν*, where one also finds the delimitation of the land/tax-unit and the cultivators/tax-payers. Again however, the Venetian document, contrary to the Byzantine, is rather focused on the registration of the land according to different cultivations (cereals, vineyards, gardens, orchards, etc.) and other property (such as mills, springs, wells, winepresses, etc.), and, later on, the registration of the persons directly exploiting them. Thus, the name of a peasant might occur more than once, depending on the different forms of cultivation he practices or the properties he exploits. In other words, the various productive units exploited by a single cultivator do not appear listed under his name, as in the Byzantine documents.

It becomes evident that the great differences observed in the registration of land are due to different perceptions concerning the exploitation and taxation of land between the Byzantine Empire of the twelfth-century and thirteenth-century Venice. At the same time, however, the adoption, during the first half of the thirteenth century, of Byzantine practices in some areas, like those of the distribution and delimitation of land, as well as the initial recording of the components of each fief, should also be noted.

Another topic that, as we have stated, can be detected in the *catastica feudorum* is that concerning political events or institutional changes in Crete during the two centuries covered by the *catastica*. As has already been observed, the very compilation of the *catastica* marks a new beginning for the island after the decisive political change and the shift from Byzantine to Venetian administration. This change of sovereigns, however, the complete redistribution of land that followed, and the exclusion of the until then local Greek landowners from it caused social and political upheaval during the whole of the thirteenth century, which was expressed in the well-known revolts of the great local Byzantine landowners for securing their rights.²¹ These events left their traces in

²¹ On the Cretan revolts during the 13th and 14th centuries, see Borsari, *Dominio*, pp. 27–66; Maltezou, “Κρήτη,” pp. 115–126; N. Svoronos, “Το νόημα και η τυπολογία των κρητικών επαναστάσεων του 13ου αι.,” *Σύμμεικτα* 8 (1989), pp. 1–14.

the *catastica*. The important political and social element, defined by the absence or presence of Greeks among the feudatories of Crete, appears in two forms: first, with the presence from the beginning, i.e., from the compilation of the *catastica* during the first quarter of the thirteenth century, of Greeks among the feudatories and, second, with the gradual penetration of new persons originating from the local Greek population into the landowning system of Crete from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards, but mainly during the fourteenth century.²² It is also characteristic that the presence of Greek feudatories in the *catastica* is sometimes proven by the appearance of a Greek feudatory exactly at the time he ceases to be one, i.e. when his fief is confiscated, due to his participation in one of the revolts of the thirteenth or the fourteenth century; and is granted to a new person, either Venetian or Greek.²³ The presence of Greeks among the feudatories, either from the beginning or at a later point, has without doubt a political significance. It constitutes strong evidence—in addition to that provided by the known treaties with the rebels—of the retreat of Venice from its initial position of absolute exclusion of the local Greeks from the landowning system, especially those who until then had been great or middle landowners, in order to quiet the unrest. Although the total equation of Venetian and Greek feudatories never occurred (all Greeks, except certain persons, were excluded from the administration of the island and the possession of more than a half a *cavallaria*, especially in the west part of the island, was prohibited),²⁴ nevertheless the local Greek

²² On the presence of Greeks among the feudatories in Crete during the 13th and 14th centuries, see Ch. Gasparis, “Ελληνες φεουδάρχες στο σεξτέριο του Dorsodoro. Στοιχεία για την ελληνική γαιοκτησία στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη,” *Σύμμεικτα* 15 (2002), pp. 195–227.

²³ See, for example, such a case after a revolt in the area of Chania in 1330–1331 registered in the *Catasticum Caneae* in the year 1334: *Nos Blasius Geno ducha Crete cum nostro consilio notum facimus, cum occasione rebellionis nuper commisse in insula Crete contra nostrum dominium banna et processum fecerimus contra capita rebellium, que pro bono statu insule vidimus convenire et inter alia bannum et processum fecerimus contra Theodorum Milissino, qui se fecit caput rebellium nostrorum de Psichro et Calamona, quod quicumque ipsum in fortio dominationis daret vivum vel mortuum, haberet a nostro comuni yperpera D et bona ipsius, et nobilis vir Leo Kalergi filius nobilis viri Iohannis Kalergi ipsum Theodorum proditorem nostrum in fortio dominationis presentaverit... damus et concedimus dicto nobili viro Leoni Kalergi et eius heredibus serventariam unam et dimidiam, positam in Curna turme Kalamone, et serventariam dimidiam, positam in Palea turme Cato Sivritis, que erant dicti quondam Theodori Milissino rebellis et proditoris nostri... (ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 20, fol. 57v).*

²⁴ In 1327, for example, Theotochius Gorgorapti bought a *cavallaria* in the area of Chania, but according to the ducal decision, registered in the *Catasticum Caneae*, ... *Theotochi esse grecum nec ei scribi potest occasione predicta...*, so the *cavallaria* was registered under the

landowners, old and new, secured or even strengthened the economic and social position they had occupied until then, mainly among the local Greek population.

One of the significant changes during the thirteenth century was the gradual loss of the fief's military character, i.e. the provision of personal military service (*varnitio*) by the feudatory for the defense of the colony against any internal or external threat. One by one the feudatories, initially with the toleration and later by the permission of the authorities, started hiring mercenaries (*stipendiarii*) to serve in their place. In addition, during the fourteenth century all feudatories started to pay in lieu of their military service a specific amount, depending on the extent of their fief (according to the tax-unit of *cavallaria* and *serventaria*), directly to the State (*disvarnitio*). Thus, the erstwhile *varnitio* became the *disvarnitio*, transforming the more personal relationship between the feudatory and the State into a clearly economic/tax transaction.

This gradual alteration of the military aspect of a fief is illustrated in the part of the ducal concessions that refers to feudal obligations. Every act of concession consists of two parts. The first part usually contains the essential elements, namely the object of the concession, the name of the beneficiary, and how he obtained it. The second part of the act, although a formulaic articulation of the typical ducal concession, can be characterized as the main political statement. The name of the new owner is mentioned again, as well as the property conceded. Then, even though they are known, the privileges and the obligations of the feudatory are repeated in a codified form (*iuxta consuetudinem militum Crete/secundum ordinem curie Crete*). These privileges are the permanent concession of the fief to the feudatory, his right to bequeath it to his heirs, and the freedom to exploit it as he desires. On the other hand, the obligations, on which every act of concession insists characteristically, are, first of all, the fulfillment of the military service (*varnitio/disvarnitio*) and, secondly, the full acceptance of the terms of the first concession (*Concessio Crete*), with which the Venetian occupation of Crete had been

name of the Venetian Iohannes de Rogerio, who "bought" it from Theotochi (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 20, fol. 37r). Usually Greeks found a way to possess more land than what was allowed by a virtual registration under a different name, even if the local authorities were well aware of this practice.

inaugurated in 1211.²⁵ The acceptance of all the terms of the concession was sealed with the oath of fealty of the new owner to the doge of Venice, the duke of Crete, and their successors.

The form of the new feudatory's obligations, which concludes each concession, displays certain differences over time. Three phases are distinguishable, during which changes are observable in the form: the first one extending to the middle of the thirteenth century, the second until the revolt of Saint Titus (1363–1366), and the third covering the remaining period. These three periods are defined by a specific political situation in Crete. The differences between the first two variations of the form of the feudal obligations are small. On the contrary, a substantial change occurs after the end of the above-mentioned revolt.

Until the middle of the thirteenth century the form is short, limited in fact to one sentence that includes everything it wishes to impose, i.e. first the oath of fealty and then all the rest: [the new owner] *Iuravit itaque fidelitatem domino nostro duci Veneciarum secundum tenorem concessionis militum, varnicionem, manifestacionem, capitulare obediencie et cetera capitula iuxta consuetudinem militum Crete*. After the middle of the thirteenth century, the obligations are analyzed further in two sentences: the first stresses the matter of military service (*varnitio*) and the defense of the colony while the second refers to the other obligations: *Quam quidem serventariam ipse [the new owner]... tenetur defendere et varnire secundum consuetudinem terre. Et iuravit fidelitatem domino nostro duci, nobis et successoribus nostris, capitulare obediencie, concessionem et varnicionem et cetera capitula secundum ordinem curie Crete*. This change reflects the situation on Crete at that very time. Shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century, the entire island was under control, the settlement of the colonists was complete, and the Venetian feudatories had received their land. Thus, what Venice needed most was mainly the vigilance of the feudatories for the possession of the colony. The question of the defense of the colony from internal revolts as well as from external threats became a major issue, even though such a danger had already existed since the first years of the Venetian presence in Crete. The feudatories had to realize that Venice was counting on them to preserve the colony and to maintain

²⁵ For the full text of this document, see *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856–1867), 2: pp. 129–136.

peace within it, especially after the recapture of Constantinople in 1261, an event which brought forward two important enemies, the Byzantine Empire and Genoa, both of them eyeing the island and causing internal problems by supporting revolts. Moreover, many feudatories had begun neglecting their military obligations, a fact that alarmed the authorities, which did not stop stressing this important obligation of the feudatories, fearing the phenomenon could grow.

Finally, the form of the feudatory's obligations in the ducal concessions as it appears after the revolt of Saint Titus is not dominated by the defense of the colony, but by the notion of loyalty (*fidelitas*) and obedience (*obedientia*): *Tenetur autem suprascriptus* [the new owner]... *defendere et varnire suprascriptam serventariam unam et charatos tres ad beneplacitum dominationis. Et iuravit esse fidelis illustri domino duci et comuni Venetiarum, et tenetur obedire omnibus et singulis mandatis dicti domini ducis et sui consilii, et omnibus et singulis mandatis duce et consiliariorum Crete et capitaneorum ducalis domini et omnium aliorum qui per comune Venetiarum deputati fuerint in his partibus, secundum quod tanget quemlibet predictorum per formam suarum commissionum.* As far as military service is concerned, always placed in an important position, the feudatories are simply obligated to obey the authorities and execute their decisions (*ad beneplacitum dominacionis*). The stress is now placed on the oath of fealty of the feudatories to the doge and to the *Comune* of Venice and on their complete obedience to the decisions of the authorities, which are mentioned in hierarchical order, starting with the doge of Venice and continuing with the duke of Crete and his councilors, the *capitaneus* of Crete, and all the dignitaries sent by the metropolis to the colony. The revolt of the Venetians of Crete against their homeland, aiming at separation and autonomy, was a great blow for Venice, which attempted to keep its subjects under its control in the remote colony. This is why the documents of the concession of fiefs give so much attention to loyalty and obedience, while at the same time mentioning the supreme administrative authorities, including the *capitaneus* of Crete, the new, fourth member of the government of Crete after the termination of the Saint Titus revolt, responsible for the organization of the army and the defense of the colony.

In sum, the *Catastica Feudorum Crete* express the political view of Venice concerning the status of its new colony and, of course, the relation between the feudatories and the State. The *catastica*, as public documents, combine a new original structure with the previous situation of landownership, adopting on certain points Byzantine practices in the delimitation of land boundaries, in the evaluation of the cultivated land,

and of course in the use of the relative Greek terminology. The *catastica* are an invaluable source, offering a wealth of information not only on the landowning system during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but also on landownership in the Byzantine period, as well as on various aspects of the political situation in medieval Crete. Further analysis of this information, as well as of the terminology of the texts, could yield even more facts concerning the Byzantine era, as well as the political reality and political ideology in Crete under Venetian dominion.

THE STATUS OF THE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE AFTER THE FOURTH CRUSADE

William O. Duba*

The conquest of Constantinople in 1204 ended the schism between the Greek and Latin Churches, or so Latin crusaders and clerics maintained at the time. At the head of the Church of Constantinople they installed a Latin patriarch to whom, they believed, all the Greek Churches owed their obedience. This situation posed a challenge for the administration of the Western Church. The status of the patriarchs remained ambiguous, veiled in centuries of theoretical confusion caused by claims to papal rule, and more recent tensions between the Latin and Greek Churches. In schism the object of polemic or of negotiation in hope of a union, the patriarch's status in the un hoped-for union became concrete and wanted definition. On a practical level, the Church of Constantinople needed integration into the Latin hierarchy, and differences in ecclesiastical administration and revenue required resolution. Such an integration involved weighing pre-Latin precedent against Western practices and determining what status to give the patriarchs and their practices before the conquest. Further complicating matters, the Venetians strove to control the patriarchy as their private reserve, making the patriarchate the centre of power struggles between Church and State, and between Venetians and Franks.

The letters of Popes Innocent III (1198–1216) and Honorius III (1216–1227) reveal how the popes understood the role and power of the patriarch in theory and how they treated the patriarch in practice. They treat the patriarchate, and pentarchy in general, with respect to its canon law and theological foundations, as well as to its administrative function. Innocent III repeatedly explored the theoretical status of the Church and patriarch of Constantinople, employing and adapting many traditional loci for describing Greek-Latin relations. In his explorations, he expressed a range of explanations for the patriarch's

* I wish to thank Christoph Egger, Chris Schabel and the participants of the conference for their comments and assistance in preparing this article.

power, including apostolic foundation as well as papal sanction, finally synthesizing a model based on the Gospels that, while not supplanting the notions of apostolicity and pentarchy, secured papal monarchy and explained the unique status of the patriarchs.

Concerning the issue of practice and precedent, the papal letters are somewhat more difficult to interpret. On the whole, as the Latin Empire advanced in years and was increasingly fragmented by internal tensions and external strife, Innocent's impartial respect for pre-conquest precedent gave way to Honorius' one-sided reading: when the patriarch's privileges and sources of revenue impinged upon regional ecclesiastical administration, those precedents were discarded as abuses of the schismatic church leaders during the "bad old days" of the Greeks; when precedents, such as exemption from jurisdiction, limited the power, prestige or revenue of the patriarch, they were upheld. As the Empire of Constantinople weakened, so did the administrative power of the patriarchs.¹

This paper therefore has two parts, theory and practice, and two popes, Innocent and Honorius. In their correspondence with Latin Greece, Innocent and Honorius display divergent personalities: Innocent's letters reveal an interest in explaining the motivations and underpinnings of his decisions, while Honorius is more matter-of-fact, treating issues without as much rhetorical flourish. When it comes to letters concerning the patriarch of Constantinople, Innocent prefaces his decisions with explorations of the patriarch's status, while Honorius' arengae do not reach such great heights.² Although both popes have a clear policy towards the patriarch of Constantinople, only Innocent provides reasons for the specific place of the patriarch in the Universal Church.

¹ For more bibliography on the Latin states in Frankish Greece and the position of the pope, see the paper by Ch. Schabel in this volume.

² On Innocent III's arengae, see K. Pennington, *Pope and Bishops: The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 47–48; K. Schatz, "Papsttum und partikularkirchliche Gewalt bei Innocenz III. (1198–1216)," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 8 (1970), pp. 61–111, at pp. 63–64.

The Status of the Patriarchate of Constantinople before 1198

Innocent III's explanations for patriarchy did not develop without context: he drew upon, developed and ignored centuries of discussion and practice. This paper will only indicate those elements in the development of the concept of patriarch that resonate in Innocent's work, or those that are conspicuously absent.³ In particular, and not surprisingly, the Byzantine understanding of patriarchy and pentarchy does not figure strongly in Innocent's account.

Concerning terminology in this paper: "pentarchy" refers to the notion that, at the head of the Church are the patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, that is, the "idea" of pentarchy and not necessarily a full-blown theory. "Papal monarchy" indicates the idea that the patriarch of Rome rules the other Churches, including the patriarchates. So understood, "pentarchy" and "papal monarchy" are not mutually exclusive, notwithstanding the literal meaning of the Greek terms. Indeed, much of Innocent's effort consists in adapting the notion of pentarchy to the requirements of papal monarchy. Part of his solution lies in another terminological distinction. "Apostolic foundation" signifies the claim that an apostle founded a certain Church, whether directly or (in the case of Alexandria) through a disciple. "Apostolicity" broadly indicates the claim that one or more Churches inherit their authority from that granted to the apostles. Innocent's letters associate two distinct notions with apostolicity: the authority deriving from apostolic foundation and the authority as having the rank (*dignitas*) of apostle. While Innocent does not deny apostolicity in the first sense to the patriarchs, his presentation treats apostolicity as insufficient, rooting patriarchal authority in an association (foundational or national) with the four Evangelists. Innocent reserves "apostolic rank" for the bishop of Rome by virtue of Petrine succession.

³ For the status of patriarchs and the notion of pentarchy, see V. Peri, "La Pentarchia: istituzione ecclesiale (IV–VII sec.) e teoria canonico-teologica," *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'Alto Medioevo*, Centro Italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, vol. 1 (Spoleto, 1988), pp. 209–311; F. R. Gahbauer, *Die Pentarchietheorie: ein Modell der Kirchenleitung von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt, 1993). Peri's discussion traces the practical operation and theoretical foundation of the five patriarchs in the Greek and Latin worlds up to the end of the 12th century—in other words, right before the conquest of Constantinople and the period considered here. Gahbauer details globally the development of the idea and the theory of pentarchy.

The notion of patriarch finds its origins in the Council of Nicaea (325), canon 6:

Let the ancient customs in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis prevail: that the Bishop of Alexandria have jurisdiction in all these, since the like is customary for the Bishop of Rome also. Likewise in Antioch and the other provinces, let the Churches retain their privileges.⁴

In canon 7, the bishop of Jerusalem is assigned “the next place of honour.” By these determinations, the council established a level of jurisdiction above that of the archbishops, and based in the major population centres of the fourth century. The basis for this division appeared purely administrative: the large cities housed the centres of Roman government, and hence there should be the centres of the Church.

The Western emperors did not remain long in Rome, however, and the importance of Constantinople grew rapidly. The bishops of Rome insisted that their authority and prominence came not from the rapidly declining importance of the city of Rome and the Western emperors, but on apostolic grounds, as the bishopric founded by Saint Peter. Meanwhile, New Rome, the centre of Eastern Christianity, made its own claim to administrative superiority. The Councils of Constantinople (381) and Chalcedon (451) included canons declaring that, since the imperial city of Constantinople was the New Rome, therefore the Church of Constantinople was to enjoy the rights and privileges of Rome and be second to it.⁵

The Roman popes rejected this canon, or rather its logic: their rank derived from apostolic foundation, not imperial sanction; Antioch, Alexandria and Rome were all founded by Saint Peter, whence they derive their prestige and authority. Constantinople, a relative newcomer, could not leap past Antioch and Alexandria and enjoy second place for purely political reasons.⁶ Thus Pope Leo I sternly rebuffed what he saw as an infringement of the Nicene arrangement and refused to recognize the relevant canon of the Council of Chalcedon.⁷

⁴ F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), p. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 45ff.

⁶ Peri, “La pentarchia,” pp. 240–243.

⁷ Leo Magnus, Letter 56, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwarz, t. 2, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1932), pp. 59–62.

Whatever Leo may have wanted, the patriarch of Constantinople became *de facto* second in rank to Rome. In the East, not one, but two apostolic founders for Constantinople were identified. First, in the sixth century, the patriarch of Constantinople's authority is identified with that of the Apostle John: John established the bishopric of Ephesus, which bishopric was later transferred to Constantinople. Then, in the next century, the legend of the Apostle Andrew founding the bishopric of Byzantium surfaces, making Constantinople the successor of Andrew.⁸

In the West, the arguments for apostolicity and the refusal to grant *de iure* second-rank status to the patriarch of Constantinople mixed with treatments of the patriarch of Constantinople as an equal. In the events surrounding the 1054 controversy traditionally identified as the official beginning of the schism between the Latin and Greek Churches, Pope Leo IX and his spokesman Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida accuse the patriarch of Constantinople of prepotency. They claim, "trying to deprive the ancient patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch of their ancient dignity, he desired to subject them to himself with novel ambition and contrary to right and justice."⁹ Moreover, the head of the church of Constantinople "is called patriarch through an abuse of the term."¹⁰

Contemporary with this resistance, northern Italians formalizing canon law managed to incorporate the canons concerning the patriarch of Constantinople into their decretal collection. Gratian includes several texts ranking the patriarchate of Constantinople as second to Rome in Distinction XXII, most notably the Trullo synod's renewal (691–692) of the status of the patriarch of Constantinople, and part of the Eighth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (869/70):

⁸ Gahbauer, *Die Pentarchie*, pp. 174–175; Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 138–180.

⁹ "The Letter of Pope Leo IX to the Emperor Constantine Monomachos (1054)," trans. W. L. North [<http://www.acad.carleton.edu/curricular/MARS/Leoconst.pdf>] (accessed 8 August 2007), from *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae saeculo undecimo composita extant*, ed. C. Will (Paris, 1861), no. 3, pp. 85–89.

¹⁰ "A Brief or Succinct Account of What the Ambassadors of the Holy Roman and Apostolic See Did in the Royal City, attributed to Cardinal Bishop Humbert of Silva Candida," trans. W. L. North [<http://www.acad.carleton.edu/curricular/MARS/Schism.pdf>] (accessed 8 August 2007), from *Acta et scripta*, ed. Will, nos. 8–10, pp. 150–154.

We define that no secular power shall hereafter dishonour anyone of these who rule our patriarchal sees, or attempt to move them from their proper throne, but shall judge them worthy of all reverence and honour; chiefly the most holy Pope of Old Rome, and then the patriarch of Constantinople, and then those of Alexandria, and Antioch, and Jerusalem.¹¹

The twelfth century added a shifting ecclesiastical landscape to this confusion. The First Crusade brought with it the establishment of Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch, who were full and active participants in the affairs of the Latin Church. At the same time, the link between apostolicity and apostolic foundation seemed strained to the Latins: more than five Churches could claim apostolic foundation, and the five patriarchal sees did not all bear the same relation to the Apostles.

In the early 1160s, Gerhoch of Reichersberg defended the Latin state of affairs by defining an “apostolic see” as a Church having an apostolic foundation and being the recipient of epistles; so Rome, Antioch, and Jerusalem are apostolic sees, while “the other sees, that is Alexandria and Constantinople, while patriarchal, are not apostolic sees, because in them no apostle held a see, nor did they receive letters from any of the Apostles.”¹²

At the opening of the Third Lateran Council (1179), the canon lawyer Rufinus, then bishop of Assisi, gave a sermon that limited the application of apostolicity even further. Rufinus quickly comes to the Church of Rome:

Therefore because this city is now seen to be decorated with so many lights, it may not be incongruous for me to imagine it to be that city of the Sun that Isaiah mentioned: *There shall be five cities in the land of Egypt, speaking the language of Chanaan: one shall be called the city of the Sun.* For there were in the Egypt of that time a great number of cities of the Devil, congregations of the wicked, which collapsed when the empire of

¹¹ Translation from H. R. Percival, *The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church* (Edinburgh, reprinted 1988), p. 287 (Gratianus, *Concordantia*, d. 22, c. 6); Gahbauer, *Die Pentarchietheorie*, pp. 89–90, 363–365; A. J. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, *The Medieval Mediterranean* 29 (Leiden, 2000), p. 136, n. 546.

¹² P. Tomea, “In merito al concetto di *Apostolicae Sedes* in Gerhoch de Reichersberg,” *Aevum* 49 (1975), pp. 77–92, at p. 80 citing the *Opusculum ad cardinales*, “Nam ceterae sedes, licet patriarchales, ut Alexandria et Constantinopolis, non sunt sedes apostolicae, quia nec in eis apostolus aliquis tenuit sedem nec ab aliquo apostolorum epistolas acceperunt” (reading *ut* in the sense of *scilicet*); cf. also, S. Kuttner, “Universal Pope or Servant of God’s Servants: The Canonists, Papal Titles, and Innocent III,” *Revue de Droit Canonique* 32 (1981), pp. 119–150, at pp. 120–124.

the Christian army thundered, toppled by the engines of the Gospels, according to what David's lyrics sing: *The swords of the enemy have failed unto the end: and their cities thou hast destroyed*. Through the apostles as architects the Lord established new cities to be built in their place, to be occupied by new inhabitants. For it is written: *The cities of Juda shall be built up. And they shall dwell there*. Here by the word 'cities' should be understood the individual Churches spread across the globe. Of their number five have been chosen beforehand, like five royal cities, which, being granted higher privileges, boast primacy of rank over the other Churches: such is the metropolis of Antioch, such is Alexandria, Byzantium as well, and also Jerusalem; much greater is this one, which is always to be named with the most solemn expression, namely the sacrosanct Roman Church. And, since it is the apex of all thrones, it is the mother of all Churches, and also the mistress of all of them, most deservedly it alone was worthy to receive monarchy over all Churches.¹³

Picking up the protheme, Rufinus returns to the relation between Rome (whose pontiff he calls the "summus patriarcha") and the other patriarchs:

But I should not pass this over in silence: how this extraordinary city is not numbered, not first, or second, or third, but is put forth as being one. *One*, he said, *shall be called the city of the Sun*: he did not say 'the first,' nor 'the second,' nor 'the third.' Without doubt, of all Churches, the first, that is the greatest, is this holy Roman Church. But for the same reason that in the style of Genesis the first day is not called 'the first,' but 'one'—*and there was evening*, it says, *and morning, one day*—by the same gravity of reasoning, the Holy Spirit did not want to call the city of the

¹³ G. Morin, "Le discours d'ouverture du Concile Général de Latran (1179) et l'oeuvre littéraire de Maître Rufin, évêque d'Assise," *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, s. 3, 2 (1927), pp. 113–133, at pp. 116–117: "Quia ergo haec civitas tantis nunc cernitur decorata luminibus, non absolanter eam civitatem illam Solis esse putaverim, cuius meminit Esayas: *Erunt, ait, quinque civitates in terra Aegypti loquentes lingua chananaea: civitas Solis vocabitur una*. Fuerunt quondam in Aegypto huius saeculi numerosissimae diaboli civitates, congregationes utique malignorum, quae christianae militiae coruscante imperio, evangelicis machinis quassatae corruerunt, iuxta quod davidica lyra canit: *Inimici defecerunt frameae in finem, et civitates eorum destruxisti*. In quarum locum dominus per architectos apostolos condendas statuit civitates novas, novis habitatoribus incolendas. *Aedificabuntur*, etenim scriptum est, *aedificabuntur civitates Iudae, et habitabunt ibi*. Ubi nomine civitatum singulas per orbem diffusas ecclesias est opus intelligi. De quarum numero quinque praeaelectae sunt, quasi quinque regiae civitates, quae sublimioribus dotatae privilegiis inter ceteris ecclesias primatum sibi vindicant dignitatis: qualis est Antiochena metropolis, qualis Alexandrina, item et Byzantina, nihilominus et Ierosolymitana; multo magis haec quae ore semper est celeberrimo nominanda, sacrosancta videlicet Romana ecclesia, quae, cum sit apex omnium cathedrarum, cum sit mater ecclesiarum omnium, magistra quoque omnium, dignissime ipsa sola omnium ecclesiarum obtinere meruit monarchiam."

Sun ‘the first’ but ‘one.’ For when something is called ‘the first,’ it is shown to be dependent with respect to a second; but a unity is understood to be an absolute principle; for ‘one’ does not refer to another. Therefore this most Holy Church is not just called ‘the first,’ but ‘one,’ which is more exalted, because of the authority of a quasi-absolute principle, because of the summit of the highest honour and throne. For human authority strengthens all the other patriarchal sees; and even the empire of Augustus had its support from the authority of human law: “Indeed,” Augustus says, “indeed, our authority depends on the authority of law.” But by no known laws, by no synodal statutes, by no, I say, human assistance did the Roman Church arrogate to itself the pinnacle of such privilege. Rather it was made the foundation of all Churches by the judgment of the divine voice alone, when that heavenly oracle resounded to Blessed Peter: *You are Peter, and on this rock I shall build my church*; and again: *Feed my sheep*. Verily, therefore, this city of the Sun, this head church of the globe, is truly called and is ‘one.’ And it is never subject to another see. And through it the keys and tribunals are dispensed to all sees. And to it alone pertains the decision and the power to convene a universal council, to establish new canons, and to erase old ones.¹⁴

In the speech, Rufinus downplays apostolicity with respect to the Eastern patriarchates. Like many other Churches, the patriarchal sees were founded by “architect apostles” (*per architectos apostolos*), but their “royal” status, the reason for the selection of the five Churches, goes beyond apostolic foundation, without invoking apostolic authority.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 118–119: “Illud autem minime otioso ore praeteream, qualiter insignis haec civitas, non quota, prima, vel secunda, vel tertia, sed esse proponitur una. *Civitas*, inquit, *Solis vocabitur una*: non ait prima, non secunda, non tertia. Indubitanter siquidem omnium ecclesiarum prima est, hoc est maxima, sancta haec Romana ecclesia: sed, qua ratione apud stilum Geneseos dies prima, non prima, sed una dicta est: *Et factum est*, inquit, *vespere et mane dies unus*, eodem rationis habito libramento et istic spiritus sanctus civitatem Solis non primam voluit vocare, sed unam. Primum namque cum dicitur, de respectu secundi pendere monstratur: unitas autem absolutum per se intelligitur esse principium; unum enim non refertur ad quicquam. Haec igitur sacratissima ecclesia, iam non tantum prima, sed, quod sublimius est, appellatur una, propter auctoritatem absoluti quasi principii, propter arcem summi honoris et thronis. Ceteras namque omnes etiam patriarchales sedes humana roboravit auctoritas: ipsum quoque imperium augustale de auctoritate legis humanae suum habuit firmamentum: *Adeo*, inquit Augustus, *adeo de auctoritate iuris nostra pendet auctoritas*. Romana autem ecclesia per nulla iuris scita, per nulla statuta synodica, per nulla, inquam, humana beneficia culmen sibi tanti privilegii usurpavit, sed solum de divinae vocis sententia omnium ecclesiarum facta est fundamentum, dum ad beatum Petrum caeleste illud resultavit oraculum: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam*; et iterum: *Pasce oves meas*. Vere igitur haec civitas Solis, haec ecclesia caput orbis, vere una vocatur et est, quae nulli umquam alii sedi subicitur, per quam omnibus sedibus claves et tribunalia dispensatur, cuius solius arbitrium est et potestas concilium universale colligere, canones novos condere, et veteres oblimare.”

Rome operates at a higher level than the other patriarchates, and this papal monarchy derives, on Rufinus' reading, not simply from apostolic foundation, but rather from Petrine succession.¹⁵

In summary, the Council of Nicaea established pre-eminence of rank for four Churches that became known as patriarchal sees: Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, and next Jerusalem. Later, Constantinople achieved patriarchal rank, and the claim to being second to Rome. When Rome rejected such claims, it was on the grounds of a lack of apostolicity, more specifically apostolic foundation, which rejection quickly found a counterargument in the Apostles John and Andrew. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, collections of canon law include Constantinople as one of the patriarchates, but papal correspondence shows the popes refusing to recognize the Church of Constantinople as a patriarchate. Gerhoch of Reichersberg and Rufinus recognized the patriarchate of Constantinople, but not as second in rank, and, in elevating the authority of the papacy, pointed to the problems (from a papal monarchical perspective) inherent in the concept of apostolicity as based entirely on apostolic foundation.

The Status of the Patriarch of Constantinople in the Letters of Innocent III

The unexpected outcome of the Fourth Crusade, especially the apparent unification of the Greek and Latin Churches, compelled Pope Innocent III to face the ideological and administrative challenges of normalizing the patriarchate of Constantinople. If Rome adopted the stance, based on the canon law tradition, that the patriarch of Constantinople was second to Rome, what explanation could the pope give other than political pragmatism, the explanation that historically served the popes as the argument against Constantinople? Although association with the emperor probably had the strongest historical support, it inconveniently subjected church leaders to lay rulers—indeed, Innocent found objectionable the very process by which the crusaders selected the new patriarch of Constantinople. Ideally, a rationale for the patriarch's position would make clear the theological foundation for pentarchy without compromising Roman hegemony. The claim that the Pope himself elevated the patriarch of Constantinople to his

¹⁵ Peri, "La pentarchia," pp. 303–306.

position certainly secured the Pope's administrative superiority over the other patriarchs, but presented historical, conciliar and biblical challenges. Innocent eventually adopts a solution based on the image of Christ and the Evangelists that meets all these demands: although in one sense the bishops of the five sees are patriarchs, in another, the bishop of Rome relates to the four eastern patriarchs as Christ to the four Evangelists.

Before the Fourth Crusade, Innocent III implicitly confronted the notion that the patriarch's power derives from the emperor. In his dealings with the Greek patriarch and emperor, Innocent did not broach the issue of the patriarch's ecclesiastical rank beyond insisting that the patriarch recognize his supreme papal authority. But Innocent's exchanges reveal that the pope viewed the patriarchate and empire with a conflict of interest. Practically, Innocent could not ignore the great resources of the Byzantine Empire, resources which might help recover Jerusalem; nor could he withstand the allure of bringing about a truly Catholic Church by gaining control over Greek Christians. The close ties that the popes perceived between emperor and patriarch made these objectives seem attainable. Yet those same imperial-ecclesiastical bonds went against Innocent's conviction that church administration should be free from lay interference. So, while encouraging the emperor to exercise his influence over the patriarch, at the same time the pope condemns the emperor for his presumption to rank himself superior to the patriarch.

Innocent, in letters to Emperor Alexios III and Patriarch John X Camateros of Constantinople, declared that any alliance could occur only if the Greeks agreed to church union and assistance in the crusade. Church union would have to come first; he reminded the patriarch and the emperor of the superiority of Rome, and that there could only be one sheepfold of the faithful.¹⁶ Not much later, in an unregistered letter to the emperor preserved in the *Gesta Innocentii III*, Innocent asked Alexios to help induce the patriarch to submit to Rome, yet admonished him for keeping the patriarch subservient:

¹⁶ A. J. Andrea, "Latin Evidence for the Accession Date of John X Camateros, Patriarch of Constantinople," *BZ* 66 (1973), pp. 354–358, at p. 355; *Die Register Innocenz' III., 1. Band, 1. Pontifikatsjahr, 1198/99*, ed. O. Hageneder and A. Haidacher (Graz and Cologne, 1964), pp. 353–354, 525–530.

Day belches the word to day, and night indicates knowledge to night (Ps. 18). Therefore in the firmament of the heavens, that is, of the universal Church, God made two big lights, that is he instituted two great ranks, which are pontifical authority and regal power. But what tends to the days, that is, spiritual things, is greater, while what tends to carnal things is lesser, so that there is as much difference between pontiffs and kings as there is between the Sun and the Moon. But if your imperial highness prudently observed this, it would not make nor permit our venerable brother, the patriarch of Constantinople, indeed a great and honourable member of the Church, to sit to the left of its footstool, when other kings and princes reverently rise up and assign to their archbishops and bishops an honourable seat next to them, as they ought to. For we also believe that your prudence is not unaware of how much honour the most pious Constantine showed to priests.¹⁷

Innocent reproves the emperor for portraying himself as superior to the patriarch of Constantinople; for the patriarch should not be subservient to the emperor, but rather to the pope. Under these conditions, Innocent invited Alexios and John to a general council, but, not surprisingly, they spurned his invitation.¹⁸

The advent of the Latin patriarchate brought about by the conquest of Constantinople and the establishment of a Latin hierarchy made concrete the question of the patriarch's rank. The victorious army of Franks and Venetians looted the city, conquered the countryside, and established as emperor Baldwin of Flanders; they replaced the Greek clergy at Hagia Sophia with Venetians and put at their head Thomas Morosini as patriarch. They sent the pope news of everything but the patriarch: God had placed the Queen of Cities in the hands of the

¹⁷ D. Gress-Wright, *The "Gesta Innocentii III": Text, introduction and commentary* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1981), pp. 106–107: "*Dies diei eructat verbum, et nox nocti indicat scientiam* (Ps. 18). Ad firmamentum igitur celi, hoc est universalis ecclesie, fecit Deus duo luminaria magna, id est, duas magnas instituit dignitates, que sunt pontificalis auctoritas et regalis potestas. Sed illa que preest diebus, id est spiritualibus, maior est; que vero carnalibus minor. Ut quanta est inter solem et lunam, tanta inter pontifices et reges differentia cognoscatur. Hec autem si prudenter attenderet imperatoria celsitudo, non faceret aut permetteret venerabilem fratrem patriarcham Constantinopolitanum, magnum quidem et honorabile membrum ecclesie, iuxta scabellum pedum suorum in sinistra parte sedere, cum alii reges et principes archiepiscopis et episcopis suis, sicut debent, reverenter assurgant et eis iuxta se honorabilem sedem assignent. Nam et piissimus Constantinus quantum honoris exhibuerit sacerdotibus, tua, sicut credimus, prudentia non ignorat." While the summary in PL 214, col. CXXIII, omits the letter, substantially the same text can be found in the *Collectio Rainerii*, PL 216, col. 1184.

¹⁸ *Die Register Innocenz' III., 2. Band, 2. Pontifikatsjahr, 1199/1200*, ed. O. Hageneder, W. Maleczek and A. A. Strnad (Rome and Vienna, 1979), pp. 200–202, 382–397.

Latins, the crusaders had elected a new emperor; the Great Schism between East and West was over, and the Greeks had returned to obey Rome. In justifying the crusaders' actions, Baldwin reminds Innocent of the many "errors" of the Greeks, pointing out, among others, their steadfast opposition to the see of Saint Peter: "This is the city that, out of hatred for the apostolic dignity, could scarcely bear to hear the name of the prince of the apostles and which conceded not one Greek church to him who received from the Lord Himself dominion over all churches."¹⁹ The letter continues, inviting the pope to call a general council in Constantinople, stating that the time was ripe: "The Lord, who placed your enemies as a footstool for your feet, appears to have conceived plans of peace for your pontificate."²⁰

Innocent's initial response was enthusiastic, and he seized the opportunity to work out the relative status of the Greek and Latin Churches. In a letter to the clergy among the crusaders, he emphasizes the identification of the Apostle Peter with the Latins and John with the Greeks:

... The Latin people are symbolized by Peter, who was specially sent to the Latins and was buried among them in Rome. The Greek people, however, are symbolized by John, who was sent to the Greeks and eventually fell asleep in the Lord at Ephesus. Peter built one Church, clearly the sole head of all Churches. Wherefore the Lord said to him: *You are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church*. John however, established many Churches in Asia, like many members of a single head. Wherefore, in the Apocalypse he makes mention of seven Churches and their angels, so that, just as many members are governed by a single head, so many discrete Churches are ruled over by a single universal Church.²¹

¹⁹ *Die Register Innocenz' III., 7. Band, 7. Pontifikatsjahr, 1204/1205*, ed. O. Hageneder, A. Sommerlechner, H. Weigl, Ch. Egger and W. Muraier (Vienna, 1997), no. 152, p. 260: "Hec est, que in odium apostolici culminis apostolorum principis nomen audire vix poterat nec unam eidem inter Grecos ecclesiam concedebat, qui omnium ecclesiarum accepit ab ipso Domino principatum." Translation from Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 108.

²⁰ *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7: no. 152, p. 261: "Cogitasse videtur Dominus temporibus vestris cogitationes pacis, qui scabellum pedum vestrorum vestros posuit inimicos." Translation from Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 111.

²¹ *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7: no. 154, p. 265: "Currens igitur Maria Magdalena venit ad Symonem Petrum et ad alium discipulum, quem amabat Iesus, et dicit eis: 'Tulerunt Dominum meum et nescimus, ubi posuerunt eum.' Sicut per Mariam Magdalenam Iudeorum intelligitur Sinagoga, ita per Petrum, qui ad Latinos est specialiter destinatus et apud eos Rome sepulturam accepit, populus intelligitur Latinorum, Grecorum vero populus per Ioh(ann)em, qui missus ad Grecos Ephesi tandem in Domino requievit. Petrus unam construxit ecclesiam, videlicet ecclesiarum omnium

Here Innocent introduces the first element in his solution: as Peter signifies the Latins, so John signifies the Greeks. As is known, much of this letter is based on Joachim of Fiore, and Innocent copies verbatim extensive sections from the Calabrian abbot's *Expositio in Apocalypsim*. Specifically, Innocent draws upon the exposition of Revelation 11:1–2, and perhaps sees in the capture of Constantinople the conversion of the Greeks at the end of times.²² Yet Innocent adds a touch not found in Joachim of Fiore: the multiplicity of Churches founded by John are used as an example to point to papal monarchy.

Only later did the crusaders inform Innocent that they had appointed a patriarch. This placed Innocent in a difficult position. Union between the Churches was a much-desired boon, but he could not permit it at the cost of allowing laypersons to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs: empires could be won by feats of arms, but churches could not. So Innocent nullified the election, as “no power whatsoever has been given the laity to manage ecclesiastical matters or matters of religious communities,” but he confirmed its result, selecting the patriarch in question, Thomas Morosini. The narration, moreover, marks the introduction of pentarchy into Innocent's discussions of the patriarchate:

Our comrades are coming to help us because the Greek Church is returning to obedience to the Apostolic See, so that, supported by their help, it might liberate its two sisters: namely, the Churches of Alexandria and Jerusalem, which are held captive under the yoke of the king of Egypt and unwillingly serve Pharaoh. Although in other respects there are five patriarchates in the world, to wit, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, yet only three apostles are mentioned in regard to them, namely Peter, James, and John, who are said to have been made better by a similar wonderment, because indisputably three of them pertain in a special way to Peter, who consecrated in person the Churches of Antioch and Rome, and who consecrated Alexandria through his disciple

unum caput. Unde Dominus dixit ei: ‘Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam.’ Ioh(anne)s autem in Asia plures ecclesias stabilivit tamquam unius capitis multa membra. Unde in Apocalipsi facit de septem ecclesiis et earum angelis mentionem, ut, sicut multa membra gubernantur sub uno capite, ita multe particulares ecclesie sub una universali regantur.” English translation substantially based on Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 119. For Joachim of Fiore's influence, see *ibid.*, and Ch. Egger, “Joachim von Fiore, Rainer von Ponza und die römische Kurie,” in R. Rusconi, ed., *Gioacchino da Fiore tra Bernardo di Clairvaux e Innocenzo III* (Rome, 2001), pp. 129–162.

²² *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7: no. 154, p. 264, n. 2; Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 116; Egger, “Joachim von Fiore,” pp. 140–149, for an extensive discussion of this text and its relation to Joachim of Fiore; B. Whalen, “Joachim of Fiore and the Division of Christendom,” *Viator* 34 (2003), pp. 89–198, at pp. 105–106.

Mark, whom he personally sent there. The Church of Constantinople, however, pertains in a special way to John, who preached to the Greeks in Asia and was entombed among the Greeks in Ephesus. The Church of Jerusalem, however, looks especially to James...²³

While in associating the authority of the patriarchs with apostolic foundation he evokes the apostolicity claim that goes back to the time of Pope Leo, the specific formulation derives, again, from Joachim of Fiore.²⁴ Apostolicity makes the basis for a patriarchate something other

²³ *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7: no. 203, pp. 356–357: “Ecce ergo socii nostri veniunt, ut adiuent nos, quia Grecorum ecclesia redit ad obedientiam apostolice sedis, ut eorum adiuta subsidio liberet duas eius sorores, Alexandrinam videlicet et Ier(oso)limitanam ecclesias, que captive tenentur sub iugo regis Egipti et invite seruiunt Pharaoni. Ceterum licet quinque sint patriarchatus in orbe, Romanus scilicet, Constantinopolitanus, Alexandrinus, Antiochenus et Ier(oso)limitanus, hic tamen tres tantum apostoli nominantur, videlicet Petrus, Iacobus et Ioh(anne)s, qui simili perhibentur stupore correcti, quia nimirum tres ex illis specialiter spectant ad Petrum, qui Antiochenam et Romanam ecclesias consecravim presentialiter per se ipsum, Alexandrinam vero per Marcum discipulum suum, quem illuc personaliter destinavit. Constantinopolitana vero ecclesia specialiter pertinet ad Ioh(ann)em, qui et Grecis predicavit in Asia et apud Grecos fuit Ephesi tumultatus; ecclesia vero Ier(oso)limitana proprie spectat ad Iacobum sive filium Zebedei, qui primus inter apostolos interfectus Ier(oso)limam suo martirio dedicavit, sive filium Alphei, quem apostoli Ier(oso)limorum episcopum ordinarunt. Et ob hoc forte tres istos apostolos Iesus assumpsit in montem excelsum seorsum et transfiguratus est ante eos, nec alienum a ratione videtur, quod, cum propter causam predictam Romanus pontifex habeat quinque patriarchales sedes in Vrbe, apud tres tantum illarum sollempniter coronatur.” Translation is from Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 136.

²⁴ Egger, “Joachim von Fiore,” p. 148; Innocent also treats the association of James with Jerusalem in an August 1203 letter to the papal legate, Cardinal Soffredo, encouraging him to accept the election to Patriarch of Jerusalem. While expressing his hope that the glories of James’ experience as apostolic founder would allay the cardinal’s fears, Innocent does not make any claims about the see’s apostolicity. *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, 6. Band. 6. Pontifikatsjahr, 1203/1204, ed. O. Hageneder, J. C. Moore and A. Sommerlechner (Vienna, 1995), no. 129, pp. 214–218: “Si forte te moveat, quod ad illius ecclesie presulatum vocaris, cuius ad presens non poteris possessionem adire, utpote que fere tota nunc ab hostibus detinetur, ad tempus illud reduces oculos tue mentis, quo Iacobus, frater Domini, suscepit Ier(oso)limam gubernandam non quidem faventem sibi sed potius repugnantem, utpote in qua illi tenebant eo tempore potentatum, qui et Dominum crucifixerant extra urbem et circa templum postmodum ipsum Iacobum occiderunt. Et licet Ioh(anne)s et Taddeus secundum carnem fuerint fratres Domini, Iacobus tamen specialiter dicitur frater eius, utpote qui relictam fratris defuncti duxit uxorem, ut semen ei iuxta legem Mosaycam suscicaret. Qui etiam non incongrue dicitur supplantator, cum quodammodo apostolos supplantarit, utpote qui quamvis primus inter alios non fuisset, ceteris tamen quasi ius primogeniture preriperit, dum primogenitam suscepit ecclesiam gubernandam, de qua videlicet propheta testatur, quod de Syon exivit lex et verbum Domini de I(e)r(usa)lem. Hoc est civitas regis magni, de qua multa dicta sunt gloriosa et illud quasi precipuum, quod subiungitur: ‘Mater Syon dicit: Homo et homo factus est in ea, et ipse fundavit eam Altissimus.’”

than the centres of administration, and hence something other than the major lay powers. It makes sense, therefore, that Innocent would bring up apostolicity when denying the validity of an invading force selecting—directly or indirectly—a patriarch. But pentarchy, understood in a strong sense of church governance by the five patriarchs, implicitly argues against papal monarchy. For the Greek patriarch John had written to Innocent a few years before, that is, before the sack of his city and occupation of his Church forced him into exile, arguing that “the flock of Christ” was divided into many parts, that the only unity they had was in Christ, and, moreover, that Jerusalem was more deserving of the title of “Mother of all Churches” than Rome.²⁵ Therefore, from Innocent’s perspective, the “apostolic” explanation for patriarchs does not suffice to explain why the patriarch of Constantinople should rank second to the pope. By itself, the notion of pentarchy produces a theory where the bishop of Rome is merely the first of five patriarchs, who each have separate flocks to tend; it does not provide a basis for translating this primacy into universality. From the patriarchal perspective, tying apostolicity strictly to apostolic foundation further has the problem of insufficiency: it does not explain why these five sees enjoy their esteem, and not other Churches that have an equal or, in some cases, even stronger claim to apostolic foundation.²⁶

One solution is to claim that the pope established the patriarchates. Thus, when the Latin patriarch writes to the pope in early 1205, seeking papal protection and confirmation of his goods, Innocent replies:

The prerogative of love and grace, which the Apostolic See showed the Byzantine Church in raising it to a patriarchal see by the plenitude of power of the Church, which plenitude not man, but God—more properly God-man—conceded to the Roman Church in the person of Saint Peter, is evidently attested, and He who makes the first last and the last first shows that the Roman pontiff is His vicar. Wherefore, since that same Church, which was then called Byzantine and now is called Constantinopolitan, had neither the name nor the place among the apostolic patriarchal sees, the Apostolic See gave it a great name *like unto the name of the great ones that are on the earth*, and it raised that Church up as if from the dust to the point that she was placed before the Churches of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem in privilege of rank, and after itself exalted it before all the rest, so that, while many daughters have gathered riches, she alone by special

²⁵ Andrea, “Latin Evidence for the Accession Date,” p. 357; *Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, vol. 2: no. 199, pp. 379–382.

²⁶ Cf. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 47–48.

grace of her mother has exceeded all the others. But although the same Church in the meantime fell away from obedience to the Apostolic See, nevertheless because she has humbly returned by the grace of God, we, agreeing to your requests, have taken under our protection and that of Saint Peter the same Church over which, on the authority of the Lord God, you have been selected to rule, and we strengthen it with the page of the present writing.²⁷

Innocent claims that, before the schism, the pope elevated the Church of Constantinople to patriarchal status and above Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. The letter distinguishes between the “name and place” of the “apostolic patriarchal sees” and that of the Apostolic See, which obtains its power from Petrine succession. Therefore, the Church of Constantinople became a patriarchate only because the highest human power in the Church, the pope, actively promoted it. Moreover, Constantinople achieved its rank as first among the non-Roman Churches because the pope, emulating Christ, made the first (Jerusalem) last, and the last (Constantinople) first.

Shortly thereafter, Innocent adopts a new image for understanding the relationship between Pope and patriarchs, one based on the Gospels and the beasts of Revelation 4:6–7. This first appears in a response (largely negative) to some of the patriarch’s requests, in a 1206 letter. The *arenga* reads:

Among the four living things that were in the midst of the throne and round about the throne, and the face of the eagle above all the four recorded by Ezechiel, because among the four patriarchal Churches—Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople—signified by the aforesaid living things, which

²⁷ *Die Register Innocenz' III., 8. Band, 8. Pontifikatsjahr, 1205/1206*, ed. O. Hageneder, A. Sommerlechner, Ch. Egger, W. Muraier and H. Weigl (Vienna, 2001), no. 19, pp. 32–33: “Prerogativa dilectionis et gratie, quam apostolica sedes exhibuit ecclesie Bizanzene, cum eam in patriarchalem sedem erexit, ecclesiastice plenitudine potestatis, quam non homo sed Deus immo verius Deus homo in beato Petro ecclesie Romane concessit, evidentius attestatur et quod Romanus pontifex eius vicarius sit, ostendit, qui et primos novissimos et novissimos facit primos. Sane cum eadem ecclesia, que tunc Bizanzena, nunc autem Constantinopolitana vocatur, nec nomen nec locum inter sedes apostolicas patriarchales haberet, apostolica sedes fecit ei nomen grande iuxta nomen magnorum, qui sunt in terra, et ipsam quasi de pulvere suscitatum usque adeo sublimavit, ut eam tam ecclesie Alexandrine quam Antiochene et Ier(oso)limitane dignitatis privilegio anteferet atque post se pre ceteris exaltaret, ita quod, cum multe filie divitias congregarint, hec sola per matris gratiam specialem supergressa fuerit universas. Licet autem eadem ecclesia interdum ab obedientia sedis apostolice declinarit, quia tamen ad eam per Dei gratiam humiliter est reversa, tuis precibus annuentes eamdem ecclesiam, cui Deo auctore preesse dignosceris, sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus et presentis scripti pa(gina) communimus.”

the Apostolic See being in their midst embraces as special daughters, round about which See those daughters are like maids in waiting, that Church of Constantinople is foremost in excellence of rank after the Apostolic See...²⁸

As the critical edition notes, this image resonates in Joachim of Fiore's writings, notably his *Enchiridion super Apocalypsim*, where the Calabrian abbot compares the same image from Revelation to the pentarchic Churches.²⁹ Is Innocent once again using Joachim to express a papal monarchic view of pentarchy?

²⁸ *Die Register Innocenz' III., 9. Band, 9. Pontifikatsjahr, 1206/1207*, ed. A. Sommerlechner, O. Hageneder, Ch. Egger, W. Murauder and H. Weigl (Vienna, 2004), no. 140, pp. 250–256: (cf. also: Decretalium Gregorii papae compilationis liber I, titulus XXXIII: *De maiortate et obedientia.*): “Inter quatuor animalia, que in medio sedis et in eius circuitu describuntur, facies aquile ab Ezechiele desuper ipsorum quatuor memoratur, quia inter quatuor patriarchales ecclesias, Antiochenam, Alexandrinam, Ierosolimitanam et Constantinopolitanam, que per animalia supradicta signantur, quas apostolica sedes in medio habens quasi filias amplectitur speciales, cui eodem sunt in circuitu quasi famule obsequentes, ipsa Constantinopolitana post apostolicam sedem excellentia preminet dignitatis. Ad cuius exaltationem tanto libentius aspiramus, quanto ipsam tanquam honorabilius membrum sacrosancte Romane ecclesie arctius amplexantes ipsius auxilio temporibus istis eandem amplius noscimus indigere ac tuas, qui eidem Domino disponente preesse dignosceris, petitiones libentius promovere disponimus, quibus non repugnat honestas nec aliis preiudicium generatur, cum a nobis iniuriarum actio non debeat exoriri, a quibus iura tanquam a fonte ad ceteros derivantur.”

²⁹ *Ibid.*, noted in the apparatus; Egger, “Joachim von Fiore,” p. 162, n. 134; Joachim of Fiore, *Enchiridion super Apocalypsim*, ed. E. Burger (Toronto, 1986), p. 76, lines 2190ff.: “Petrus a principio prae fuit Hierosolymis, et aedificavit ecclesiam quae concordat cum tribu Ruben, deinde prae fuit Antiochia quae concordat cum tribu Gad, deinde prae fuit Romanae quae concordat cum tribu Juda. Porro Alexandrinae ecclesiae per seipsum non prae fuit, sed misit illuc discipulum suum qui fundaret illam et regeret vice sua, et inter primas ecclesias sublimandam nutriret. Cum vero pars Romanorum sequeretur Augustum, et ex ea apud Constantinopolim gens nova propagata fuisset, ita ut antiquitas nova Roma tanquam Romae filia et consors imperii diceretur, visum est praelatis ecclesiarum, et etiam in conciliis constitutum est, ut inter principales ecclesias Constantinopolitana ecclesia sublimari debuisset, essetque post Romam secunda, prima inter ceteras quattuor tanquam consors et particeps sanctae Romanae ecclesiae. Est ergo Romana ecclesia acsi altera Hierusalem sedes Dei, in cuius circuitu et in medio quattuor animalia visa sunt, de quibus in hoc libro per Joannem dicitur: Et animal primum simile leoni, et secundum animal simile vitulo, et tertium animal habens faciem quasi hominis, et quartum animal simile aquilae volanti.

Assimilatur denique primitiva ecclesia fortissimo animali leoni, quia ex ipsa processit leo fortissimus qui fundavit eam, sicut de illa in quodam loco per psalmistam dicitur: Numquid Sion dicit: Homo et homo natus est in ea, et ipse fundavit eam Altissimus? Assimilatur Antiochena secundo animali, quod est vitulus, quia in ea reperti sunt primo discipuli Christiani parati ad oboediendum in omnibus quae mandarent apostoli. Assimilatur Alexandrina tertio animali, hoc est, homini, quia magni in ea doctores antiquitus reperti sunt, cum necdum in ecclesia Romana doctorum suorum aliquis claruisset. Assimilatur Byzantina ecclesia quarto animali, hoc est, aquilae, eo quod

If so, the borrowing is not as strong. Whereas the earlier text included extensive verbatim quotations of Joachim in a context where the Calabrian abbot discusses the eventual unification of the Greek and Roman Churches at the end of times, here the parallel between Joachim and Innocent ends at the association of the Apocalyptic imagery with the four eastern patriarchs and the pope; Innocent's statements do not relate to the larger context and interpretations of the *Enchiridion*. Furthermore, Innocent understands differently the correspondence between Evangelists and Churches and gives it a foundational valence not present in Joachim's works. These details surface later in a more detailed exposition. After the death of the first Latin patriarch, during the disputed succession to the patriarchal see, Innocent developed further this theory for the evangelical basis of the four patriarchs and combined it with his previous observations. The letter committing his notary, Master Maximus, to resolving the election of the patriarch of Constantinople contains an extensive arenga:

It is written in the Apocalypse of John that *in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four living creatures, full of eyes before and behind. And the first living creature was like a lion: and the second living creature like a calf: and the third living creature, having the face, as it were, of a man: and the fourth living creature was like an eagle flying.* This throne (*sedes*) is understood to be the Roman Church, which is called by the customary appellation the Apostolic See (*sedes apostolica*), indeed the throne of the Lamb, the throne of *He who liveth for ever and ever*. In the midst of which reside like daughters in the lap and round about which stand by, like maids in waiting, four patriarchal Churches—those of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, which are designated by those four living things. For Mark founded and governed the Church of Alexandria, who is signified by the lion according to the vision of Ezechiel. . . . But Luke was Antiochene by nation, who therefore is described by the figure of the calf. . . . Matthew indeed was Judean by nation, and he first described (*descripsit*) the Gospel in Hebrew in Judea. . . .

But John founded the Asian Church, and in the Apocalypse he described the seven Churches that are in Asia, before which and before all the other Churches of the Greeks the Church of Constantinople deserved to be preferred and be placed, being rightly designated by the eagle; because, just as the eagle excels among all birds in flight, and the reception of the rays of the Sun does not offend its eyes, so John exceeds the three other animals left behind on the earth, and climbing above the heaven of

in ea invenirentur viri contemplantes coelestia, fortassis occasione Macedonii, qui Paracletum sanctum Deum esse negavit.”

heavens, he looked upon the true light with undamaged eyes, and began his Gospel with the divine nativity of the Word: who, although among all the evangelists was last in time, nevertheless he stood foremost in rank, since at the [Last] Supper resting on the chest of Christ, he drank the flowing doctrine from the font of that sacred Lordly chest. Thus the Church of Constantinople, although later in time, afterwards, because of the honour of most pious Constantine, was put above the others in rank, and the first are made last, and the last first. So that rightly, it is said to him: *Many daughters have gathered together riches: but you have surpassed them all.* To the governance of which Church such a pontiff should be taken up who, like those four living things, is *full of eyes before and behind*, so that he may contemplate the mysteries of the Old and New Testament in full light, seeing the past by experience and foreseeing the future by wariness. For he should have six wings, namely, the knowledge of six laws: natural, Mosaic, prophetic, evangelical, apostolic and canonic, with which, flying perfectly balanced between heaven and earth, he flies from earthly things to celestial ones and from temporal things to eternal ones.³⁰

³⁰ PL 215, col. 675, year 15, no. 156: "Scriptum est in Apocalypsi Joannis quod in medio sedis et in circuitu sedis erant quatuor animalia plena oculis ante et retro. Primum animal simile leoni, secundum animal simile vitulo, tertium animal habens faciem quasi hominis, et quartum animal simile aquilae volanti; et quatuor animalia singula eorum alas senas habebant. Sedes ista Romana Ecclesia intelligitur, quae usitato vocabulo sedes apostolica nuncupatur, utique sedes agni, sedes viventis in saecula saeculorum; in medio cujus quasi filiae in gremio resident et in circuitu astant quasi famulae in obsequio quatuor patriarchales Ecclesiae, Alexandrina, Antiochena, Jerosolymitana et Constantinopolitana, quae per illa quatuor animalia designantur.

Marcus enim Alexandrinam fundavit et rexit Ecclesiam, qui secundum visionem Ezechielis accipitur per leonem, eo quod Evangelium inceptit a rugitu dicentis: Vox clamantis in deserto (Marc. 1), et quia quemadmodum leo catulum suum post diem tertium suo asseritur excitare rugitu, sic Deus Pater Filium suum, qui leo de tribu Juda esse describitur, de cujus resurrectione principaliter tractat Marcus, divinitatis suae potentiae post triduum a mortuis suscitavit. Unde in die resurrectionis Dominicae ipsius Evangelium antonomastice in Ecclesia recitatur.

Lucas autem fuit natione Antiochenus: qui propterea in vituli figura describitur, in quo sacerdotalis hostia designatur; quoniam a sacerdotio inchoans Evangelium, de immolatione tractavit praecipue summi sacerdotis et veri, qui est hostia salutaris, vitulus videlicet saginatus, quem pater jussit occidi pro filio prodigo redeunte. Unde bene per ipsum Antiochena Ecclesia designatur, in qua primum apostolorum princeps in summi sacerdotii cathedram a fidelibus exstitit sublimatus.

Matthaeus quidem fuit natione Judaeus, et Evangelium primus descripsit etiam Hebraice in Judaea; et ob hoc per hominis speciem designatur, quod ab incarnatione Christi suum inchoans Evangelium, principaliter humanam ejus nativitatem ostendit, quam ipse Christus de Judaeis et in Judaea pro nobis assumens, Hierosolymitanam Ecclesiam metropolim Judaeorum sua humana praesentia consecravit, de qua dictum fuerat per Prophetam: Homo factus est in ea, et ipse fundavit eam Altissimus (Ps. 86).

Joannes vero Asianam fundavit Ecclesiam, et Apocalypsim septem Ecclesiis quae sunt in Asia ipse descripsit: quibus et caeteris Graecorum Ecclesiis Constantinopolitana tandem praeferrri meruit et praeponi per aquilam merito designata; quia, sicut aquila

In place of the Apostles legitimizing the five patriarchs, Innocent puts the Evangelists explaining the four patriarchs, with the Pope playing the role of Christ. But, in what seems a novel development, the Evangelists give the Churches their rank and authority through their association (direct or by nation) with their foundation; hence whereas Joachim has Mark signifying Jerusalem and Matthew Alexandria, Innocent reverses the order, as Mark established the Church of Alexandria. Matthew and Luke, while not “founding” a Church, according to Innocent, by virtue of their nation, they signify the Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch. The Greeks, not surprisingly, are associated with John, and using the logic that the “last will be made first,” the patriarch of Constantinople rises above the others to be the first of the patriarchs, the daughter that “surpassed them all.” Even the emperor plays a role, as the patriarch of Constantinople owes his superior rank to Constantine’s act of submission of the empire to the Christian religion. But if the Evangelists established the national Churches, Christ built His Church in Peter; well after the Latins expelled the Greek patriarch, Innocent implicitly replies to John X Camateros’ statement that the only unity the Churches had was in Christ.

Innocent III took the previous theories of pentarchy and apostolicity and used them to build a theory of an evangelical tetrarchy of patriarchs presided over by himself as the Vicar of Christ. According to this scheme, the Church of Constantinople was represented by Saint John, understood as the Evangelist and the author of Revelation. He secured the primacy of the Apostolic See by finding an explanation that made the other patriarchs relate to him as the Evangelists to Christ, and he

volatu omnes aves excellit, et oculorum ejus intuitum solis radius non offendit, sic Joannes tribus aliis animalibus in terra relictis, supra coelos coelorum ascendens, veram lucem oculis irreverberatis aspexit, et a divina Verbi Nativitate suum Evangelium inchoavit: qui licet inter universos evangelistas fuerit ultimus tempore, praecipuus tamen exstitit dignitate; quoniam in coena supra pectus Christi recumbens, fluenta doctrinae de ipso sacri Dominici pectoris fonte potavit. Sic Constantinopolitana Ecclesia licet posterior tempore, postmodum propter honorificentiam piissimi Constantini praelata est aliis dignitate; sicque facti sunt primi novissimi, et novissimi primi. Ut merito ipsi dicatur: *Multae filiae congregaverunt divitias, sed tu sola supergressa es universas* (Prov. 31), ad cujus Ecclesiae regimen talis est pontifex assumendus qui ad similitudinem illorum quatuor animalium ante et retro plenus sit oculis, ut pleno lumine veteris et novi testamenti mysteria contempletur, per experientiam videns praeterita, et futura praevidens per cautelam. Debet etiam habere sex alas, scilicet sex legum notitiam, naturalis Mosaicae et propheticae, evangelicae, apostolicae et canonicae: quibus perfecto libramine inter coelum volans et terram, de terris ad coelestia et de temporalibus transvolet ad aeterna.”

legitimated the priority of the patriarch of Constantinople among the four Eastern patriarchs.

The last statement concerning the rank of the patriarchs from Innocent's papacy appears in the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Canon 6 provides the official determination of their status, prescribing rank and privilege:

Renewing the ancient privileges of the patriarchal sees, we decree with the approval of the holy and ecumenical council that, after the Roman Church, which by the will of the Lord holds over all others pre-eminence of ordinary power as the mother and mistress of all the faithful, that of Constantinople shall hold first place, that of Alexandria second, that of Antioch third, and that of Jerusalem fourth, the rank proper to each to be observed; so that after their bishops have received from the Roman Church the pallium, which is the distinguishing mark of the plenitude of the pontifical office, and have taken the oath of fidelity and obedience to it, they may also lawfully bestow the pallium upon their suffragans, receiving from them the canonical profession of faith for themselves, and for the Roman Church the pledge of obedience. They may have the standard of the Lord's cross borne before them everywhere, except in the city of Rome and wherever the supreme pontiff or his legate wearing the insignia of Apostolic rank is present. In all provinces subject to their jurisdiction appeals may be taken to them when necessary, saving the appeals directed to the Apostolic See, which must be humbly respected.³¹

The canon resolves any debate that may have been outstanding concerning the relative status of the patriarchs. Moreover, it contains the nut of papal claims to monarchy: while Rome is a patriarchal see like all the others, the pope alone has "apostolic rank" (*apostolica dignitas*).

³¹ Based on the translation of H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary* (St Louis, 1937), pp. 236–296: "Antiqua patriarchalium sedium privilegia renovantes, sacra universali synodo approbante, sancimus ut post Romanam Ecclesiam, quae disponente Domino super omnes alias ordinariae potestatis obtinet principatum, utpote mater universorum Christi fidelium et magistra, Constantinopolitana primum, Alexandrina secundum, Antiochena tertium, Hierosolymitana quartum locum obtineat, servata cuilibet propria dignitate: ita quod postquam eorum antistites a Romana receperint pallium, quod est plenitudinis officii pontificalis insigne, praestito sibi fidelitatis et obedientiae iuramento, licenter et ipsi suis suffraganeis pallium largiantur, recipientes pro se professionem canonicam, et pro Romana Ecclesia sponsonem obedientiae ab eisdem. Dominicae vero crucis vexillum ante se faciant ubique deferri nisi in urbe Romana, et ubicumque summus pontifex praesens extiterit, vel eius legatus utens insigniis apostolicae dignitatis. In omnibus autem provinciis eorum iurisdictioni subiectis, ad eos, cum necesse fuerit, provocetur: salvis appellationibus ad Sedem Apostolicam interpositis, quibus est ab omnibus humiliter deferendum."

While not denying that the Roman Church is a patriarchal see, it emphasizes the distinction between Rome and the four others.³² Whereas the Council of Constantinople stated that Constantinople was second to Rome, this canon declares that Constantinople is first among those that follow Rome.³³

The Practical and Administrative Reality of the Patriarch of Constantinople in the Letters of Innocent III and Honorius III

Innocent's papacy ended with the patriarchs in a theoretically strong position. Among prelates, the patriarch of Constantinople was second only to the pope in rank; in practice, however, Innocent, and above all his successor Honorius, worked to restrict the rights and power of the patriarchs and to undermine their traditional (i.e., "non-ancient") privileges.

On the one hand, the capture of Constantinople and election of a new patriarch was billed as church union, and not church replacement. Therefore, technically, the pope was interested in maintaining the rights of the Greek Church and guaranteeing its autonomy from lay rulers. Accepting the return of schismatics meant they should be compelled to abandon only those elements contrary to the Latin faith. Officially, the Latin Church was not replacing the Greek rite. On the other hand, the church union was made at the point of a sword. Many Greek prelates chose exile over Latin domination. The Franks had plundered churches, except for what the rulers decided was necessary

³² Cf. Gahbauer, *Die Pentarchie*, pp. 374–380, who sees confusion in Innocent's statements: at times Innocent appears to count Rome among the patriarchs, and at times he seems to exclude them.

³³ The two surviving witnesses to the patriarch of Constantinople's chancery in Frankish Greece illustrate how patriarchal rank and apostolic authority could be perceived to work together. The two charters, drawn up under the auspices of Patriarch Gervais in 1216 and 1218, respectively, adhere rather closely to the formula of papal letters. But where a papal *salutatio* would read "salutem et apostolicam benedictionem," Gervais opts for "salutem et patriarchalem benedictionem"; on the other hand, Gervais' *sanctiones* bring together the Greek and Latin traditions of apostolicity, combining the Roman formula with the Constantinopolitan apostles: "Nulli ergo omnium hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrae confirmationis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et BB. Joannis et Andreae apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum." Cf. L. Santifaller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des lateinischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel (1204–1261) und der venezianischen Urkunde* (Weimar, 1938), pp. 79–109, text on pp. 101–103.

to provide an “appropriate” income for the clerics. The new rulers needed Latin-rite priests, lest the churches become too Hellenic and turn away from obedience to Rome. But perhaps most difficult, the Venetians had claimed the patriarchate as their exclusive domain and aggressively pursued policies to keep it that way; to counter this, the pope, directly and through his legates, determined that the patriarch would be elected not merely by the canons of Hagia Sophia, but by all the conventual churches of Constantinople. Not surprisingly, this caused a running battle between Venetian patriarchs and papal legates over control of the churches in Constantinople and appointments to canonries of Hagia Sophia. Consequently, the pope appointed the first three Latin patriarchs after contested elections. But the pope’s power was not absolute—he could not afford to alienate any group of Latins offering military support. So all three were Venetians; it was not until 1226 that the pope would even dare attempt to appoint a non-Venetian, and even that attempt foundered when the candidate declined the honour. Meanwhile, the Greek and Bulgarian rulers at the edges of Frankish territory continued their military campaigns, while the Latins’ pleas for reinforcements failed to generate an enthusiastic response back home.³⁴

Effectively, the patriarchate was made into a supra-metropolitan answerable to the pope. The Church under the patriarch was reorganized, changing autocephalous archbishoprics into suffragan bishoprics or metropolitan sees.³⁵ The patriarch of Constantinople was given suffragan bishops. On the argument of penury, many bishoprics were suppressed and their incomes used to support the neighboring sees. The pope, through his legates, negotiated with the lay lords for settlements, compensating the patriarch and local Churches for property seized during the capture of the empire. This process took twenty years.

Thus while Innocent was developing a theoretical model for making the patriarch of Constantinople first among those second to the pope, the patriarch was in the middle of continuing disputes involving lay rulers, his subordinate Churches, Venice, and the papacy. The patriarch

³⁴ R. Wolff, “Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261,” *DOP* 8 (1954), pp. 225–318; M. Barber, “Western Attitudes to Frankish Greece in the Thirteenth Century,” in B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby, eds., *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London, 1989), pp. 111–128.

³⁵ R. Wolff, “The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261: The Social and Administrative Consequences of the Latin Conquest,” *Traditio* 6 (1948), pp. 33–60.

tried to maintain as many as possible of the privileges and possessions his office held before the capture of Constantinople. At the same time, he sought the greatest position for himself in the new order. Meanwhile, the other contenders did likewise. In general, the results seem to have been against the patriarchs: disputed privileges of the patriarch from what the documents refer to as “the time of the Greek patriarch” were characterized as abuses, while the popes honoured claims of independence from the patriarch of Constantinople.

If anything, Innocent III seems to have been more favourable to the patriarch’s cause than his successor, Honorius III. Certainly, Innocent III in 1206 refused the patriarch’s requests for jurisdiction over Cyprus, since it was already exempt when “the Church of Constantinople was disobedient and rebelling.”³⁶ In November 1209, on the other hand, the Pope responded to a series of communiqués from the patriarch. One of these asked whether the archbishop of Patras had the privilege of exemption from the patriarch, answering directly to Rome. The Pope replied “we have never granted any exemption to that archbishop,” although the archbishop asserted that to be the case (1205, 1207).³⁷ Another of these letters (1209) concerned “patriarchal monasteries,” of which the patriarch alleged clerics and laypersons had deprived him. The pope appointed a committee of judges, headed by the archbishop of Heraclea, and instructed them to restore to the patriarch those monasteries “that belonged *de jure* to the jurisdiction of the patriarch.”³⁸

³⁶ *Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, vol 9: no. 140, p. 253.

³⁷ PL 216, col. 163, year 12, no. 143: “Requisivit a nobis tua fraternitas an venerabili fratri nostro Patracensi archiepiscopo sit a nobis privilegium exemptionis indultum. Super quo fraternitati tuae insinuatione praesentium innotescat nos eidem archiepiscopo nullum exemptionis privilegium concessisse. Ipse tamen constanter asseruit coram nobis Patracensem archiepiscopum immediate ad sedem apostolicam pertinere. Datum Laterani, etc., ut in prima” (as no. 141, Nov. 23). See also the article by Ch. Schabel in this volume.

³⁸ PL 216, col. 164, year 12, no. 145 (To the archbishop of Heraclea, the Bishop of Salumbria and the Dean of Blachernae): “Ex conquestione venerabilis fratris nostri patriarchae Constantinopolitani ad nostram noveritis audientiam pervenisse quod quidam tam clerici quam laici in partibus Romaniae quaedam patriarchalia monasteria contra justitiam detinent in ejus et Ecclesiae suae praepudicium et gravamen. Quocirca discretioni vestrae per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus tam clericos quam laicos memoratos ut monasteria patriarchalia, videlicet quae ad patriarchae jurisdictionem de jure spectant, eidem sine difficultate qualibet restituant, ut tenentur, monitione praemissa per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita compellantur. Testes autem qui fuerint nominati, etc. Quod si non omnes, etc., duo vestrum ea nihilominus exsequantur. Datum Laterani, IX Kalend. Decembris, pontificatus nostri anno duodecimo.”

The decision of this committee seems to have favoured the patriarch's claim, since, seven years after its first appearance, the issue of patriarchal monasteries surfaces again, but under different administrations. The patriarch was Gervais, the former archbishop of Heraclea, and the pope was Honorius III. In February 1217, Honorius III wrote a series of letters containing complaints against the patriarch lodged by the archbishop of Thebes, the lord of Athens, and the prince of Achaëa. One of these states the claim of the archbishop of Thebes:

Since our venerable brother, the patriarch of Constantinople, upon coming to the city of Thebes, said that certain monasteries of that city were patriarchal and pertained immediately to him, since in each one of them he found a cross that the Greek patriarch, of good memory, placed in them as a sign of prayer, which was to be given every day for him, and the said archbishop denied this, eventually both parties selected judges, who would diligently inquire concerning the jurisdiction that each party had or should have. But because those judges by virtue of the aforesaid cross alone wanted the aforesaid monasteries to be adjudged patriarchal and to pertain immediately to that same patriarch, and since it is known that those monasteries were not founded by or at the expense of the patriarch, the aforesaid archbishop and chapter, feeling themselves to be undeservedly burdened, appealed to our audience.³⁹

The archbishop and chapter of Thebes complained that the patriarch had asserted that certain monasteries were exempt from their control and depended directly on the patriarch. They found this exemption unacceptable, presumably in terms of revenue and power, and insufficient. Their argument implies that only in the case that the

³⁹ *Registri Vaticani IX*: 268, fol. 70r; *Regesta Honorii papae III*, ed. P. Pressutti, 2 vols. (Rome, 1888–1895) (hereafter cited as Pressutti plus letter number), no. 341; *Acta Honorii papae III (1216–1227) et Gregorii papae IX (1227–1241)*, ed. A. L. Tautu, Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes, Series III, vol. 3 (Vatican City, 1950), no. 6: “Ex insinuatione venerabilis fratris nostri... archiepiscopi et capituli Thebanensium nos noveritis accepisse quod cum venerabilis frater noster Constantinopolitanus patriarcha, dudum ad Thebanam civitatem accedens, quedam ipsius civitatis monasteria ex eo diceret patriarchalia esse ac ad se nullo medio pertinere, quod in eorum singulis crucem invenit quam bone memorie patriarcha grecus in signum orationis, que ibidem pro eo singulis diebus debebat fieri, posuerat in eisdem, ac dictus archiepiscopus hoc negaret, tandem arbitri ab utraque parte fuerunt electi, qui de utriusque partis iurisdictione diligenter inquirerent habita vel habenda. Verum, quia ipsi arbitri propter solam predictam crucem arbitrari volebant patriarchalia esse ac nullo mediante ad eundem pertinere patriarcham monasteria suprascripta, cum in solo vel expensis patriarche ipsa non constet esse fundata, dicti archiepiscopus et capitulum, sentientes indebite se gravari, nostram audientiam appellarunt.”

patriarchate founded the monasteries could the patriarch assert their exempt status.

In the Latin West, many monasteries enjoyed exemption from local ecclesiastical control and did so irrespective of who their founders were. Indeed, entire monastic orders, most notably the Cistercians, gained independence from local ecclesiastical jurisdiction by privilege from the pope. Moreover, as this letter makes clear, the monasteries indicated as patriarchal are indeed patriarchal in the sense of being stavropegial monasteries, enjoyed exemption from the local bishop and paid the *kanonikon* directly to the patriarch.⁴⁰ Thus, rather than an outright case of abuse, the issue of patriarchal monasteries raised important questions of power and precedent. Could the patriarch of Constantinople, like the patriarch of Rome, exempt churches from the jurisdiction of their intermediaries, or was this the power of the Apostolic See alone? Although the Greek Church was supposedly absorbed into the Latin one, to what degree were the acts of the pre-invasion patriarchs respected?

The following year (January 1218), the pope repeats practically all the charges, only in greater detail and including the accusation that Gervais was a prepotent patriarch, intent on usurping as much of the pope's prerogative as he could. Once again, the patriarchal monasteries surface; this time, however, it is the petition of all the prelates of the region, and not merely the archbishop of Thebes:

Our venerable brothers, archbishops, bishops and other prelates of Churches who are established in the lands of noble men Geoffrey, prince of Achaea, and Othon de la Roche, Lord of Athens, showed in their report that you attempt to claim as immediately subject to yourself certain churches that pertain to them, just because there are certain signs of the cross placed in them, asserting that all those churches in your patriarchate that are marked in the aforesaid way pertain to you immediately, although you support this with no right or special privilege concerning this.⁴¹

⁴⁰ *ODB* 3, pp. 1946–1947, s. v. “stavropegion”; E. Herman, “Ricerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine. *Typica ktetorica, caristicari e monasteri ‘liberi’*,” *OCF* 6 (1940), pp. 293–375, at pp. 353–355.

⁴¹ Reg. Vat. IX: 839, fol. 208r (Pressutti, no. 986; *Acta Honorii III*, ed. Tautu, no. 21): “Sua nobis venerabiles fratres nostri, archiepiscopi, episcopi, ac alii ecclesiarum prelati, in terris nobilium virorum G., principis Achaie et O. de Rocha, domini Athenarum, constituti significatione monstrarunt quod tu quasdam ecclesias pertinentes ad ipsos, ex eo dumtaxat quod in ipsis sunt quedam posita signa crucis, quasi immediate tibi subiectas vendicare contendis, asserens universas tui patriarchatus ecclesias predicto modo signatas ad te nullo medio pertinere, licet nullo super hoc iure vel speciali privilegio muniaris.

Up to this point, these discussions are almost entirely based on the patriarch's relations with Thebes, Athens and Achaëa, that is, to regions west of Makri. In August of the same year, the issue apparently widens, and Honorius writes the legate, Giovanni Colonna:

You should know that it has come to our hearing that certain people who were at the head of the Church of Constantinople in the time of the schism, wanting to appropriate unduly to themselves certain abbeys, affixed there a cross as a sign, so that by this as if by title they could keep them in perpetuity, which abbeys our venerable brother, [Gervais], patriarch of Constantinople, now holds in this sort of occupation, to the prejudice and scandal of many. We hardly reckon this manner of title or of indication sufficient for supporting the intention of the patriarch...⁴²

The case had not only widened, it reflected a shift in stance by Honorius. Precedent before the invasion no longer sufficed for the patriarchs to maintain their privileges. Thus, similarly, any exemptions from the local ecclesiastical structure granted by "the Greek patriarchs in the time of the schism" in exchange for an annual rent were quashed.⁴³

For the other Churches, however, precedence and claims to independence were perfectly valid. So, for example, while Innocent denied

Ideoque fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus, nisi aliud rationale duxeris ostendendum, a predictorum super premissis gravamine conquiescas."

⁴² Reg. Vat. X: 23, fol. 6v (Pressutti, no. 1579; *Acta Honorii III*, ed. Tautu, no. 37): "Ad audientiam nostram noveris pervenisse, quod quidam qui ecclesie Constantinopolitane tempore scismatis prefulerunt, quasdam abbatias indebite sibi appropriare volentes, crucem ibi prefixere pro signo, ut hoc quasi titulo illas possent perpetuo retinere, quas venerabilis frater noster . . . patriarcha Constantinopolitanus occasione huiusmodi occupationis nunc tenet in preiudicium et scandalum plurimorum. Nos igitur huiusmodi titulum seu indicium ad astruendam intentionem ipsius patriarche nequaquam sufficere reputantes, discretioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eo non obstante cum ad te super hiis fuerit perlata querela, partibus convocatis audias, que hinc inde duxerint proponenda et quod canonicum fuerit, appellatione remota, decernas; faciens quod decreveris etc. Testes autem etc."

⁴³ Reg. Vat. XI: 30, fol. 8r (Pressutti, no. 2607; *Acta Honorii III*, ed. Tautu, no. 71): "Quid statui debeat super hoc quod . . . patriarcha et canonici Constantinopolitani quamplures ecclesias, quas patriarche Greci tempore scismatis, in archiepiscoporum et episcoporum diocesanorum preiudicium, indifferenter, statuto sibi censu in ipsis annuo, exemerunt, nituntur sibi tamquam proprias vendicare, tua nos duxit discretio consulendos. Ad quod discretioni tue breviter respondemus, ut super hoc statuas quod secundum Deum et honestatem ecclesiasticam videris expedire. Super eo vero quod monachi Greci et heremite, propter inobedientiam sententia suspensionis et excommunicationis ligati, nolunt ad mandatum Ecclesie nisi per manualementem redire, hoc tibi duximus respondendum, quod si nullatenus possunt induci ad prestandum iuxta formam Ecclesie iuramentum, ipsos hac vice cum promissione poteris recipere manuali, cum interdum, consideratis locorum et temporum qualitatibus, severitati sit aliquid detrahendum."

that the archbishop of Patras had any privilege of exemption from the patriarch, Honorius confirms just such an exemption, made by Giovanni Colonna, the papal legate to Latin Greece, to the archbishop of Patras and to the bishop of Madyta:

Our son G[iovanni], cardinal priest of Santa Prassede, to whom we committed the office of legate in regions of Romania and the full power to do those things that are reserved to our special privilege, prudently observed that for many reasons it was expedient in those regions for some to be exempt, and that your Church and several others of the Empire of Constantinople had the reputation of having been from antiquity immediately subject to the Apostolic See, although in the time of the schism your Church, along with the others, withdrew itself from the Apostolic See. Since, as we have learned from [Giovanni's] account and as we have seen contained in his letter, he directed that your Church be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Church of Constantinople, saving the authority of the Apostolic See, and took it under the law and property of Saint Peter, prince of the Apostles, believing not to exempt it anew, but to bring it back to its pristine state, we, ratifying what was done in this matter by the aforesaid cardinal, by apostolic authority with the counsel of our brothers confirm it and strengthen it with the protection of the present writing, forbidding moreover the Church of Constantinople to presume to claim any jurisdiction over your Church or other Churches in your province in the future notwithstanding that the same cardinal, being in the regions of Romania, did not want to make public this exemption and forbade you, the dean and some of your colleagues from using this exemption until the disposition of our will was known.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Reg. Vat. XI: 473, fol. 261r (Pressutti, no. 4075; *Acta Honorii III*, ed. Tautu, no. 101): “.archiepiscopo, . . decano, et capitulo Patracensibus. Ea que per Apostolice Sedis legatos provide ordinantur apostolico decet munimine roborari, ne futuris temporibus dubitationis seu controversie calumpniam patiantur. Cum igitur dilectus filius noster Iohannes tituli Sancte Praxedis presbyter cardinalis, cui, committentes in partibus Romanie legationis officium, faciendi etiam ea que nostro sunt speciali privilegio reservata plenam contulimus potestatem, prudenter attendens expedire multiplici ratione aliquos exemptos esse in partibus antedictis ac ibidem etiam famam esse vestram et nonnullas alias imperii Constantinopolitani ecclesias ab antiquo Apostolice Sedi fuisse immediate subiectas, licet tempore scismatis se, sicut et alie, subduxerit ab eadem, ecclesiam ipsam, sicut eodem referente didicimus et in litteris eius contineri perspeximus, a iurisdictione ecclesie Constantinopolitane, salva Sedis Apostolice auctoritate, duxerit eximendam, eam in ius et proprietatem beati Petri Apostolorum principis assumendo, non tam credens illam de novo eximere, quam in statum pristinum revocare, nos, ratum habentes quod super hoc factum est a cardinali predicto, id auctoritate apostolica de fratrum nostrorum consilio confirmamus et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus, inhibentes ne Constantinopolitana ecclesia in ecclesia ipsa vel aliis in vestra provincia constitutis de cetero sibi presumat iurisdictionem aliquam vendicare, non obstante quod idem cardinalis existens in partibus Romanie premissa publicare noluit, sed tibi, fili decane, et quibusdam sociis tuis inhibuit potius ne uteremini exemptione huiusmodi,

Thus these churches joined the already long list of institutions, such as the imperial churches (in the palaces of Boukoleon and Blachernae)⁴⁵ and the Venetian churches in general, exempt from the patriarch of Constantinople's jurisdiction. The picture that Honorius' letters provide does not depict so clearly "repeated encroachments on papal prerogative" by the patriarch, but rather a systematic limitation of the power of the patriarchate and the invalidation of the actions and authority of the Greek patriarchs, "who have rashly tried to rend the seamless garment of Christ."⁴⁶

When the Franks and Venetians seized Constantinople, the patriarchate was one of the spoils they divided. Papal policy towards the patriarchs had to appease the secular authorities that kept Constantinople and the patriarchs in Latin control, without openly subjecting the Church to (Venetian) lay control. As the situation in Constantinople deteriorated, the popes increasingly permitted the reduction of the power of the patriarchs in favour of their inferiors, especially those in politically stronger regions. The cases that appear in the letters of Innocent III and Honorius III, however, do not patently reveal a patriarchate intent on usurping papal privilege: the relations between the Roman and other patriarchs, and the power and privilege enjoyed by their Churches, were being defined by the very letters that accuse the patriarchs of Constantinople of excesses. Theoretically, the patriarch of Constantinople ranked first among those second to the pope. But, as the papal administration increasingly understood the reality that the conquest of Constantinople did not unify the Churches, and as the Empire of Constantinople collapsed upon itself, the patriarchal see appeared increasingly far from the rank and prestige of the Apostolic See.

quousque super hoc sciretur nostre beneplacitum voluntatis. Nulli ergo *etc.* nostre confirmationis et inhibitionis infringere. Siquis autem *etc.* Datum Laterani II nonas Iulii, anno sexto. In eundem modum scriptum est . . . episcopo et capitulo Maditensibus *usque* patrocinio communimus, inhibentes ne Constantinopolitana ecclesia in ipsa vel Avidensi ecclesia sibi adiuncta seu aliis in earum diocesibus constitutis *etc. usque* publicare noluit, sed inhibuit potius *etc. usque in finem.*"

⁴⁵ Wolff, "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate," p. 245.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 275; the second quote translates from Pressutti, no. 1206.

ANTELM THE NASTY, FIRST LATIN ARCHBISHOP OF PATRAS (1205–CA. 1241)

Chris Schabel*

Our sources for the first few decades of the history of Frankish Greece are limited, especially for the period after about 1210 when Henri de Valenciennes's chronicle ceases and the *Chronicle of the Morea* is vague and inaccurate. For some topics we rely almost exclusively on diplomatic sources, mainly papal letters in the Vatican Archives. The letters of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) have been available for some time, and a portion of those of Honorius III (1216–1227) and even more of Gregory IX (1227–1241) have been published in full, the remainder having been printed in summary form.¹ Moreover, the effort to publish the papal letters dealing with the Eastern Churches, known as CICO, has printed the texts of many of the important letters dealing with the Greeks from these three popes.² Nevertheless, there are still a few items

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¹ Innocent III's letters are available in volumes 214–216 of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. The project to reedit Innocent's letters, *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 1 (Graz and Cologne, 1964) and vols. 2 and 5–9 (Vienna, 1977–), reached 1207 in vol. 9 (2004). For Honorius III, see *Honorii III, romani pontificis, Opera Omnia*, ed. C. A. Horoy, 5 vols. (Paris, 1879–1882), vols. 2–5, and *Regesta Honorii papae III*, ed. P. Pressutti, 2 vols. (Rome, 1888–1895), hereafter cited as Pressutti plus letter number. For Gregory IX, see *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray et al., 4 vols., Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2nd Series (Paris, 1890–1955).

² Many, but not all: *Acta Innocentii papae III (1198–1216)*, ed. T. Haluscynskij, Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes, Series III, vol. 2 (Vatican City, 1944), hereafter cited as *Acta Innocentii III*; and the less complete *Acta Honorii papae III (1216–1227) et Gregorii papae IX (1227–1241)*, ed. A. L. Tautu, Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes, Series III, vol. 3 (Vatican City, 1950), hereafter cited as *Acta Honorii III* and as *Acta Gregorii IX*. The text of the letters themselves is often incomplete, with important information elided. There are also occasional errors, even omissions *per homoioteleuton* and mistakes in dating, sometimes with disastrous consequences; see important examples in K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571). Volume I. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 40, n. 57; Ch. Schabel, "The Myth of Queen Alice and the Subjugation of the Greek Clergy on Cyprus," in S. Fourrier and G. Grivaud, eds., *Identités croisées en*

of interest waiting to be discovered in the full text of those letters that until now have been unavailable except in summaries. At the moment I am collaborating with William Duba on a project to edit the almost 250 letters of Honorius III involving the former Byzantine territories conquered by the participants of the Fourth Crusade. One of these letters sparked my curiosity about Antelm, the first Latin archbishop of Patras, and led to my characterizing him as “the Nasty.”³ The letter is dated 10 June 1224 and addressed to the archbishop of Athens and to the dean and Canon Bernard of Corinth. In 1895 Pietro Pressutti summarized it as follows:⁴

It relates the things that the Apostolic See did with respect to the archbishop of Patras, and explains individually his faults, the clamor of which had increased from the time of Pope Innocent III of happy memory, so that Pope Honorius wrote letters to the archbishop of Coron—now of Corinth—and his colleagues, and then to the archbishop of Larissa and his colleagues, and finally to Cardinal Giovanni of Santa Prassede, then papal legate in those parts. The pope announces that he has suspended the archbishop [of Patras] from his episcopal duties for a year and ordered him to live in a monastery for one year, and that he has assigned the bishop of Coron and Canon Lantelm of Patras to be his coadjutors in the spiritual and temporal affairs of the cathedral for three years, decreeing that his incomes from there, minus the archbishop’s necessary expenses for that time period, are to be given to the church for decorations and for the restoration of the structure.

As summaries go this is admittedly quite extensive. Still, in the only study devoted to Antelm, described as “one of the greatest figures of the Catholic hierarchy established in Greece after the fall of Constantinople to the Latins,” Dionysios Zakythinos merely gave it a sentence in a paragraph on Honorius III’s “disfavor” toward the archbishop, mentioning the one-year suspension and the stay in the monastery, but not the mysterious “faults” or the three-year loss of income.⁵ Aloysius

un milieu méditerranéen: le cas de Chypre (Antiquité—Moyen Age) (Rouen, 2006), pp. 257–277, esp. pp. 258–259; and below.

³ The project is *Bullarium Hellenicum: Pope Honorius III’s Letters Involving Frankish Greece and Constantinople* (hereafter: *Bullarium Hellenicum*), supported by generous funding from the University of Cyprus. The letter in question was first transcribed by a student, Christina Kaoulla, in the context of my seminar on Latin palaeography. Ms. Kaoulla, then an undergraduate, has since completed her M.A. at Cambridge and is now preparing her Ph.D.

⁴ Pressutti, no. 5034.

⁵ D. A. Zakythinos, “Ο ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἄντελμος καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἔτη τῆς λατινικῆς ἐκκλησίας Πατρῶν,” *Επετηρὶς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 1 (1933) (hereafter

Tautu saw no reason to include the letter in his CICO volume for Honorius III. In his *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, however, Giorgio Fedalto not only referred to the three years when the income was to go to the cathedral and its decor, but he also cited both Pressutti's summary and the manuscript itself of the papal letter in confirming that in a "severe" tone the letter gave a specific and detailed list of accusations against the archbishop, that is, his faults.⁶ But Fedalto himself did not relate these faults. Thus in his 1998 article on the establishment of the Latin Church in Patras, Nicholas Coureas passed over the letter—and Antelm's name—in silence.⁷ In the first volume of his *The Papacy and the Levant*, Kenneth Setton was able to sum up Antelm's reign in the following manner: "His life was full of the usual troubles with his clergy and the unruly baronage."⁸ "Usual troubles"? How many times does an archbishop get suspended for a year, sent to a monastery, and deprived of his income for three years? The charges must have been serious. None of these historians seems to have noticed that, over a century ago, Walter Norden remarked that the archbishop of Patras—unnamed in Norden's study—was in fact accused of "homicide, blinding, extortion, forgery, and plundering the Church."⁹ Below I will present a translation

cited as Zakythinos), pp. 401–417, esp. pp. 402, 415–416, with some confusion. S. N. Themopoulos, *Ιστορία τῆς πόλεως Πατρῶν ἀπὸ ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ 1821*, ed. K. N. Triantaphyllos, 2nd edition (Patras, 1950), pp. 301–308, and, less extensive, N. G. Zacharopoulos, *Ἡ Ἐκκλησία στην Ελλάδα κατὰ τὴ Φραγκοκρατία* (Thessaloniki, 1981), pp. 112–116, follow Zakythinos for the most part, while K. N. Triantaphyllos, *Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῶν Πατρῶν* (Patras, 1959), p. 67a–b, summarizes Themopoulos, although he mixes up Antelm's relationship to the military orders.

⁶ G. Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, vol. 1, 2nd edition (Verona, 1981), p. 340.

⁷ N. Coureas, "Ἡ εγκαθίδρυση τῆς λατινικῆς ἐκκλησίας στην Πάτρα μετὰ το 1204: Ὁμοιότητες καὶ διαφορές με τὴν περίπτωση τῆς Κύπρου," *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Ε' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1998), pp. 411–20. Nevertheless, in the expanded English translation, "The Establishment of the Latin Secular Church at Patras under Pope Innocent III: Comparisons and Contrasts with Cyprus," *Mésogeios* 13–14 (2001), pp. 145–163, at p. 159, Coureas calls the archbishop Gilbert and names his successor, by 1210, as Eudes. Gilbert was in fact bishop-elect of Nikli and Eudes was a mere canon of Patras.

⁸ Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, p. 38.

⁹ W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz. Die Trennung der beiden Mächte und das Problem ihrer Wiedervereinigung bis zum Untergange des byzantinischen Reichs (1453)* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 274–275. Norden saw and cited the manuscript itself, but this was his only mention of Patras during Antelm's archiepiscopate. Perhaps in a book whose first words are "Gottes ist der Occident! Gottes ist der Orient!" (p. iv), the less said about Antelm the better, although in n. 1 on p. 275 Norden gives examples of other bad Latin prelates in Greece: the archbishop of Crete, who was turning churches into bars and bordellos in 1232, and the archbishop (*sic*) of Cephalonia, who was charged with serious crimes in 1239. Simultaneously, E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums*

of the unpublished letter, which enumerates no less than thirty serious charges against the archbishop of Patras.

Beyond the letter, however, I have determined that Antelm's entire reign is important and exciting enough to warrant a reexamination in the light of the complete papal correspondence. The fact that the only separate study of Antelm is the article by Zakythinos published in Greek in 1933 partially explains the lacuna.¹⁰ Some of the very few who cite Zakythinos' article, such as Antoine Bon and Kenneth Setton, still write that Antelm died in 1232, despite the fact that one of Zakythinos' primary aims was to show that Antelm had reigned until at least 1238.¹¹ Many scholars have treated some of the events of Antelm's archiepiscopate, even relating to his church, but not from his perspective, and few mention his name. Yet, throughout his long reign, Archbishop Antelm of Patras was arguably the most important cleric in all of Frankish Greece after the patriarch of Constantinople. In later years he may even have surpassed the patriarch, especially given Antelm's role as one of the great feudal barons of the Morea, where he may have been second only to the prince of Achaëa in overall power. Absorbed in secular pursuits, Antelm almost never appears in a spiritual role in the sources, but always as a player in ecclesio-political affairs. Indeed, he even seems to have been personally indifferent to the Greeks. Granted, papal letters often give this impression, but Antelm seems to have crossed even the medieval boundaries of proper behaviour for a prelate.

This paper merely describes Antelm's reign with the following aims: to expose to a broader audience and pay homage to the research of Professor Zakythinos, with some corrections; to provide some interesting

Patras (Leipzig, 1903), p. 19, n. 1, following Eubel's *Hierarchia catholica*, mentions that "Archbishop Antelm was suspended by Pope Honorius III for a year allegedly for *dilapidationem bonorum ecclesiae Patracensis*," and so the assertion of W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant. A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566)* (London, 1908), p. 64, that the archbishop "was suspended by Honorius III, for squandering the goods of the Church," is probably based on Eubel or Gerland.

¹⁰ See Zakythinos. For the sparse earlier literature on Antelm, see *ibid.*, p. 401, n. 1.

¹¹ A. Bon, *La Morée franque. Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)* (Paris, 1969), p. 92 and n. 1; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 38a and n. 49. Few non-Greeks have actually read and employed Zakythinos, e.g. the other main treatment of Antelm, Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, pp. 325–341, which often follows Zakythinos, and also A. Ilieva, *Frankish Morea (1205–1262). Socio-cultural Interaction between the Franks and the Local Population* (Athens, 1991), p. 214, n. 161, and *passim* on Antelm.

new information from previously unpublished sources, although the fact that the information is new is cause for some reflection; and to speculate on what the diplomatic sources may tell us about our main narrative source, the *Chronicle of the Morea*, in connection with the famous episode of the construction of Chlemoutsi Castle, “the most outstanding work of secular building in all of Frankish Greece.”¹²

Getting Settled

Charters provide our best information both on Antelm’s origins and his longevity. A charter from 1210 to be discussed below relates that Antelm was a Cluniac monk from the mother house itself, and from other sources we gather that he was from Burgundy.¹³ In fact, throughout his career Antelm would maintain close contacts with what is now east-central France.

Antelm was involved in controversy from the very start.¹⁴ After the conquest of the Morea, the Greek archbishop of Patras apparently retreated to a remote monastery.¹⁵ Without the approval of Pope

¹² The quote is from P. Hetherington, *Byzantine and Medieval Greece. Churches, Castles, and Art of the Mainland and the Peloponnese* (London, 1991), p. 119; most experts share this opinion. Cf D. J. Wallace and T. S. R. Boase “Frankish Greece,” in H. W. Hazard, ed., *A History of the Crusades. Volume IV: The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States* (Madison, 1977), p. 218: “The greatest castle of the Morea,” and K. Molin, *Unknown Crusader Castles* (New York and London, 2001), p. 35, drawing a parallel with Crac des Chevaliers. Chlemoutsi is also known as Clermont, Castel Tornese, and Khloumoutsi.

¹³ The charter is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection de Bourgogne, vol. 81, no. 295, published in L. de Mas Latrie, “Donation à l’abbaye de Cluny du monastère de Hiero Komio, près de Patras, en 1210,” *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes*, 2nd series, 5 (1848–1849), pp. 308–312, on p. 312, and reprinted in Zakythinos, pp. 402–403, n. 4, although Zakythinos believes (p. 402) that Cluny is in Paris. For the Burgundy background, see *Gesta Innocentii III*, PL 214, col. cxlv, no. CIII (“Interim quidam, natione Burgundio, electus in archiepiscopum Patracensem...”) and the 1224 letter translated below, charge no. 7. More research in the archives of Burgundy and Cluny may perhaps uncover more information on Antelm’s background.

¹⁴ On Antelm’s start, see also Gerland, *Neue Quellen*, pp. 9–10; R. Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea. A Study of Greece in the Middle Ages*, I (London, 1907), pp. 133–134; A. Luchaire, *Innocent III. La question d’Orient*, 2nd edition (Paris, 1911), p. 200; Zakythinos, pp. 404–06; R. L. Wolff, “The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261: Social and Administrative Consequences of the Latin Conquest,” *Traditio* 6 (1948), pp. 33–60, esp. pp. 34, 40, 43; reprinted in idem, *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1976), no. VIII; Bon, *La Morée franque*, pp. 92–94; Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, pp. 328–329, 334; Coureas, “Ἡ εγκαθίδρυση,” pp. 411–412, and “The Establishment,” pp. 146, 159.

¹⁵ J. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), p. 192.

Innocent III or of Patriarch Thomas Morosini of Constantinople, William of Champlitte, prince of Achaia (1205–1209), seems to have installed Latin canons in the church of Saint Andrew in Patras, who unanimously elected Antelm archbishop. It is probable that Antelm was one of the clerics accompanying William to the East, since the election had no doubt occurred by the summer of 1205. William and the canons asked Innocent to approve the election, and Antelm traveled to Rome for papal confirmation, arriving before 24 November 1205, as we learn from a papal letter to Patriarch Thomas. Although Innocent at first claimed that Antelm's election was illicit, because of the uncanonical installation of the chapter of Patras, Antelm's associates who understood the business and the situation in the Morea convinced Innocent to approve the election—as soon as Antelm had himself ordained priest by a “Catholic bishop.”¹⁶

Nevertheless, a second problem presented itself: Innocent asserted that the Church of Patras was immediately subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, and so the pope informed Patriarch Thomas that he was sending Antelm to Thomas for consecration and the pallium, after which Antelm was to recognize Thomas as second only to the pope.¹⁷ Rather than go to Constantinople, however, Antelm went “time and again” to Rome until he convinced Innocent that it was too dangerous, given the wars and other disturbances, to travel around Romania and present himself to the patriarch. Nor did Antelm think it would be worth the journey to Constantinople, since the patriarch could not consecrate him anyway, because he had no co-bishops and even had to send the archbishops-elect of Athens and Thebes to Syria for their consecration. On 24 April 1207 Innocent informed the chapter of Patras that he himself had consecrated and conferred the pallium on Antelm, who was nevertheless supposed to show the patriarch due obedience and reverence.¹⁸ Since travel to Constantinople was rather frequent at the time, Antelm was exaggerating the dangers of the trip. As we learn from later developments, he would attempt to cancel his subordination

¹⁶ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 86 (24 November 1205), but since this elides a key passage, supplement with PL 215, col. 723 (no. 153), and *Die Register Innocenz' III., 8. Band, 8. Pontifikatsjahr, 1205/1206*, ed. O. Hageneder, A. Sommerlechner, Ch. Egger, R. Muraier, and H. Weigl, (Vienna, 2001), no. 154 (153), pp. 269–271.

¹⁷ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 86. On the patriarch of Constantinople's rank, see William Duba's paper in this volume.

¹⁸ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 101 (24 April 1207), again with an important lacuna to be filled with PL 215, col. 1152 (no. 66).

to the patriarch of Constantinople, so we are entitled to consider that it was all a scheme on Antelm's part. Thus an exasperated Thomas Morosini informed Innocent on how Antelm was insisting that Patras was subject directly to the papacy, and he wanted to know if Innocent had granted Antelm an exemption from Thomas' jurisdiction. On 23 November 1209 Innocent wrote to Thomas stating that he had given no such exemption, although he admitted that in his presence Antelm firmly insisted that Patras was subject directly to the pope.¹⁹

Although Zakythinos maintains that Antelm's fortunes changed during Honorius III's reign,²⁰ with the archbishop losing papal favour, we shall see that this is far from true. As Zakythinos knew, Antelm's persistence paid off, and some time before June of 1222 Giovanni Colonna, cardinal-priest of Santa Prassede, papal legate in Romania, observed that the Church of Patras "and several other Churches in the Empire of Constantinople were from ancient times immediately subject to the Apostolic See, although at the time of the Schism it, like the others, withdrew from it." Thus it was supposedly not a new arrangement but a return to its "pristine state" when Cardinal Giovanni then exempted Patras from Constantinople and placed it under Roman jurisdiction, although he imposed silence on the chapter pending papal approval. On 6 July 1222 Pope Honorius confirmed the exemption and ordered the Church of Constantinople not to interfere in the business of the Church of Patras or its province.²¹ The patriarchs of Constantinople during Honorius' papacy, Gervais (1215–1219) and Matthew (1221–1226),²² provoked the pope's anger by allegedly abusing their power and usurping papal prerogatives, and Antelm was probably fortunate that Honorius found his see to be a convenient weapon against the claims of Constantinople.

¹⁹ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 136 (23 November 1209).

²⁰ Zakythinos, p. 405.

²¹ *Acta Honorii III*, no. 101 (6 July 1222). This is recognized in Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 64; Zakythinos, p. 412; and Bon, *La Morée franque*, p. 92, n. 2. Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, does not mention Antelm's success, while Coureas, "Η εγκαθίδρυση," pp. 412–413, 420, maintains that Antelm never succeeded, although in "The Establishment," pp. 146–147, he notes that this was Antelm's aim.

²² R. L. Wolff, "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261," *DOP* 8 (1954), pp. 228–303, esp. pp. 253–254, 274–283; reprinted in idem, *Studies*, no. IX; E. A. R. Brown, "The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1204–1276," *Traditio* 14 (1958), pp. 63–120, esp. pp. 96–110; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, pp. 46a–47b. See also Duba's chapter above.

Antelm most likely returned to his see in the spring of 1207, having achieved his first goal—his archiepiscopal throne—and having got off to a good start on his second, independence from Constantinople. Antelm was also able to get Innocent to write to the clergy of Achaea to help pay the expenses for his voyages to Rome.²³ Next Antelm set about arranging the cathedral chapter more to his liking, although he had less success in this instance. Recall that it was the uncanonically installed canons of Patras that had elected Antelm “unanimously” by 1205. Returning to his see, Antelm found that, since the cathedral lay outside the city, the canons were neglecting to serve in the church.²⁴ Indeed, in early 1207 Innocent wrote to Antelm relating that he had learned that some clerics in Antelm’s province in general were drawing incomes from their positions but refused to live or serve *in situ*. Antelm was not to allow this, especially because there were not enough clerics in the newly conquered territory.²⁵ Accordingly, Antelm asked Innocent for permission to replace the secular canons of his chapter with canons regular from the important *collegio* of Saint Rufus in Valence, south of Lyons, so that in effect Antelm would have license to depose his own chapter. Innocent replied favorably in October of 1210, partly to encourage the propagation of the Latin rite, but he also told Antelm to allow the secular canons then in the church to become canons regular. Even if they did not wish to adopt a regular rule, Antelm was still to provide for them from the cathedral’s income as long as they were in continuous residence and served in the church. Antelm offered his new chapter a choice between a list of items or half his property and income as archbishop.²⁶ The change did not go over well with the secular canons, and Prince Geoffrey of Villehardouin, the successor of their supporter, William of Champlitte, assisted the old chapter in ejecting the canons regular and abbot of Saint Rufus, who had come to Romania to take up their posts. This we learn from a letter of Innocent to Geoffrey dated 7 April 1212, in which the pope orders the

²³ *Acta Innocentii III*, Pars III, annus 10, #3 (28 April 1207), to be supplemented by the full text in PL 215, cols. 1141–1142 (no. 49), which mentions his repeated journeys.

²⁴ PL 216, col. 336 (no. 159) (29 October 1210).

²⁵ PL 215, col. 1142 (no. 50) (28 April 1207—IV Kalendas, not VI). See also Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 408, n. 23.

²⁶ PL 216, cols. 336–337 (no. 159) (29 October 1210). On Saint Rufus, see G. Goyau, “Diocese of Valence,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia* XV (1912), [<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/>] (accessed 19 February 2007).

prince to restore the Church of Patras to the canons of Saint Rufus.²⁷ That Innocent could address a letter to the “prior of Patras” in 1213 suggests that Prince Geoffrey obeyed the papal mandate.²⁸

This dispute, too, continued into the reign of Honorius III, for we learn from a papal letter to the legate, Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, dated 28 August 1218, that the Church of Patras had had at different times secular and regular canons, and that the secular canons who now occupied the church wanted Giovanni to confirm their positions, “especially since the first establishment of secular canons after the Empire passed into the hands of the Latins was confirmed by Pope Innocent.” Honorius left the decision to his legate, although he added that he did not want the Church of Patras to continue in a state of uncertainty.²⁹ From a letter of 10 March 1222 to the chapter of Patras we learn that Giovanni had confirmed the secular canons in the church, and from then on the letters speak of the offices of a normal chapter of secular canons led by a dean and an archdeacon. Having ultimately failed to replace the seculars, Antelm apparently did not offer them the same deal as he had the canons regular of Saint Rufus, but rather sought permission to divide up “both the abbeys and *casalia*, possessions, and other goods of the Church of Patras,” which division Cardinal Giovanni and Pope Honorius approved.³⁰ This arrangement by no means put an end to the struggle between archbishop and chapter. The charges against Antelm that originally prompted this paper had been circulating since the beginning of Honorius III’s reign, as we shall see, and the chapter appears to have been the driving force.

Another issue that was not resolved until Honorius III’s papacy was Antelm’s jurisdiction. Before the Frankish conquest the Greek archbishop of Patras ranked below his counterpart in Corinth and had

²⁷ *Acta Innocentii III*, Pars III, annus 13, nos. 34–35 (October 1210), and Pars III, annus 15, no. 1 (7 April 1212); J. Richard, “The Establishment of the Latin Church in the Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1277,” in B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby, eds., *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London, 1989), pp. 45–62, esp. p. 50.

²⁸ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 209 (26 August 1213).

²⁹ *Bullarium Hellenicum*. Cf. summary in Pressutti, no. 1601 (28 August 1218).

³⁰ *Bullarium Hellenicum*. Cf. summary in Pressutti, no. 3842 (10 March 1222). As we shall see, there are several references to Archdeacon John of Benevento from 1218 to 1224, but in 1222 and early 1225 letters mention a dean, in the latter case Dean N. (Pressutti, no. 4028 and 5269), so apparently Patras had both. We also have mentions of a treasurer (1224), Martin the chaplain (1231), and at various times Canons Oddo, Lantelm, Master P[eter], and Master Bohemond.

suffragan bishops in Lakedaimonia, Modon, Coron, Helos, Volaina, Nikli, and Kernitsa.³¹ Since Corinth held out against the Franks until 1210 and Patras was closer to the prince's residences in the northwestern Peloponnesus, Patras was elevated to first position among the prelates of the Morea. On 19 April 1207, probably before Antelm departed from Rome, Pope Innocent gave him instructions for dealing with the Greek higher clergy in his province. Antelm had told the pope that with the Latin conquest of Achaea, some of his Greek suffragan bishops had fled their sees out of fear and would not return, although they had been warned to do so many times, while others could not even be reached because of the continuing war. Innocent told him to be patient because of the recent upheavals, give three citations with deadlines, and only then move to force them to come with threats of suspension and excommunication, unless they appealed. If that did not work, or if they deserted their churches more than six months, the papal legate Benedict, cardinal-priest of Santa Susanna, would depose them and replace them with others, although out of mercy, in order to deal with them more easily, the cardinal should not demote them.³²

We do not know how hard Antelm tried to recall the fleeing Greeks or with what success, since we have little information about the identity of the bishops, especially in the early years of Frankish rule. The only Greek known to have stayed, a bishop "on the island of Zakynthos," was not obedient to Rome and led a scandalously dissolute life, according to Innocent's letter to Antelm dated 19 September 1207. Antelm was told to warn him to mend his ways, or else the bishop would be replaced. Despite Migne's erroneous rubric in the *Patrologia Latina*, it is clear from the letter that it concerned the bishop of Zakynthos and not of Cephalonia, although Zakynthos was subject to the count of Cephalonia.³³ The Church of Zakynthos had been subject to the see of Corinth before the conquest, however, and it is unclear whether it

³¹ Ilieva, *Frankish Morea*, pp. 80–81. Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, p. 329, suggests that Volaina is the later Olena.

³² *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 100 (19 April 1207). For the Greeks, see e.g. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 65; Zakythinos, pp. 406ff; Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, pp. 329–330; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 410, n. 29; M. S. Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks (1204–1262): A Study of the Greek Population and the Orthodox Church under Frankish Domination* (Ioannina, 1987), pp. 66–67; and Coureas, "Η εγκαθίδρυση," pp. 413–416, and "The Establishment," pp. 147–149.

³³ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 104 (19 September 1207). Cf. PL 215, cols. 1125–1126 (no. 128).

was transferred to Patras or subjected to Corinth after the latter fell to the Franks. The fact that a dispute had arisen by 1213 between the archbishop of Corinth and the bishop of Cephalonia, who had been a suffragan of Corinth but was claiming to be subject directly to the pope, suggests that Zakynthos and Cephalonia were not in Antelm's province. Innocent told Antelm to investigate the question and prevent Corinth from harassing Cephalonia in the meantime.³⁴

The subject of Antelm's jurisdiction is confusing, with some controversy and changing interpretations over time.³⁵ Innocent wrote to the bishops of Achaëa in March of 1210 telling them to stick to the borders of the dioceses that existed in Greek times and reprimanding them for being too quick to excommunicate for no good reason. He also wrote to Antelm in 1212 saying that suffragan bishops were to obey their archbishops, but we are not given specifics.³⁶ When the fiefs of the Morea were divided up around that time, a number of them were given to Antelm and the bishops of Olena, Modon, Coron, Veligosti, Nikli, and Lakedaimonia,³⁷ probably all suffragans of Antelm at that point. The poor diocese of Helos was conquered a few years later and then remained in lay hands without a Latin bishop until 1223, while the diocese of Kernitsa, between Patras and Corinth, was perhaps too small to merit receiving fiefs in exchange for military service, although it did have a bishop-elect in 1213.³⁸

It has been claimed that Andreville (Andravida), the capital, where the bishop of Olena probably resided, was itself raised to a bishopric,

³⁴ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 208 (5 August 1213).

³⁵ See e.g. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 63; Zakythinos, p. 405; Wolff, "The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate," pp. 44–46, 55–57; Bon, *La Morée franque*, pp. 92–94, 97–99; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, pp. 37b–38a; Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, pp. 329, 339–40; A. Ilieva, "Η Πάτρα κατά το πρώτο ήμισυ του ΙΓ' αιώνα," in *Συμπόσιον πνευματικόν επί χρυσῷ ἰαβηλαίῳ ἱερωσύνης τοῦ μητροπολίτου Πατρῶν Νικοδήμου 1939–1989* (Athens, 1989), pp. 528–544, at pp. 539–540; eadem, *Frankish Morea*, pp. 145–147; Zacharopoulos, *Η Εκκλησία στην Ελλάδα*, pp. 112ff; Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks*, pp. 20–21; Coureas, "Η εγκαθίδρυση," p. 413, and "The Establishment," pp. 147, 158–159.

³⁶ PL 216, col. 223 (nos. 26–27) (25 and 23 March 1210); *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 188 (18 May 1212). See Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 406b and n. 13.

³⁷ See the 1989 reprint of *Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως*, ed. P. P. Kalonaros (Athens, 1940), lines 1955–1961. The dating issue is complicated given the different circumstances of the conquest, e.g., pre-1207 for Venetian Coron and Modon (see Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, p. 333), 1209 or shortly afterwards for others, etc.

³⁸ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 209 (26 August 1213); *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 4505 (19 September 1223). For Helos remaining in Greek hands for a time, see Ilieva, *Frankish Morea*, p. 137.

but this is unlikely. Various papal letters in Antelm's reign confirm that there were bishoprics of Olena, Modon, Coron, Veligosti,³⁹ Nikli, Lakedaimonia, Kernitsa, and also Zakynthos and Cephalonia, but not Andreville. In a letter of 9 April 1212 Innocent III relates that he has heard that the bishopric of "Landrevilla" is among the sees of Romania, but he also states that Prince Geoffrey and others hold its property and refuse to allow a bishop to be established, claiming that the legate Cardinal Benedict—whose legation ended in 1208—installed four canons there and that no other arrangement would be made. Innocent orders the return of the Church's property, but not the placement of a bishop, at least pending an investigation.⁴⁰ Otherwise, for Andreville there are only mentions of the archdeaconate and of a *praepositus*. More importantly, in 1217 the *praepositus* of Andreville is described as if that made him automatically a canon of Olena, while in 1218 a letter mentions "the archdeaconate of Andreville in the diocese of Olena." Andreville did have a special status, but it never had its own bishop.⁴¹

Some changes no doubt occurred after the fall of Corinth and other towns. Explicit statements on Antelm's actual jurisdiction are hard to find before 1222. There is no doubt about Nikli and Olena, as we shall see, and we are probably on secure ground with Modon, Coron, Veligosti, Lakedaimonia, and Kernitsa. A letter of 1217 addressed to the bishop of Olena and the deans of Coron and Cephalonia is the only indication that the see of Cephalonia may have been transferred to the jurisdiction of Patras by that time.⁴²

³⁹ Bon, *La Morée franque*, p. 98, says that Veligosti is not mentioned, but it is listed in a passage omitted *per homoioteleuton* in *Acta Honorii III*, no. 93; see below.

⁴⁰ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 187 (9 April 1212). Contrary to Luchaire, *Innocent III*, pp. 201–202, the pope did not actually order the installation of a Latin bishop.

⁴¹ Andreville had an archdeaconate by 1208: PL 216, col. 222 (no. 25) (dated 24 March 1210, but referring to a collation of Prince William of Champlitte that was approved by Cardinal Benedict); col. 332 (no. 116) (25 October 1210); *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 912 (9 December 1217); *Acta Honorii III*, no. 30 (31 March 1218); the 1224 letter translated below. Andreville is in fact listed in a 1228 catalogue of bishoprics. Nevertheless, it received nothing in the 1223 settlement between Church and State, discussed later, although Olena, Modon, and Coron did (Cephalonia being outside Geoffrey's immediate control). This supports Bon's contention, *La Morée Franque*, pp. 99, n. 6 (with a typographical error, "Corinthe" written instead of "Patras"), and 101, n. 4, that Andreville was not a separate episcopal see, but rather, p. 93, it equalled Olena. The 1228 catalogue is problematic in other respects anyway. Thus a letter of 26 September 1236 still refers to "the Hospital of Andreville of the diocese of Olena" (*Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 3346).

⁴² *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 912 (9 December 1217).

At any rate, given papal permission in 1217 to divide and unite dioceses,⁴³ Cardinal Giovanni Colonna again intervened in the province's affairs, eliminating poor dioceses in a way that Pope Honorius III approved in March of 1222. Kernitsa was absorbed into Antelm's own diocese. An old diocese of Christianoupolis was split between Modon and Coron, and Veligosti was absorbed into Coron, both Modon and Coron being subject to Patras. Zakynthos was annexed to Cephalaria and Lakedaimonia took over Nikli. Nevertheless, since the general reshuffling included the province of Corinth, it is not certain whether Cephalaria and Lakedaimonia were then suffragan bishoprics of Patras.⁴⁴ At some point before 1228, for obvious geographical reasons, Cephalaria was subject to Patras while Lakedaimonia was placed under Corinth, probably an exchange. It follows that in Antelm's last years he ruled over suffragans of Olena, Modon, Coron, and Cephalaria, although in turn the limits of the prince's political control must have limited Antelm's say in ecclesiastical matters in Venetian Modon and Coron, as well as in Cephalaria.⁴⁵

As we have seen, in 1210 Antelm tried to replace the secular canons in his chapter with canons regular. In what is basically the new canons' foundation charter, Antelm offers them a detailed list of assets and then concludes that, if this is not acceptable, he will split the possessions of the church with them. Thus the list must constitute roughly half of the ecclesiastical possessions of the Church of Patras. They are offered lands and vineyards sufficient to provide grain for 50 people and wine for 60, to be put in their *cellarium* without their labor or expense; enough fish and salt without cost; an olive grove which would provide enough oil for the church's needs and for 60 people; 300 hens, 200 sheep, 30 pigs, and 100 pounds of wax annually, giving them 300 pigs and 700 sheep to start with; and 200 hyperpyra annually for clothing. In order to receive paupers and guests, moreover, he would give them no less than 50 carucates of good land—roughly 2000 hectares or 5000 acres—40 oxen, 40 cows, 30 ploughmen, and enough vines to supply wine for ten people for a year. In addition they would have *rustici* to work full time

⁴³ *Acta Honorii III*, no. 11 (24 April 1217).

⁴⁴ *Acta Honorii III*, no. 93 (11 March 1222), which unfortunately omits *per homoioteleuton* the absorption of Veligosti by Coron! The *Bullarium Hellenicum* will correct this and other errors.

⁴⁵ Further changes occurred after mid-century. See e.g. Ilieva, *Frankish Morea*, p. 146.

in their house at no expense to themselves, and Antelm would grant them half of the archiepiscopal income in tithes, funeral expenses, and alms.⁴⁶ According to the *Chronicle of the Morea*, moreover, Antelm and his canons were given eight knights' fiefs,⁴⁷ but whether this is included in Antelm's 1210 calculations is unknown. Undoubtedly ecclesiastical property was distinct from secular property, but as we shall see Antelm had difficulties with the prince on both accounts.⁴⁸

Nor do we know whether Greek ecclesiastical property was included in either assessment. A significant item in Innocent III's papacy concerns the fate of Greek churches, monasteries, and ecclesiastical property. With his chapter's consent, Antelm granted the "domus" of Saint Mary "de Ierocomata," situated near the city of Patras, along with all its appurtenances to Cluny in 1210, "since I am a son and alumnus of the church of Cluny, and whatever is good or honest in me, although I know it is little"—probably an honest self-evaluation as well, as we shall see—"I have from my mother the church of Cluny," according to the charter mentioned above.⁴⁹ The terms of Antelm's donation were generous, but it is unclear in the charter what he gave or whether it was rightfully his to give in the first place. Zakythinos asserts that it was a "metochio" or dependency of the "Theotokos of Gerokomeio,"⁵⁰ but we shall see later that Antelm was involved with "Gerochoma" Abbey itself, while other letters suggest that Antelm had something up his sleeve. On 26 October 1210 Innocent wrote two letters to three bishops in Frankish Greece outside the Peloponnesus concerning disputes over property between Antelm and the Templars. The first concerned the "domo de Geracomita" and movable goods valued at 2,618 hyperpyra, which the Templars claimed Antelm had stolen. According to Innocent, the case

⁴⁶ PL 216, cols. 336–337 (no. 159) (29 October 1210). On the canons, see also Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, p. 335.

⁴⁷ For the *Chronicle of the Morea*, see below.

⁴⁸ D. Jacoby, "Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque," *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967), pp. 421–481, esp. p. 427; reprinted in idem, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Roumanie latine*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1975), no. VI, remarks how difficult it is to estimate property.

⁴⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection de Bourgogne, vol. 81, no. 295, printed in Mas Latrie, "Donation à l'abbaye de Cluny," p. 312, and Zakythinos, pp. 402–403, n. 4. See also Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, p. 327.

⁵⁰ Zakythinos, p. 402 and also p. 407 and n. 2. The monastery, very close to the city, is still extant: see K. N. Triantaphyllos, *Ιστορία τῆς βυζαντινῆς μονῆς Γηροκομείου τῶν Πατρῶν* (Patras, 1954) for its history, pp. 13–16 for the Frankish period, with a Greek translation (p. 14) of the donation charter. Its existence is only certain from 1204, the sources discussed here being the only ones known for the early period.

had earlier been turned over to the archbishop of Athens and bishop of Thermopylae, who had decided in favor of the Templars against the “obstinate” Antelm. Then more recently, after Antelm failed to abide by the decision, the Templars and Antelm argued the case in the pope’s presence. In the letter the pope now re-delegated the case to the three bishops.⁵¹ The panel of three bishops indeed found that the Templars had been unjustly despoiled of “Iheracomite” and the goods worth 2,618 hyperpyra and they condemned Antelm to pay expenses for the judicial procedure, this time sentencing to excommunication anyone who would dare to go against the decision. In September 1211 Innocent wrote to the archbishop, dean, and Canon T. of Thebes telling them to enforce this sentence of excommunication.⁵² The later charges against Antelm suggest that he never gave the Templars the abbey. Indeed on the back of the donation charter a contemporary note reads, “the priory of St. Mary of Ierocomata, which is situated next to the city of Patras, positioned in a beautiful and pleasant place,” hinting that Cluniacs actually did occupy the site at least for a time.⁵³

The other letter of October 1210 relates that Antelm and the Templars were disputing the claim to “the abbey called Provata” (i.e. “the sheep”)⁵⁴ and that the pope had assigned the case to the Archdeacon John of Andreville, who decided in Antelm’s favor. The case then went before Innocent, who again decided against the Templars, except that they were to be allowed to prove their claims before the three bishops. For the time being, Antelm was to possess the abbey, but this would change if the panel reversed the decision.⁵⁵ These letters show clearly

⁵¹ PL 216, cols. 331–332 (no. 155) (26 October 1210). Cf. *Acta Innocentii III*, Pars III, annus 13, no. 31. For Antelm’s later involvement with the abbey, see the letter translated below, charge no. 20.

⁵² The summary in *Acta Innocentii III*, Pars III, annus 14, no. 9 (30 September 1211) is confused. Reg. Vat. 8, fols. 69v–70r, actually says that when, to the panel, “constiterit plenius praedictos fratres rebus praefatis fuisse contra iustitiam spoliatis, possessionem earum salva quaestione proprietatis de prudentum virorum consilio sententialiter adiudicaverunt eisdem, et condemnantes praefatum archiepiscopum in moderatis expensis, in eos qui praesumerent eorum sententiae contraire excommunicationis sententiam promulgarunt.”

⁵³ See charge 18 below. For the marginal note, see Mas Latrie, “Donation à l’abbaye de Cluny,” p. 311.

⁵⁴ This monastery is not listed in Triantaphyllos, *Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῶν Πατρῶν*, but maybe it was far from the city. Bon, *La Morée franque*, p. 453, could not identify it.

⁵⁵ PL 216, cols. 332–333 (no. 156) (26 October 1210). The name of the archdeacon is given in PL 216, col. 222 (no. 25) (24 March 1209). Why these letters are not in CICO is an interesting question.

that Greek monasteries had ended up in Latin hands in the years immediately following the conquest.

Thus Antelm and the Templars were on rather bad terms, and it may very well be that Antelm wished to annoy them and gain a powerful ally in Cluny by granting them “Ierocomata” and its property, the title to which he did not legally possess. One looks with suspicion, then, on Antelm’s other ostensibly spiritual activities. For example, at the same time that he was complaining bitterly to Innocent about Prince Geoffrey, as we shall see later, he told the pope that the prince had followed Antelm’s advice and donated much property and possessions to the Cistercian Hautecombe Abbey in Savoy for the purpose of founding a daughter house in the East. The pope ordered Hautecombe to send a group of monks to Antelm. There are remains of at least one (Zaraka) and probably two (Our Lady of Isova) Cistercian houses for monks that were established in the Morea around Antelm’s time. Either of them may be Hautecombe’s daughter, and it is perhaps possible to read the later charges against Antelm as identifying one of them as the abbey of Casa Dei.⁵⁶ Towards the end of his life Antelm seems to have used Hautecombe itself as a safety deposit box for funds embezzled from Patras, so his earlier motives may have been purely temporal. Finally, in 1212 Antelm donated a piece of the cross of Saint Andrew to Guy de Roti, under which circumstances we do not know.⁵⁷

Church-State Struggles

Antelm’s main conflict was with the secular powers and concerned property and his role as a feudal baron. According to the *Chronicle of the Morea*, when the spoils of the conquest were divided up, the High Court consisted of the twelve leading secular lords and seven

⁵⁶ PL 216, cols. 341–342 (no. 167) (5 Nov. 1210); charge 16 below. See also Zakythinos, p. 407, and Brown, “The Cistercians in the Latin Empire,” pp. 85–87. On the Cistercians in Greece, see also B. Bolton, “A Mission to the Orthodox? The Cistercians in Romania,” in D. Baker, ed., *Studies in Church History 13: The Orthodox Churches and the West* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 169–181. On the Cistercian houses, see B. K. Panagopoulos, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece* (Chicago, 1979), pp. 27–52, esp. pp. 50–52.

⁵⁷ The donation charter is in P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 2 (Geneva, 1878), p. 98, reprinted in Zakythinos, p. 417, n. 6. At some point Antelm also gave away the head of Saint Eirene; see also Ilieva, *Frankish Morea*, p. 215 and below.

ecclesiastical barons, who owed knights' services in the field but were exempt from other duties. Antelm's share of the fiefs made him the leading baron among the prelates and sixth overall.⁵⁸ Despite the fact that Prince William of Champlitte was behind his election to the see of Patras, the archbishop's relations with William's successors, Geoffrey I (1209–ca. 1229) and Geoffrey II (ca. 1229–1246) of Villehardouin, were sour.⁵⁹ The conquest of the Morea was drawn out and untidy, compared to Richard the Lionheart's conquest of Cyprus in 1191 or the fall of Constantinople itself in 1204. In the chaos opportunism reigned. Prince Geoffrey of Villehardouin complained to Innocent III around the beginning of 1210 that some clerics, knights, and others who had come to Achaia and received fiefs had forced their subordinates (*homines sui*) to pay a heavy tax (*redemptio*) and left the land desolate with as much money as they could collect. And when it was in their interest Latins allied with Greeks against other Latins.⁶⁰ But it was Prince Geoffrey himself and other Latin lords who caused problems for Antelm and the rest of the Latin clergy by seizing church wealth in the early years after the conquest.

*Phase I: 1210–1213*⁶¹

The problem of the lay seizure of ecclesiastical property arose as soon as the dust began to settle after the conquest. On 4 October 1208 Innocent

⁵⁸ *The Chronicle of Morea*, trans. H. E. Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea* (New York and London, 1964), pp. 127–128 and n. 58. Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, pp. 332–333, discusses Antelm's entry into the feudal nobility of Frankish Greece.

⁵⁹ Zakythinos, p. 408, agrees.

⁶⁰ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 141 (22 March 1210). See also Luchaire, *Innocent III*, p. 203; Zakythinos, pp. 406–407; Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, p. 334; Coureas, “Η εγκαθίδρυση,” p. 416, and “The Establishment,” pp. 150–151. While Fedalto leaves the “*homines suos*” and “redemptionem” untranslated, Coureas maintains that Greeks were forced to redeem themselves from serfdom. Luchaire is no doubt correct that they merely imposed a “taux exceptionnel, exorbitant” on their “nouveaux sujets.”

⁶¹ On Phase I of the dispute, for which there are numerous brief treatments, see Gerland, *Neue Quellen*, pp. 10–17; Luchaire, *Innocent III*, pp. 200–207, taking Patras as an example of “le guerre de la féodalité et le l'épiscopat,” but without notes and never mentioning Antelm's name; Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia*, pp. 118–119, 128; Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, pp. 50–53, 64–65, 75–76; Zakythinos, pp. 408–415; Brown, “The Cistercians in the Latin Empire,” pp. 98–99, n. 119; Bon, *La Morée franque*, pp. 94–95; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, pp. 31a–32a; Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, pp. 334–339; N. Cheetham, *Medieval Greece* (New Haven and London, 1981), pp. 72–73; Ilieva, *Frankish Morea*, p. 144; Richard, “The Establishment of the Latin Church,” pp. 56–57; Coureas, “Η εγκαθίδρυση,” pp. 416–420, and “The Establishment,” pp. 150–156.

wrote to Antelm and to two other prelates complaining that the lady of Thessaloniki, the widow of Boniface of Monferrat, had confiscated church possessions in her domain, and Antelm and the others were to try to rectify the situation.⁶² For the Latin Empire of Constantinople proper, that is the area east of the town of Makri, in an agreement of 17 March 1206 the Church regained little of what it lost at the conquest. Only after 1220 did the situation improve from the Church's perspective: in 1219 the barons and prelates reached a new agreement, in June 1221 the new Emperor Robert of Courtenay accepted it, and on 17 March 1222 Pope Honorius III confirmed it.⁶³

The Church seemed to fare better in the area from the Kingdom of Thessaloniki to Corinth, however. On 2 May 1210 in Ravennica, the Emperor Henry and the barons came to an agreement with Patriarch Thomas and the prelates of the region in question. Innocent confirmed and even tried to extend the pact, in a letter also addressed to Antelm, but this was not done until 23 January 1216. The terms—regardless of their implementation—were very favourable to the Church, especially to Patriarch Thomas, who was able to assert his jurisdiction in those lands.⁶⁴

Although Antelm wished to avoid subordination to Thomas, it is surely because Prince Geoffrey wanted to avoid returning church possessions that the initial Ravennica pact of May 1210 did not apply to Achaëa. Instead, late in 1210, after Antelm had informed him in person, Innocent wrote a number of letters deploring the situation in the Morea.⁶⁵ As we have seen, Antelm was engaged in a bitter dispute

⁶² *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 118 (4 October 1208).

⁶³ *Acta Honorii III*, no. 95. See Wolff, "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate," pp. 255–274.

⁶⁴ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 217 (incorrectly giving 25 January 1215 as the confirmation date) and *Acta Honorii III*, no. 48 (incorrectly giving 1215). On these agreements in general, the quarrel, and the situation of the Greeks, in addition to Zakythinos and Coureas, "Η εγκαθίδρυση" and "The Establishment," see e.g. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, pp. 38a–41a; Zacharopoulos, *Η Εκκλησία στην Ελλάδα*, pp. 214–219; Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*, pp. 184–197; Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks*, pp. 71–72 and 74–77; Richard, "The Establishment of the Latin Church"; Ilieva, *Frankish Morea*, pp. 144ff; M. Hirschbichler, *Monuments of a Syncretic Society: Wall Painting in the Latin Lordship of Athens (1204–1311)* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 2005), *passim*.

⁶⁵ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 171 (31 October 1210, partly translated in Luchaire, *Innocent III*, pp. 204–205) and Pars III, annus 13, nos. 31–33, 36–38, 40–43 (26 October–6 November 1210); and full texts in PL 216, cols. 339–340 (nos. 162–163) (29 October 1210), and cols. 342–344 (nos. 170–174) (5–6 November 1210).

over property with the Templars at the time, but he also had difficulties with Geoffrey. Apparently Geoffrey and other Franks violently took possession of property in the Patras diocese that had been in the hands of the Greek Church before the conquest, and the clergy was forced to file their claims in the secular courts, because the prince and other laymen did not distinguish between the ecclesiastical and secular properties seized at the conquest. Individual letters refer to specific cases, for example some unnamed property that the Church of Patras had been renting from the Byzantine emperor and then from the monastery of Pantokrator in Constantinople for a small sum, which arrangement Antelm wished to continue;⁶⁶ a fief in Constantinople that the nobleman Guiard and Guillaume had granted Patras when Antelm had paid one of them 800 hyperpyra, but which Geoffrey seized and granted to a knight; and Antelm's land of Larsa, for which we are provided more information. Antelm told the pope that when Prince William of Champlitte left Achaea, he made Hugh of Champlitte his bailli and general proctor, promising to ratify whatever he granted and giving him his own seal. On his deathbed Hugh left Larsa to the Church of Patras. Although Prince Geoffrey approved this and invested Antelm with the fief, when Antelm sent his bailli to collect the income of the estate, the nobleman P. of Becciniaco claimed to hold the land from the prince and would not allow the bailli to proceed, taking the profits for himself. Much worse, Innocent received a complaint from Antelm that claimed that a knight "C"⁶⁷ and some of his associates from the diocese of Patras burst into the archbishop's house, laid hands on him, and violently captured his poor bailli, who was struggling against them in defense of the Church's rights, cutting off his nose. The knight's servants then captured Antelm and kept him in a "dreadful prison" for five days, and he suffered many other injuries at the hands of the knight and his accomplices. Geoffrey and others also annulled and seized bequests to the Church, impeded ecclesiastical jurisdiction, conferred benefices on laymen and clerics according to their pleasure without permission from the bishops, supported excommunicates, prevented Greek priests

⁶⁶ For the Pantokrator arrangement, see Jacoby, "Les archontes grecs," pp. 424–425.

⁶⁷ Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 64, identifies the knight "C" with the lord of Patras, William of Aleman, either not noticing the "C" or thinking it an error (in Migne or in the register) for "G." In the 1224 letter translated below, Antelm leaves the nobleman "Conrad of Patras" in charge of his archdiocese, so perhaps this is the knight "C"—in an era of more friendly relations between the two.

and monks from showing obedience to the Latins because the lords did not want to free them from servile dues, and refused to pay their tithes as they had promised when they took communion before going to war against Michael Comnenus (Doukas), despot of Epiros.

In all cases Innocent demanded restitution and satisfaction, including the return of all property belonging to the Church under the Greeks and enjoyed by it at the time of the conquest. Perhaps in vain, the pope confirmed the *casalia* and possessions of Antelm and others, including “the grant that Guiard and Guillaume had freely made to the Church of Patras of the *dimossarium* of Patras (probably state lands), the whole of *Autumpna*, and all the *casalia* of *Exafilina* that those noblemen are known to have acquired at the capture of Constantinople.”⁶⁸

Although Antelm had been elected by canons installed in the church of Saint Andrew, he informed Innocent that from the beginning the archiepiscopal throne of Patras was in Saint Theodore, where the archbishops were enthroned and sometimes lived and were buried. Antelm now complained that a castle—Patras Castle—had been built around it, the bones of his predecessors had been dug up, and the throne had been removed. Innocent responded that he wanted the situation rectified. The Cathedral of Saint Andrew, on the other hand, lay close to the shore and suffered from the incursions of pirates. Antelm wanted to fortify the buildings accordingly, so that his clerics and servants could reside there in safety. On Antelm’s behalf Innocent warned Geoffrey not to hinder the archbishop’s plans.⁶⁹

While the dispute over property between Antelm and Geoffrey escalated in 1210, the general problem of Latin and Greek laymen occupying church property continued in the area covered by the Ravennica accord and elsewhere in Frankish Greece, despite that agreement, until in May of 1212 Innocent ordered some prelates to threaten the laymen with ecclesiastical censure. Antelm had sent the bishop of Karditsa

⁶⁸ PL 216, cols. 340–341 (no. 165) (30 October 1210). Jacoby, “Les archontes grecs,” pp. 423–424 and nn. 8–9, gives an explanation for the *dimossarium*.

⁶⁹ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 170 (29 October 1210), and PL 216, col. 342 (no. 169) (5 November 1210). Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 64, Bon, *La Morée franque*, p. 450, and others assert that the lord of Patras, William Aleman, was responsible for Antelm’s problems with the castle and fortifications, but another letter (PL 216, cols. 898–899 [no. 98]) makes clear that Antelm primarily held Geoffrey to blame. Patras Castle is away from the sea in the east of town, and Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 64, still saw fragments of the throne in its walls. Bon, *La Morée franque*, pp. 670, 673, asserts that the church was incorporated into the castle. The modern successor to Saint Andrew is still next to the shore in the west of the city.

to the papal curia to complain about Geoffrey and others on behalf of prelates throughout Frankish Greece—although characteristically Antelm apparently failed to fulfill his sworn promise to pay the bishop's expenses.⁷⁰ When the situation did not improve Antelm himself went to the papal curia to complain on behalf of the prelates. Innocent thus wrote again in the summer of 1213 concerning Geoffrey and others who were still retaining church possessions and withholding tithes. The pope had warned Geoffrey to make restitution and to appear before a panel of prelates—the archbishop of Thessaloniki and the bishops of Sithonia and Karditsa—before a deadline, and failing this the panel excommunicated Geoffrey and the others, putting their lands under interdict. Antelm, who was not on the panel, now wanted the sentences of excommunication and interdict strengthened by papal approval. Antelm also complained that Geoffrey and his men had unjustly despoiled him of his own throne and the castle and *dimossario* of Patras, his properties and the incomes deriving from them, and other things. Moreover, Prince Geoffrey and others would not allow the churches to possess what was given, sold, or bequeathed to them.⁷¹

Concerning Antelm's own property, the proctors of Geoffrey and the nobles, Dean W. of Modon, Geoffrey's chaplain Master Jean de Bourbonne, and a knight, W. de Bitis, replied that they never thought that the archbishop had been despoiled, but if this were established, they would make restitution. As far as the excommunication goes, however, the proctors responded that they had lodged an appeal with the pope before the deadline. The basis of the appeal was that the panel itself was filled with those who had an interest in the case against Geoffrey, and they were not able to get a copy of the papal letter giving instructions, "nor in the transcription of the letter that was merely shown to them was there any mention of the *agreement* on those matters between the Prince and nobles and the archbishop." Despite the assertion of most commentators, the agreement between Antelm and Geoffrey is *not* the same as the Ravennica accord, which did not apply to Achaëa. Indeed, in Innocent's 1216 confirmation of Ravennica, the pope expressly states

⁷⁰ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 194 (23 May 1212); PL 216, cols. 595–596 (nos. 71 and 73) (25 May 1212).

⁷¹ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 209 (26 August 1213), omitting Antelm's personal complaints; PL 216, cols. 898–899 (no. 98). Several scholars (e.g. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 414a) have claimed that Antelm himself promulgated the sentences of excommunication, but Antelm merely sought their confirmation.

that Cardinal-bishop Pelagius of Albano had found that the princes and the Church had reached separate and *minus utiles* agreements *after* the Ravennica accord, agreements that made no mention of Ravennica. Geoffrey had managed to cut a separate deal with Antelm.⁷²

According to Innocent, Antelm admitted that an appeal against the sentences had been lodged with him, but said that he did not know that the appeal was made for the reasons stated. Moreover, the nobles' proctors maintained that they would prove their case before the pope and were prepared to pledge all their belongings. Therefore, although for technical reasons he could not decide the case legitimately, Innocent decided that the nobles should take an oath to comply with the final decision, and then the sentences of excommunication and interdict would be relaxed, pending the decision of the papal legate he would assign to the case, Cardinal Pelagius.⁷³

*Phase II: 1218–1223*⁷⁴

It is possible that the general dispute between Church and State in Frankish Greece went into hibernation for a time, but it had certainly not been solved. Indeed, since Antelm and others attended the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215,⁷⁵ they no doubt informed the pope that the

⁷² *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 209; PL 216, cols. 898–899 (no. 98); *Acta Honorii III*, no. 48 (19 January 1219, containing Innocent's confirmation). Zakythinos, p. 411, mentions that Ravennica did not apply to Antelm's area, but still links Geoffrey's excommunication to that agreement. The CICO editor, Haluscynskyj, claims that the *compositio* is Ravennica. Brown, "The Cistercians in the Latin Empire," p. 98, n. 191, wrongly says that Geoffrey had accepted Ravennica's provisions before 1213, citing the *compositio*. Migne considers the *compositio* to be Ravennica and on col. 898, n. 129, connects it to Honorius III's final solution of 4 September 1223 (see below), which is printed on cols. 968–972. The confusion of the CICO edition and Brown's perhaps led Coureas, "Η εγκαθίδρυση," p. 420, and "The Establishment," pp. 155–156, to the conclusion that the nobles had accepted Ravennica. Using Migne, Zakythinos, p. 412, has it correct. The real agreement only came in 1223, as we shall see.

⁷³ *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 209, again with omissions of text in PL 216, cols. 898–899 (no. 98); for Pelagius' assignment, see e.g. *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 212 (31 August 1213), full text in PL 216, cols. 903–904 (no. 106).

⁷⁴ For the second phase of the dispute, see e.g. Gerland, *Neue Quellen*, pp. 17–19; Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia*, pp. 131–135; Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, pp. 87–89; J. Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople et le principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949), pp. 164–166; Bon, *La Morée franque*, pp. 95–97; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, pp. 47b–49b; Iliava, *Frankish Morea*, pp. 145, 216; Cheetham, *Medieval Greece*, p. 73.

⁷⁵ For Antelm's and others' attendance, see the list published in A. Luchaire, "Un document retrouvé," *Journal des Savants* 3 (1905), pp. 567–568, esp. p. 562, cited in Bon, *La Morée franque*, p. 94, n. 2.

Ravennica accord was not being enforced, and surely Antelm begged the pope to extend the agreement to his own archdiocese. Thus on 23 January 1216 Innocent III cancelled whatever agreements had been made after Ravennica, confirmed Ravennica itself, and ordered it to be implemented not only in the original areas but also in all places west of Makri, including the territories of Prince Geoffrey, in which Antelm's province was situated.⁷⁶

Unlike the secular powers involved in the Ravennica accord, however, Geoffrey of Villehardouin had never agreed to the pact nor to its extension. A letter from Pope Honorius III to Patriarch Gervais of Constantinople dated 11 February 1217 informs us that the patriarch had excommunicated Prince Geoffrey and Othon de la Roche, lord of Athens, no doubt in 1216.⁷⁷ Honorius does not seem to have supported Gervais' move, and the real trouble began in 1218, when the papal legate Cardinal Giovanni Colonna also excommunicated Geoffrey. On 19 January 1219 Honorius wrote to all the archbishops of Romania from Thessaloniki to Patras and their suffragans, reconfirming Ravennica as extended to all places west of Makri,⁷⁸ and two days later, at the request of the prelates of Romania, Honorius confirmed Giovanni's excommunication of Prince Geoffrey, Othon de la Roche, and others for retaining abbeys and churches and their possessions, (Greek) priests, and movable and immovable goods, contrary to the extended Ravennica accord.⁷⁹ In March of 1221 we find that Honorius had instructed the patriarch to absolve Geoffrey and the others, but the pope now issued new orders to Cardinal Giovanni and the patriarch to hold off on the absolution until further instructions.⁸⁰

Of course, Geoffrey and his men cannot have held all church lands in Achaea, because we learn via other letters dated the following year that Antelm and the chapter were dividing up the Church's abbeys, *casalia*, possessions, and other goods, having reached an agreement between the two sides. We also find them receiving a payment in wax

⁷⁶ *Acta Honorii III*, no. 48 (19 January 1219).

⁷⁷ The complete text is in S. Lampros, *Ἐγγράφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, his supplementary vol. 3 to his annotated translation of F. Gregorovius, *Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens, 1906), no. 7.

⁷⁸ Lampros, *Ἐγγράφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, no. 11.

⁷⁹ Lampros, *Ἐγγράφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, no. 10.

⁸⁰ Pressutti, nos. 3162–3163 (6 March 1221).

from the *burgo* of Patras Castle along with olive oil from the orchard for the church's lamps. In addition, Cardinal Giovanni assigned the casale of Saint Theodota—which had remained the common possession of archbishop and chapter—to support two caretakers of the cathedral, the remaining income being devoted to the repair of the fabric, which was otherwise the joint responsibility of both Antelm and the chapter. Judging from the letters, the castle itself may have been in the Church's hands as well.⁸¹

Nevertheless Geoffrey continued to control ecclesiastical possessions, and on 15 March 1222 Honorius wrote a long and strongly worded letter to Geoffrey himself, criticizing him for occupying abbeys, churches, and their possessions, holding their *papates* (Greek priests), and taking the rights and movable and immovable goods of the Church, contrary to the Ravennica accord that Innocent ordered extended to all Romania.⁸² He began thus: "In transferring the imperium to the Latins from the Greeks, because of their obstinate disobedience, the Lord, in whose hands are the powers and rights of all kingdoms, esteemed and enriched you highly in it." By 1222 the Kingdom of Thessaloniki and the territory of the emperor himself had declined to the point that Geoffrey was the most important Latin lord in Frankish Greece,⁸³ and so Honorius considered that the on-going problems between Church and State in all of Romania concerned Geoffrey first of all. Moreover, with Latin Romania being slowly whittled away, Antelm himself was becoming the leading cleric in terms of real jurisdiction.

Next Honorius summarized the events of the past couple of years. He recalled how Cardinal Giovanni, on hearing the complaints of the prelates and clerics of Geoffrey's lands, had often tried to persuade the prince to change his ways. Having no success, the cardinal was forced to excommunicate Geoffrey and place his lands under interdict. Geoffrey not only persisted, but went on to more serious offenses, exiling some clerics, imprisoning people who sheltered clerics, violating holy places, closing churches, stealing relics, capturing clerics and their horses, cutting down the trees of the churches, afflicting their men with such great

⁸¹ Pressutti, nos. 3841–3842 (10 March 1222). Recall the earlier offer to the canons regular of Saint Rufus.

⁸² *Acta Honorii III*, no. 94.

⁸³ According to D. Jacoby, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Frankish States of Greece," in D. Abulafia, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History V* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 532: "After the fall of the Kingdom of Thessalonika in 1224 the other Frankish lords rallied around Geoffrey I."

angariae and *perangariae*—even branding them on their faces—that they were compelled to flee church lands, and having others force secular clerics to uncover their heads disgracefully even while travelling on the public ways so that they risked capture. Geoffrey persisted thus in his excommunicated state for over three years without seeking absolution. Finally, however, he gave in, and with his hands in those of Cardinal Giovanni, Geoffrey swore to obey the pope's orders and thus received absolution from the legate. Therefore the prince sent Master Jean de Bourbonne—his chaplain and chancellor⁸⁴—and two of his knights, A. de Canosa and P[ierre?], his marshall, to Honorius to receive the pope's orders. Honorius perhaps surprised them by presenting the 1219 agreement between the barons and prelates of the Empire of Constantinople east of Makri—already accepted by Emperor Robert in 1221—that the pope would confirm officially two days later.⁸⁵

According to Honorius, Geoffrey's nuncios rejected it completely. Not wishing to absolve someone so unwilling to comply as he was bound by oath, Honorius in effect gave Geoffrey an ultimatum: either adopt the Constantinople accord or accept, implement, and swear to observe without delay the terms of Ravennica, the agreement that Innocent III had established “at the time of the General Council,” which Honorius had confirmed afterwards, returning to the churches in full what the accord specified, as the barons of the Empire west of Makri were known to have done. The prince of Achaea was to have his vassals comply as well. Honorius also detailed how Geoffrey was to deal with the clergy. If the prince complied, the sentence of interdict on his territory would be removed, but if he did not, the archbishops of Athens and Thebes and the bishop of Negroponte had orders to reissue the sentence of excommunication against Geoffrey.

By March of 1222, therefore, Geoffrey had managed to obtain from Giovanni Colonna absolution from his sentence of excommunication, but his lands remained under interdict. Since through his agents the prince had refused to comply with the pope's mandate as he had sworn to do, the pope not only maintained the interdict but made Geoffrey's

⁸⁴ The phrase in *Acta Honorii III*, no. 95, is as follows: “Unde cum propter hoc magistrum I. de Borbonio cancellarium, A. de Canosa et P. marescalcum milites, nuntios tuos, ad Sedem Apostolicam destinatis...” This demonstrates that Jean de Bourbonne was then acting as Geoffrey's chancellor. On Jean's earlier activities in Palestine, see H. E. Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem* (Hannover, 1996), 2: pp. 720–737 and 924, document no. 19.

⁸⁵ On 17 March 1222: *Acta Honorii III*, no. 95.

absolution from the sentence of excommunication contingent on the implementation of the pope's mandate. The next step was up to Geoffrey: either reverse his stance, comply, and have his lands released from interdict, or continue as he was and be re-excommunicated. On 1 April Honorius in fact ordered the three prelates mentioned to excommunicate "Prince Geoffrey of Achaea, his son Geoffrey, and his vassals," if they did not comply within four months.⁸⁶

Geoffrey still did not comply, since Honorius later scolded the bishop of Negroponte for not "reducing the prince of Achaea to his pristine sentence of excommunication" automatically after the four-month deadline had passed.⁸⁷ From a letter of 4 September 1223 that Honorius wrote to Geoffrey, we learn that the prince eventually informed the pope that he had chosen the Ravennica accord.⁸⁸ But instead of implementing its terms, "You said that you had accepted the aforesaid resignation [of Ravennica] . . . , but you did not allow it to have any effect, but rather you entered into an extremely illicit and completely dishonest agreement with the prelates of your land up until the pass of Megara of Corinth." Honorius asserted that this was by the "counsel of Ahithophel." So three cardinals, Pelagius of Albano, Thomas of Santa Sabina, and Giovanni Colonna, along with some prelates of Geoffrey's territory and the prince's nuncio Peter Aleman,⁸⁹ a knight, came to a new agreement in the papal curia, applying a "tempered" Ravennica accord, "with the assent of the prelates of your land up until the pass of Megara," but excepting the lands of Othon de la Roche, lord of Athens. Before yet another copy of the Ravennica pact, Honorius's letter included several new clauses that modified it. Most of them deal with the Greeks,⁹⁰ but the first one is as follows:

⁸⁶ *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 3924.

⁸⁷ *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 4482 (7 September 1223).

⁸⁸ *Acta Honorii III*, no. 115. See Zakythinios, pp. 414–415. Brown, "The Cistercians in the Latin Empire," p. 98, n. 191, suggests that Geoffrey had accepted it long ago, but it can only have been after the deadline passed in July or August of 1222, and probably months later.

⁸⁹ For his identity, see Gerland, *Neue Quellen*, p. 15, n. 1.

⁹⁰ Including that the Greeks subject to Geoffrey would have to pay tithes. Coureas' contention, "Η εγκαθίδρυση," p. 421, that, according to the contemporary Cypriot agreement, the Greeks of Cyprus had an advantage in not having to pay tithes has to be reconsidered. The free Greeks and Syrians of Cyprus are in fact recorded as paying tithes in various documents. Coureas' remarks elsewhere (p. 419; "The Establishment," pp. 156–157) appear to apply to Greek serfs, but in this case even in the Morea they probably did not pay tithes (although Coureas, "The Establishment," p. 160, claims they did). The difference in the agreements no doubt stems from the

All cathedral churches situated within the borders of your aforementioned territories shall possess free from any lay tax and jurisdiction all possessions that they hold at present or are known to have held at any time since the moment of the coronation of Alexios Bambacorios,⁹¹ except for the just akrostika that are owed, according to the guidelines written below, not withstanding any agreements that are found to have been made for all time, nor those for which no documents are apparent, unless some of them are fittingly accepted by the prelates and their subjects after the churches' welfare has been considered.

Two other clauses forbid further litigation from either side concerning church property or past injuries. Honorius then states that Geoffrey would have to pay to the churches situated up to the pass of Megara damages for lost income, possessions, and goods from the time of his excommunication by Giovanni Colonna some five years earlier. This was to total 1,000 hyperpyra annually, only about the annual revenue of a single fief.⁹² Of that amount, 170 hyperpyra were to go to each of Patras and Corinth Cathedrals, 150 to each of Lakedaimonia-Nikli, Modon, Coron, and Olena, and 60 to Argos. Geoffrey and his men, and those who would receive lands in the future, were to swear to uphold the pact, and any of their subjects who failed to do so within a year would be excommunicated.⁹³ A few days later Honorius wrote letters

fact that more wealthy Greek landlords remained in Achaea than in Cyprus. Since there is no indication that Antelm himself was especially concerned with the Greeks, I will compare these agreements in a separate study on serfdom and the lower Greek clergy in Latin-held lands.

⁹¹ Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 88, and Zakythinos, p. 414 and n. 1, followed Lampros in identifying him with Alexios V (Mourtzouphlos; 1204), while some western historians (e.g. Bon, *La Morée franque*, p. 96, and Ilieva, *Frankish Morea*, p. 145) claimed it was Alexios I (1081–1118). Apparently it was Alexios III (1195–1203), which seems logical. See Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 48, n. 16.

⁹² Personal communication with David Jacoby.

⁹³ There is some general confusion in the literature about the terms of the agreement, for example with the numbers, e.g. in Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 88; Bon, *La Morée franque*, p. 96, n. 4; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 48, n. 2; Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, pp. 339 and 372. For one thing, the edition in *Acta Honorii III*, no. 115, in addition to committing a horrendous omission *per homoioteleuton* dropping the reference to Lakedaimonia-Nikli and Coron, claims that Argos was given “sexaginta octo” hyperpyra, but their is no “octo” in the manuscript, nor should there be. Thus several scholars using the *Acta* have written “68” and complained about the pope’s math skills. Those who count 60 still criticize Honorius’ mathematics, since the numbers appear to add up to 1,150 (rather than 1,158). However, what the wording and the numbers do is confirm that Lakedaimonia and Nikli were in fact merged in 1222, so that, counting them as one see, we do get 1,000 hyperpyra. The bishop of Nikli is still mentioned on 13 September 1223 (*Acta Honorii III*, no. 119), but was described as old and weak on 3 August 1222 (*Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 4103). Probably he was

ordering that Antelm and the canons of Patras take oaths that, in the inquiry into the specifics of the settlement, they would be truthful and not claim anything more than they were entitled from Geoffrey and his men.⁹⁴ If the parties could not agree on the specifics, the archbishop of Corinth and the bishops of Coron and Modon were to conduct an investigation seeking documents and witnesses and to refer the case to Honorius, having established a deadline for the parties to appear and having collected a security deposit amounting to the value of the possessions that the Church of Patras claimed. Only afterwards were they to relax the sentence of interdict placed on Geoffrey's lands.⁹⁵

Not wanting to punish Geoffrey too severely, however, given the need for the defense of the Latin Empire, Honorius granted the prince and his men the income from churches belonging to the Church of Constantinople or to the destroyed or derelict churches in his land for twenty more years and relieved them of having to repay previous revenues. Of course the churches themselves were to remain in ecclesiastical hands, and the matter required some investigation. Alternatively, Geoffrey and his men were permitted to reach a permanent settlement with the prelates and chapters concerning these incomes. Also for the defense of the Latin lands, Honorius allowed Geoffrey to retain temporal jurisdiction over some of the Greek regular clergy for twenty years. In addition, realizing that the quarrel had been going on for many years, the pope specified what was unclear in the pact: with Antelm's and the prelates' approval, Geoffrey would not have to repay incomes he had received from occupied church property from the time before he was excommunicated by Cardinal Giovanni Colonna in 1218.⁹⁶ Finally—and this is important for our later discussion—although church buildings were otherwise to be returned, Honorius excepted castles that had been built around them or that had been “constructed or reconstructed on

allowed to remain in place until his death, which would explain the phrasing of the 1223 settlement, “150 to the churches of Lakedaimonia and Nikli,” and the mention of a dean as late as 5 July 1224 (*Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 5077). Nicholas IV reconfirmed the merger on 24 July 1245: *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. E. Berger, 4 vols., Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2nd Series (Paris, 1884–1919), no. 1385.

⁹⁴ *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 4488 (9 September 1223).

⁹⁵ *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 4506 (19 September 1223).

⁹⁶ *Acta Honorii III*, nos. 114, 114a (4 September 1223), 117 (9 September 1223), and 119 (13 September 1223); *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 4490 (13 September 1223).

ecclesiastical property for the needs of the land,” for which Geoffrey was to pay fitting satisfaction to the churches involved.⁹⁷

Still, even when Honorius wrote the letter detailing the charges against Antelm, the question of the property of the Church of Patras had still not been settled satisfactorily, since on 27 July 1224 the pope addressed another letter to the archbishop of Corinth and the bishops of Coron and Modon, the commission that was to investigate the specifics of the case, complaining that the commission had not informed him sufficiently to enable him to reach a decision. Moreover, perhaps because Antelm was busy with his personal affairs, no procurator for the Church of Patras had shown up.⁹⁸ And so the case dragged on, although the silence afterwards suggests that the matter was soon put to rest, perhaps toward the end of 1224 or in 1225.

Chlemoutsí Castle and the Chronicle of the Morea

I have gone on at some length about this struggle for a good reason. We have one other source concerning the dispute between Prince Geoffrey and Archbishop Antelm and the other prelates of the Morea. In describing the distribution of fiefs following the conquest, the *Chronicle of the Morea* reports that “The metropolitan of Patras, with his canons, was given eight knights’ fees to hold.”⁹⁹ At some point the archbishopric also acquired the entire barony of Patras and thus became the most important fief in the Morea. Historians usually date this vaguely to around or after the middle of the thirteenth century, after Antelm’s death, but it may have happened at the death of the first baron, William Aleman, ca. 1220–1225, or gradually thereafter:¹⁰⁰ we have

⁹⁷ Lampros, “Εγγραφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν,” no. 14 (16 September 1223).

⁹⁸ *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 5098.

⁹⁹ *The Chronicle of Morea*, trans. Lurier, pp. 127–128 and n. 58; *Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως*, ed. Kalonaros, lines 1955–1956. A letter of 1233, quoted below, suggests that Antelm received Patras itself by that time. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 49b, says the clergy was “impoverished,” but this seems to be a naive interpretation of clerical complaints.

¹⁰⁰ The issue is discussed in Gerland, *Neue Quellen*, pp. 13–16, and Ilieva, “Η Πάτρα,” pp. 540–543. Following the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle*, the only one to give a number for the barony’s fiefs (24), Gerland argues against Hopf’s theory that the archbishopric obtained the barony at William Aleman’s death, or at the death of his son, Peter Aleman. The Aragonese version, which has “Walter” Aleman and not William, mentions other descendants than Peter. But how much trust should we place in this

seen that in 1222 Antelm perhaps controlled the very castle that he had complained about a decade earlier, and a letter of 1233 translated below states explicitly that Antelm held Patras Castle from the prince. So when Geoffrey asked his barons for advice on how to capture the castles that were still in Greek hands, they answered as follows:

You know, my lord, that the churches hold close to one third of Morea, of the whole principality. They sit and take their ease and give not a thought to the war which we are carrying on with the Romans. Therefore, lord, we declare and give you this advice, that you bid them come with arms to help us that we may take the castles which are holding out against us; and if they do not do so, seize their fiefs.¹⁰¹

We are then told that Geoffrey did seize the Church's fiefs when the prelates refused to aid him, stating that "they owed him only honour and homage, as a prince which he was, and they declared that what they had and held, they had from the pope." We read that he collected the income or revenues from these fiefs for three years, using the money to build Chlemoutsi Castle, for which "the bishops" excommunicated him. He sent "friars minor" (φρεμενουρίους/φρεμινουρέους) and "two knights" (καβαλλαρίους) to the pope explaining that he was at war with the Greeks and needed the help of the clergymen, who refused. The pope understood why he had seized Church income, and absolved Geoffrey. Then Geoffrey summoned the archbishop of Patras and the others, showed them his absolution, and, returning them their lands, explained to them that he had acted in everyone's best interest to defend the Morea. At this, the prelates "forgave him and made peace and they promised henceforth to be at his command."¹⁰²

Now, Bon sees "no reason to doubt" the basic account, but admits that "certain details might be inexact."¹⁰³ All commentators—including many not cited in this article—have dated these events to the very late 1210s and early 1220s, usually 1220–1223, since Patriarch Gervais of Constantinople excommunicated Geoffrey I of Villehardouin in 1216, Cardinal Giovanni Colonna excommunicated him in 1218,

version of an often-muddled chronicle? Cf. e.g. Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, p. 205, and *The Chronicle of Morea*, trans. Lurier, p. 128 n. 58.

¹⁰¹ *The Chronicle of Morea*, trans. Lurier, pp. 148–149; *Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως*, ed. Kalonaros, lines 2632–2639.

¹⁰² *The Chronicle of Morea*, trans. Lurier, pp. 148–151 and n. 97. *Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως*, ed. Kalonaros, lines 2645–2647, 2653, 2659 (and *apparatus criticus*), 2719–2720, and generally 2626–2720 for the episode.

¹⁰³ Bon, *La Morée franque*, p. 95.

Honorius III confirmed this in 1219, after a pause in 1221 the conflict re-erupted in 1222, only to conclude, it seemed, in 1223, although certain details remained to be worked out. This would be the logical date for Chlemoutsi's construction, and the first we hear of the castle in other documents is 1224.¹⁰⁴ Therefore Chlemoutsi Castle would be the most securely dated castle in the area.

It seems to me that the evidence could be interpreted differently: the *Chronicle* could be referring to events of 1210–1213, events that Bon and others have only partially understood. The *Chronicle* is quite vague and untrustworthy for the early years. It specifies that the episode began when the Greeks still possessed Corinth, Argos, and Nauplion, which fell to Geoffrey in 1210–1212. The following paragraph refers to an attack on Monemvasia, the construction of Chlemoutsi Castle, and, most importantly, Geoffrey's sending Franciscans and two knights to the pope, which might better fit the early 1220s. Finally, the chronicler appears to attribute the events not to Geoffrey I, but to Geoffrey II. Since it used to be thought that Geoffrey II began his reign in 1218, this did not present a problem and in fact reinforced the main interpretation that the events were from ca. 1218–1223. Now, however, the beginning of his reign is dated to 1228–1230—indeed the letter of 1 April 1222 mentions Prince Geoffrey and his son Geoffrey.¹⁰⁵ The Aragonese version even assigns this to William II of Villehardouin, who did not reign until 1246. Thus we have a *terminus ante quem* of 1210 and a *terminus post quem* of 1228–1230, clearly impossible. But since the events took place in Geoffrey I's reign, there is little reason to insist on a 1218–1223 date. It is important, moreover, to note that the entire episode is absent from the French version of the *Chronicle*. Without entering the debate over the original language of the first version of the *Chronicle*, French or Greek,¹⁰⁶ since the extant French version is an abridgement, and the

¹⁰⁴ Bon, *La Morée franque*, pp. 95–96; *The Chronicle of Morea*, trans. Lurier, p. 149, n. 97. Molin, *Unknown Crusader Castles*, attributes it to Geoffrey I with a date of 1220–1223 on pp. 214 and 377, n. 25, but to Geoffrey II (1228–1246) on p. 217.

¹⁰⁵ Some still give the earlier dating, such as Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, p. 337, here following Buchon.

¹⁰⁶ The debate is extremely complicated. Ilieva, *Frankish Morea*, pp. 51–54 and notes, gives a nice summary. The stemma and dating of the various versions has more or less been settled by D. Jacoby, "Quelques considérations sur les versions de la 'Chronique de Morée'," *Journal des Savants* (1968), pp. 133–89, reprinted in idem, *Société et démographie*, no. VII. The question of the language of the original, which Jacoby maintains was French, is still much debated. Earlier (1964), Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors*, pp. 32–61, discussed how ideology infected previous discussions and argued strongly for

Aragonese version puts the episode in William II's reign, we should entertain the possibility that the passage was either a later addition to a common ancestor, or was contained on a folio of that ancestor that had dropped out and was later bound at the end. The Aragonese and Greek scribes/authors could then have replaced the episode in context as best they could.¹⁰⁷

The evidence from the papal letters of 1210–1213 fits the story in the Greek version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* just as well as the other theory. First, we can accept the *Chronicle's* explicit statement that the Greeks still possessed the three strongholds that fell in 1210–1212. Second, the ecclesiastical fiefs were indeed seized by or in 1210 and it seemed that the issue was resolved by an agreement ca. 1213. Third, whereas the time from Giovanni Colonna's excommunication of Geoffrey in 1218 to the resolution in 1223 is five years, the earlier phase of the dispute in 1210–1213 lasted exactly three years, as the *Chronicle* specifies. Fourth, in 1210–1213 it was an archbishop and two bishops that excommunicated Geoffrey, as in the *Chronicle*, while in 1216 and 1218 it was a patriarch and a cardinal-legate.

French. Afterwards, M. J. Jeffreys, "The Chronicle of the Morea: Priority of the Greek Version," *BZ* 68 (1975), pp. 304–350, dissolved many of the linguistic arguments against there being a Greek original. Jeffreys, "The Chronicle of the Morea," p. 329, actually discusses the Chlemoutsi episode in his argument, but his treatment reveals the limitations of non-historical analyses. He still attributes the events to Geoffrey II's reign and therefore claims that the French version tried to compensate by adding a sentence when talking about Geoffrey II. His explanation for the lacuna, that the passage is offensive to the pope and Church, the pope having been "forced to make concessions," is flawed in that the pope appears in a positive light and is hardly forced to do anything. Rather Geoffrey sent representatives to "beg" for the pope's absolution, according to the *Chronicle*, which the pope granted "straightway" upon hearing their arguments, and afterwards Geoffrey actually returned the lands to the prelates, who then "forgave him." In my opinion, although on historical grounds I tend to the view that the original was French (see also D. Jacoby, "Social Evolution in Latin Greece," in H. W. Hazard and N. P. Zacours, eds., *A History of the Crusades VI: The Impact of the Crusades on Europe* [Madison, 1989], p. 176, note), given that no extant version is the original and instead all extant versions show signs of modification, the linguistic arguments cannot offer conclusive evidence. In any case, all versions do represent important pieces in the history of literature and language.

¹⁰⁷ If it was part of the "original," it may have belonged closer to lines 2084–2086, where the four strongholds remaining in Greek hands are mentioned, since these four castles suddenly usher in the Chlemoutsi episode on line 2626. But the whole telling of Geoffrey I's and Geoffrey II's reigns reads like a collection of stories tossed together, often with no relation to correct chronology.

Two items may support the later date, however.¹⁰⁸ First, in 1222 Geoffrey does send a master and two knights to the pope, while in 1213 he has a dean, a master, and a knight at the curia. The 1222 embassy thus is perhaps a little closer to the “friars minor and two knights” reference in the *Chronicle*. Nevertheless, the 1222 embassy to the pope actually failed, and it was only the 1223 mission of the one knight, Peter Aleman, that succeeded. Moreover, although it is highly unlikely that Franciscans could have been sent as early as 1213, Geoffrey’s only named clerical agent in 1222, Master Jean de Bourbonne, also represented the prince in the early 1210s and was not a Minorite.¹⁰⁹

The second item is that Honorius mentions castles constructed on church lands for defensive purposes in his September 1223 correspondence, which may apply to Chlemoutsi. Still, in the same correspondence the pope admitted that Geoffrey had held these church lands and received church incomes well before his 1218 excommunication, and Chlemoutsi could have been constructed at any time. Indeed, if Chlemoutsi was built amidst fears of the Greeks as a “princely fortification at the centre of the land of Villehardouin in Elis equidistant from the capital of Andreville and the port of Glarentsa,”¹¹⁰ why would Geoffrey have waited until the 1220s rather than build it at the beginning of

¹⁰⁸ A third possible argument is as follows: the Church does not seem to have held nearly one third of the principality in 1210–1213, for according to the explicit list of fiefs in the *Chronicle* (*The Chronicle of Morea*, trans. Lurier, pp. 126–128 and notes; the secondary bibliography on this is extensive), only 27% were in ecclesiastical hands, and this does not include the prince’s own holdings or those of the many knights and sergeants, meaning that the actual figure would have been much lower. After the Church of Patras received from William Aleman the barony of Patras, 24 fiefs in the Aragonese version, this figure rises to 42%, and factoring in Geoffrey’s and the knights’ and sergeants’ lands, it may indeed have seemed to amount to close to one third. Antelm did not hold the barony in 1210–1213, but he may have held it by 1222, as we have seen, although most commentators date the acquisition to the period after Antelm’s death. Still, the list of fiefs omits Church lands per se.

¹⁰⁹ See R. L. Wolff, “The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,” *Traditio* 6 (1948), pp. 213–237, esp. pp. 213–214; reprinted in idem, *Studies in the Latin Empire*, no. VII, giving the evidence for slight Franciscan presence in Constantinople in 1220. Cf. J. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 28–31.

¹¹⁰ The quote is from P. Lock, *Οι Φράγκοι στο Αιγαίο 1204–1500*, trans. G. Kousounelos (Athens, 1998), p. 139. There is no specific dating evidence except for the *Chronicle* and the first mention in 1224. Via e-mail communication, Prof. Lock informed me that archaeological excavations have not made the dating more precise. The best we can say on that basis is that it is an early 13th-century construction. On Chlemoutsi, see K. Andrews, *Castles of the Morea* (Princeton, 1953; reprinted Amsterdam, 1978), pp. 149–158; Bon, *La Morée Franque*, pp. 608–629; Molin, *Unknown Crusader Castles*, passim.

his reign, around 1210–1213, when Michael Doukas, despot of Epiros, was actively threatening the principality? After all, this is exactly what seems to have happened in the case of Patras Castle.¹¹¹

Given the confusion of the *Chronicle*, then, we are entitled to suggest either 1210–1213 or 1218–1223—or the very real possibility that the author conflated the events of 1210–1223 into those of a three-year period.¹¹²

Antelm the Nasty

While Antelm was solving one problem he was in the process of creating another. Efforts to secure independence, money, and power do not necessarily entail that a medieval prelate was deficient as a spiritual leader. With Antelm, however, this does seem to have been the case. Not only did he defy the patriarch of Constantinople, but early on he came up against Innocent III on spiritual matters. In March 1210 the pope sent two letters to a group of three canons, two from Thebes and Canon Eudes from Antelm's own chapter, relating that the canons of Nikli complained to him that, despite their protests, Antelm had illicitly consecrated Gilibert, former abbot of Flavigny, the great Benedictine abbey to the west of Dijon, as bishop of Nikli, while the bishop-elect, Imbert, was still alive. At some time after May of 1198 Gilibert had been condemned at the Apostolic See itself for his "*enormes excessus*," infractions that earned him removal from his previous post. Innocent ordered the canons to look into the case.¹¹³

Antelm was thus capable both of defying papal sentences and of promoting criminals to bishoprics. It comes as little surprise, then,

¹¹¹ On the threat, see Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 35b; Ilieva, *Frankish Morea*, p. 133. We have seen that Innocent himself mentions Michael's threat in conjunction with the early phase of the dispute.

¹¹² Perhaps for this reason K. Setton, "The Latins in Greece and the Aegean, from the Fourth Crusade to the End of the Middle Ages," in J. M. Hussey, ed., *The Cambridge Medieval History IV: The Byzantine Empire. Part I: Byzantium and Its Neighbours* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 396–397, is carefully vague on dating the events described in the *Chronicle*. If so, he is probably close to the mark.

¹¹³ PL 216, col. 224 (nos. 29–30) (25 and 24 March 1210 respectively). See Zakythinos, pp. 407–408, who dates the letters incorrectly to 1209 and calls Imbert "bishop" already, and Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, p. 335, and Bon, *La Morée franque*, p. 93, who call Gilibert "abbot." Gilibert had been excommunicated by a local bishop before May 1198, but Innocent absolved him: PL 214, cols. 167–168 (no. 188) (22 May 1198).

that a letter of 9 December 1217 from Pope Honorius informs us that Antelm had ignored an appeal to the pope on a similar matter. The see of Olena had been vacant long enough for its provision to fall to the pope, and so P[eter], the *praepositus* of Andreville, a canon of Olena, went to Rome on behalf of the chapter, and Honorius granted the canons the power to elect a new bishop. The canons chose Peter himself, whom Honorius consecrated and sent back to his Church, but in the meantime Antelm, ignoring the mission to the pope, consecrated W. as bishop. On Honorius' previous instructions, the dean of Cephalonia ejected W. and installed Peter, but Empress Yolande of Constantinople asked that W. be provided for with the see of Lakedaimonia. The pope agreed, providing the see was vacant.¹¹⁴ We do not know the ultimate outcome, but nine years later we learn that the unnamed bishop of Olena had been accused of horrible crimes against clerics, although not as horrible as the crimes Antelm allegedly committed.¹¹⁵

Perhaps Antelm's attitude toward the appeal to the pope did not put him in Honorius' good graces, but he was already in more serious trouble for other reasons. From a letter of 4 April 1218 we learn that "while suspended the archbishop of Patras was said to have celebrated the divine offices" and that he had committed "certain other *excessus*."¹¹⁶ Perhaps Cardinal Giovanni himself had suspended Antelm, since in April 1217 Honorius had given the legate the power even to depose bishops convicted of crimes.¹¹⁷ Honorius had ordered an investigation into the allegations against Antelm, to be carried out by the archbishop of Corinth (then bishop of Coron) and the deans of Corinth and Coron. Antelm launched an appeal to impede the investigation, so the archdeacon of Patras, John of Benevento, went to Rome to beg the pope to speed things up, asking that some witnesses who were already at the curia give their deposition concerning "some of the articles of the investigation," presumably the charges we learn about later. With the agreement of Archdeacon John and Archdeacon James of Corinth, Antelm's representative, Cardinal-bishop Thomas of Santa Sabina heard the case, which was argued for some time. James asserted that

¹¹⁴ *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 912.

¹¹⁵ The bishop's numerous crimes are described in detail in *Bullarium Hellenicum* (there is only a summary in Pressutti, no. 5918) (6 May 1226).

¹¹⁶ *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 1215. On these troubles, see also the brief discussions in Zakythinos, pp. 415–416, and Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, p. 340.

¹¹⁷ *Acta Honorii III*, no. 11 (24 April 1217); cf. *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 1597 (25 August 1218).

contrary to the Fourth Lateran Council (canon 8), the inquisition was obtained by Antelm's "rival and open enemy" and should be revoked, and Archdeacon John should not be heard after Antelm's appeal to the pope. Not wishing to delay things, Honorius had Cardinal Thomas hear the witnesses on some of the charges and ordered the archbishops of Larissa and Athens and the dean of Athens—the addressees of the letter—to proceed with the investigation and give Antelm a deadline for appearing in Rome in person. Given the date of the letter, 4 April 1218, and the time required for all of these events, Antelm's suspension probably occurred already in Innocent III's reign (d. 1216) and the process began at the very beginning of Honorius' papacy.

Almost three years later, however, things had not progressed, because Antelm insisted that, since John of Benevento was his enemy, Honorius' letters ordering an investigation, which John had obtained, should be revoked, and Antelm requested that Honorius annul them. Antelm reminded Honorius that Cardinals Pelagius of Albano and Giovanni Colonna had a high opinion of himself, and so on 7 January 1221 Honorius asked Giovanni to see if what Antelm claimed was true, and if so, to rectify the situation.¹¹⁸ Meanwhile Antelm retaliated by depriving John of Benevento of the archdeaconate and the possessions pertaining to it. On 9 September 1223 Honorius ruled that Antelm had acted unjustly and commanded him to make restitution, including 160 hyperpera of accrued income. But in the meantime the archdeaconate had been granted to a papal scribe, Master Hugh, who said that he already held the post and appealed the pope's decision. The case was argued at the curia before Cardinal-deacon Gregory of San Teodoro, but when Hugh's agent revealed that Antelm himself had given Hugh the archdeaconate, in January of 1224 the pope decided in favour of John of Benevento, now called "Master John."¹¹⁹ In what was probably tit for tat, the chapter deprived Antelm's supporter, a Master Peter, of his canonry because he had been absent for more than the statutory limit of a year and a month. Antelm claimed that the same statute allowed him to bring one or two canons on business at his expense, and that

¹¹⁸ *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 2959.

¹¹⁹ *Bullarium Hellenicum*. Cf. summaries in Pressutti, no. 4490 (9 September 1223) and 4654 (5 January 1224). Hugh ended up a canon of Argos: Pressutti, no. 4489 (9 September 1223). He was dean of Argos by 1234: *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 1704 (2 January 1234).

Peter had accompanied the archbishop to the papal curia. Honorius ruled that, if this were true, Peter should be reinstated.¹²⁰

On 10 June 1224, after at least seven years of stalling, when Antelm had run out of options, Honorius wrote a definitive letter. Here is a full translation:¹²¹

To Archbishop [C?] of Athens, and Dean.. and Canon Bernard of Corinth.

When repeated complaints concerning our venerable brother [Antelm], archbishop of Patras, which had ascended to the Apostolic See from the time of our predecessor, Pope Innocent, of happy memory, finally very frequently battered our ears, first from . . ., bishop of Coron, now archbishop of Corinth, and his colleagues, and then from [B.], archbishop of Larissa, and his colleagues, and finally from our beloved son Giovanni, cardinal-priest of Santa Prassede, then exercising the office of legate in those parts, we sent some letters concerning these matters, but because of various obstacles, in the end there was no trial because of these prelates.

Whence, since this outcry grew without cease, we wrote to the deans of Coron and Modon and to the archdeacon of Olena on this, stating that, since this archbishop was gravely suspected of squandering [church funds], if they should find it to be so, they should suspend him from his ministerial duty and commit the care of the temporal affairs of the Church of Patras to the archbishop of Corinth, and to Peter *Malpense* (our subdeacon) and Archdeacon James of Corinth, canons of Patras. Since they could not proceed in the business of the investigation because of the absence of said archbishop, and since they had clear evidence of squandering, and among other things he had committed the care of the Patras archbishopric to the nobleman Conrad of Patras, they committed it to the aforesaid archbishop [of Corinth] and the canons [of Patras], on the authority of the apostolic mandate.

Meanwhile, when that same archbishop was in our presence, and certain archbishops, bishops, and other prelates from those parts came to the Apostolic See, that same archbishop vehemently demanded that we seek from them the truth of those things that were objected against him. Whence, having received the oaths of those men and of others whom we considered suitable, we had the oft-mentioned business of the investigation go forward. We have had the articles concerning which the investigation was held listed in the present document, lest in the future there be doubt concerning what occurred in our presence:

¹²⁰ *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 5077 (5 July 1224).

¹²¹ From *Bullarium Hellenicum*.

(1) So the first article was that the same archbishop laid violent hands upon . . . , treasurer of the Church of Patras, and afterwards celebrated divine offices without having obtained the benefit of absolution.

(2) The second article was that by his own hand he violently pushed on the altar a certain priest who was celebrating mass, and, having spilled and stolen the chalice and trampled the host prepared for the mystery of human redemption, he had some accomplices forcibly strip the priest of his sacerdotal vestments and expose him to the hands of laymen.

(3) The third article was that, because a certain priest could not give him a sum of money that the archbishop was trying to extort unjustly from him, having laid violent hands on him, he had him severely whipped and then put on an ass, with his hands tied behind his back, and feet bound under the ass, and, backwards, with his face towards the tail, had him led through Andreville not without severe whipping, to the scandal of many people.

(4) The fourth article was that the same archbishop made a certain canon of Olena be beaten to the point of bleeding and, on the next day, stole his horse, not without laying violent hands on him, and afterwards, without having obtained the benefit of absolution, celebrated mass.

(5) Moreover to these articles it was added that when, on our authority, he was bound tightly with the chain of excommunication by Dean . . . of Cephalonia (? *Cathalensis*), he presumed to celebrate the divine offices.

(6) He celebrated mass even when canonically suspended, because when he excommunicated . . . , *praepositus* of Andreville, with no previous warning, he did not cease from celebrating mass for the time established in that canon, which is perjury in many ways, because he did not observe the constitutions of our venerable brother Pelagius, bishop of Albano, then legate of the Apostolic See, which he had sworn to observe, as well as because he made no satisfaction by oath to the treasurer of Patras—on whom he had laid hands—within the time in which by oath he was required to make satisfaction.

(7) He squandered the goods of the Church of Patras, and he is said to have used them to buy possessions in Burgundy, and to have extorted 100,000 hyperpyra from the subjects of the Church, of which he did not apply a single one to the good of the Church.

(8) He is also said to have held certain men of the Church confined in prison so long that, when they were taken out half-alive, they died afterwards, and he had his own servant gouge out the eye of one of them.

(9) He promoted to holy orders the excommunicate W[illiam] de Lury and conferred on him a certain priory.

(10) He performed the vice of infamous incontinence.

(11) He maintained incontinent clerics.

(12) He surrendered Latins and their land to the Greeks.

(13) By his negligence, the Church of Patras suffered partial ruin.

(14) He falsified the privileges of the emperors of Constantinople and some papal affirmations and letters.

(15) He removed nearly all the ornaments of the Church of Patras.

(16) Having put aside the Cistercian habit, he conferred himself to the monastery of Casa Dei, and finally worked in a secular habit.¹²²

(17) After the [Fourth Lateran] Council¹²³ he entertained pirates and gave them support so that they might capture and kill travellers.

(18) He gave indulgences to those who killed Templars, and in that archbishop's very presence many of them were killed.

(19) Disregarding the interdict decreed by our venerable brother, [Gervais], the patriarch of Constantinople, to whom he pledged obedience, he celebrated mass, and made others celebrate it.

(20) He so completely destroyed the abbeys of Galea and Gerochoma that no one remained in them.

(21) He incurred excommunication by detaining W[illiam] de Lucy (= Lury?) in prison without cause and having violent hands be laid upon him.

(22) He had the eyes gouged out of one whom he had sworn by oath to protect.

(23) He had some Greek abbots put in prison, one of whose beard he had forcibly shaven off.

(24) He had Herman, his servant, gouge out the eye of one of them and mutilate the foot of another, from which cause he met with death.

(25) He had the eye of one pulled out because he could not pay him the ten hyperpyra that he owed him.

(26) He had a certain Greek cleric be hanged.

(27) He had the eye removed from a certain layperson, and then had him tied up with rope, and set on fire, which person expired from this affliction.

(28) He had a certain Greek priest thrown into the sea, who, although he was pulled out, was only half-alive, and before he made it home, he exhaled his spirit.

(29) He had someone thrown from a tower, who for this reason perished.

(30) And he even dared to maintain heretics.

Therefore, although the archbishop, even if not of all the aforesaid, was found guilty of enough of them that one could have proceeded against him very severely, we however, the rigor of severity being tempered by the mildness of mercy, have decided to provide thus in this case: Indeed, we have suspended that archbishop from his pontifical duties for a year, ordering that for that year he shall live according to a rule in some monastery.

¹²² This charge is confusing, not least because Antelm was a Cluniac. Could it mean that Casa Dei was the Cistercian monastery founded by Geoffrey I? Unfortunately, Casa Dei is a common name for a monastery: see L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topographique des abbayes de prieurés*, vol. I (Mâcon, 1939), cols. 610, 614, and 667–669, where six Casa Dei are listed. The most important, the Benedictine La Chaise-Dieu (cols. 667–669), was in the diocese of Clermont, far away from Greece.

¹²³ Holy Land Decrees, or canon 71.

We have also given him as assistants in spiritual and temporal affairs for three years our venerable brother . . . , bishop of Coron, and Lantelm, canon of Patras, decreeing that, from the incomes of his part of the Church of Patras, having deducted the necessary expenses of the archbishop, that for that time the church should be provided with decoration and the structure should be restored. Meanwhile the same archbishop shall behave such that we are not compelled to change mercy into judgment. Therefore, we order your discretion by apostolic writing that you have inviolably observed what we have inviolably provided, persuading with gentleness, those who contradict etc. . . .

The same letter, *mutatis mutandis*, was sent to the bishop of Coron and Canon Lantelm of Patras, and another to the dean and chapter of Patras.¹²⁴

The letter is stunning. And yet it is unpublished. Why? One obvious answer is that it is long and does not provide the kind of information on traditional foci like political history or ecclesiastical jurisdiction that would draw the attention of the three scholars who dealt extensively with Honorius III's letters in the late nineteenth century: Potthast, Horoy, and Pressutti. Had Honorius' letters been the responsibility of the editors of the *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, perhaps this one would have been printed in full. Still, the letter contains many proper nouns that are usually mentioned in summaries of such letters, and besides, stealing 100,000 hyperpyra, forging imperial and papal letters, and killing Templars seem to be significant accusations against an archbishop. Moreover, Greeks are mentioned in five clauses, including Greek priests and abbots, and two Greek monasteries are described as destroyed and deserted, one of which, Gerochoma, figures in other published papal letters, although under happier circumstances.¹²⁵ Thus one would expect Tautu to have published at least extracts of the letter in 1950 in the CICO volume of Honorius III's and Gregory IX's letters concerning the Oriental Churches. Perhaps, then, a better explanation is censorship, not so much out of deviousness, although this is possible, but rather from embarrassment.

Surprisingly, and contrary to what Zakythinios maintained, Antelm's fortunes did not suffer under Honorius. Honorius had already exempted Patras from Constantinopolitan jurisdiction. Now Honorius asserted that he was showing Antelm mercy, and given the charges this is a truth-

¹²⁴ Pressutti, no. 5035.

¹²⁵ Galea Abbey is not in Triantaphyllos, *Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῶν Πατρῶν*.

ful assertion. Just seventeen days after writing the above letter to the bishop of Coron and Canon Lantelm of Patras, he wrote them another further mitigating Antelm's punishment. Part of Antelm's income that was to go to the fabric and decoration of Patras Cathedral was now to be applied to Antelm's expenses for his trip to and stay in Rome.¹²⁶ Perhaps while the smooth-talking Antelm was still at the curia, Honorius gave him a letter a month later allowing him to wear his episcopal ring daily, despite the fact that he was suspended for a year.¹²⁷

Archbishop Antelm in the Reigns of Pope Gregory IX and Prince Geoffrey II

Although it appears that Antelm remained archbishop of Patras throughout Pope Gregory IX's fourteen-year reign (1227–1241), this period of Antelm's archiepiscopate has received little attention in the main treatments, Zakythos giving it a page and a half, Fedalto a paragraph.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, Antelm did not settle down in his old age. For example, his feud with Master John of Benevento, now dean, seems to have continued. Gregory sometimes wrote to Antelm on normal administrative matters, in 1231, 1234, and 1236,¹²⁹ and sent letters referring to internal problems of the Church in the Morea. In July 1235 Gregory complained that the cathedrals of the archdiocese had only two or three canons in residence, one of whom was usually elected bishop when a vacancy arose.¹³⁰ Given the odds, the bishop-elect would often be incompetent or worse, and Gregory wanted a stop to elections of unworthy candidates. Of course, Pope Honorius III had allowed at least one canon and the dean of Patras to remain in the West for studies,¹³¹ and we learn from a letter of January 1237 that Gregory himself was probably in part to blame: he and his legates had been giving "many" canonries in Patras Cathedral as prebends to non-resident clerics, "so that the loss in spirituals and temporals undermines the protection of the castle and the land of the church from neighboring enemies."

¹²⁶ *Bullarium Hellenicum* (27 June 1224). Cf. summary in Pressutti, no. 5062.

¹²⁷ Pressutti, no. 5095 (23 July 1224).

¹²⁸ Zakythinos, pp. 416–417; Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, p. 341.

¹²⁹ *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, nos. 729 (10 October 1231), 1704 (2 January 1234), 3170 (29 May 1236), and 3409 (23 December 1236).

¹³⁰ *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 2672 (6 July 1235).

¹³¹ *Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, nos. 5095 (13 July 1224) and 5259 (9 January 1225).

Gregory told Antelm and his chapter that they did not have to accept any more non-resident canons.¹³²

Most importantly, the letter reminds us of Antelm's dual role as spiritual and temporal leader in a city of metropolitan status on the confines of enemy territory, since Antelm was responsible for the castle's upkeep and the defense of his land. The accusations against Antelm show that for him the lines between his two capacities were blurred if not non-existent. In December 1233 Gregory wrote to Prince Geoffrey II, saying that if his land lay under interdict, Geoffrey and four or five associates could hear mass from his personal chaplain, behind closed doors, without ringing the bells, and quietly, as long as there were not excommunicates present or anyone who gave cause for the interdict in the first place.¹³³ Although this is a typical form letter, it is probable that Antelm had placed an interdict, perhaps because of a dispute with Geoffrey as overlord of Patras, if the interdict is connected with what we learn from a letter Gregory wrote to Antelm ten days later.¹³⁴

To the archbishop of Patras. You should know that we have learned from our beloved son the noble man Geoffrey of Villehardouin, prince of Achaea and seneschal of Romania, that, while he is working to expel the enemies of the Church with all his powers, as is fitting, you are not paying attention to the fact that you and the church committed to you hold Patras Castle and its appurtenances from him,¹³⁵ and that you are obliged to hand it over to him when needed, so that he is able to resist his enemies from there. Holding him in contempt and not asking him at all, you sometimes presume to enter on your own accord into truces, sometimes peace treaties, with Greek infidels, enemies of God and the Church, granting them free passage to his lands through the aforesaid castle, even providing them with food and other necessities. Wherefore, since for this reason grave danger threatens [Geoffrey's] lands, and he and his men have so far very often suffered many damages because of this, [Geoffrey] humbly requested that we deign to do something about these matters from the kindness of the Apostolic See. Therefore, since it is not at all fitting for your prudence to contract any treaty with the aforesaid infidels, we order that you are not on any account to presume to enter into a peace or truce with them without the assent of the above-

¹³² *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 3455 (14 January 1237).

¹³³ *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 1627 (10 December 1233); cf. no. 1628.

¹³⁴ *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 1638 (20 December 1233). See also Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 89; Wolff, "The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate," p. 43; Ilieva, *Frankish Morea*, p. 148.

¹³⁵ This suggests that Antelm already held Patras itself. Cf. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 89.

mentioned prince, to the detriment of the province and of those who profess the orthodox faith...

Antelm thus played the role of archbishop or noble when it suited him, using spiritual weapons in temporal matters and, as the charges against him indicate, indiscriminately applying his own punishments—while acting in his capacity as the secular arm—for spiritual and temporal infractions.

The charge that Antelm squeezed 100,000 hyperpyra from his subjects and the church possessions and “squandered” them to purchase property back home in Burgundy is supported by other evidence that suggests that he put the money to good use. A document dated 5 March 1231, from the archbishop’s chamber in Patras, has Antelm donating 316 silver marks, 47 gold marks, and 300 hyperpyra to the Cistercian abbey of Hautecombe in nearby Savoy, money that he had already deposited at the monastery. He also granted the abbey 1,098 hyperpyra owed to him by Hautecombe’s daughter house of Saint Angelos in Pera, a suburb of Constantinople. The document specifies that Hautecombe was to purchase land and other immovable property with the grant, as charge number 7 specified. Although Zakythinios was unaware of these charges, he rightly suspected that Antelm’s grant was probably a *quid pro quo* for something unspecified.¹³⁶

In a letter of 28 September 1238 Pope Gregory informs us that he had heard that “our venerable brother the archbishop of Patras, leaving his church and going to parts of France, took with him a great quantity of money from the incomes of that church.”¹³⁷ Indeed, back in France, with the spoils of his archiepiscopate, along with Bishop Amadeus of Maurienne in Savoy, not far from Hautecombe, Bishop Antelm of Patras verified on 28 August 1238 that he had inspected a copy of a *privilegium*, according to the text published by Zakythinios with a photograph of the document.¹³⁸ Although Gregory addressed a letter

¹³⁶ The document is published in C. Blanchard, *Histoire de l'abbaye d'Hautecombe avec pièces justificatives inédites* (Chambéry, 1874), pp. 572–573, and discussed in Zakythinios, pp. 416–417, who speculates on the fate of the money. Zakythinios also reports that, according to Du Cange, Antelm also gave Hautecombe the head of Saint Eirene. The charter is given a problematic mention in Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, p. 340. On Saint Angelos, see Brown, “The Cistercians in the Latin Empire,” pp. 87–88.

¹³⁷ *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 4547, to Master Philip, who was told to investigate.

¹³⁸ Zakythinios, pp. 401–403. The charter is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection de Bourgogne, vol. 78, no. 58.

to the archbishop of Patras in January 1239, it was also addressed to all the higher clergy of Frankish Greece.¹³⁹ Surely Antelm was still in France,¹⁴⁰ and so in March 1239 Gregory wrote a letter to the archbishop and treasurer of Corinth and the dean of Patras, thus omitting Antelm,¹⁴¹ and another letter to Master Bernard, canon of Patras, a papal subdeacon, followed on 20 August.¹⁴²

It is difficult to determine when or where Antelm died. The August 1239 letter to Bernard concerned a dispute over the well-endowed Hospital of Saint James of Andreville between the friars of the hospital and the Teutonic Order, which had taken over the hospital with the support of Prince Geoffrey II.¹⁴³ The long letter makes no mention of the archbishop of Patras, but in the spring of 1241 Gregory wrote two letters on the same matter, one of them to the archbishop of Patras and the bishop and archdeacon of Coron. Again we are not given the name of the archbishop, nor can we be certain that the pope knew his whereabouts.¹⁴⁴ Following the lengthy vacancy on the papal throne following Gregory's death later in 1241, the new pope, Innocent IV, sent letters on 13 July 1243 to all the clergy of Frankish Greece except for the archbishops of Patras and Thebes, implying that they were dead or absent.¹⁴⁵ In a letter of 8 October Innocent reported that the Church of Patras was "pastoris solatio destituta," and so the canons who were present elected Guifrid, the archdeacon of Olena, which election the pope annulled as uncanonical, appointing the above-mentioned Master

¹³⁹ *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 4711; *Acta Gregorii IX*, no. 252 (23 January 1239). See also a similar letter of 18 January 1238 (*Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 4035).

¹⁴⁰ Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, p. 341, suggests that he may have returned to Patras.

¹⁴¹ *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 4795; *Acta Gregorii IX*, no. 259 (23 March 1239).

¹⁴² *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 4917.

¹⁴³ Cf. *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 4918 (1 September 1239). An unpublished letter of Honorius III dated 27 May 1218 (*Bullarium Hellenicum*; summary in Pressutti, no. 1382) details the many possessions of the "master and brothers of the Hospital of Saint James of Andreville," which the pope confirmed. It seems that the Teutonic Knights were ultimately unsuccessful, for the hospital had been placed under direct papal control by 1246, when Pope Innocent IV assigned it to the Knights Templar. See K. Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 2* (Bonn, 1967), pp. 237–238, and A. Kiesewetter, "L'Ordine Teutonico in Grecia e in Armenia," in H. Houben, ed., *L'Ordine Teutonico nel Mediterraneo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio, Torre Alemanna (Cerignola)—Mesagne—Lecce, 16–18 ottobre 2003*, *Acta Theutonica* 1 (Galatina, 2004), p. 86 n. 61, quoting from an unedited papal letter of 1246.

¹⁴⁴ *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, 6071 (8 June 1241); cf. *ibid.*, no. 6070 (19 May 1241).

¹⁴⁵ *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, no. 22.

Bernard, “our subdeacon and notary,” as the new archbishop.¹⁴⁶ Oddly, unlike most papal letters describing episcopal elections, there is no mention of the death of the previous archbishop, something like “per obitum bone memorie Antelmi,” leaving open the remote possibility that Antelm was still alive. So all we know for sure is that Antelm was alive in France in August of 1238. The most likely scenario is that he died while still in France around 1241, leaving enough time for the news to travel to Patras, for the election to be held, for Innocent to be informed in Anagni, and for him to reject the election and name Bernard archbishop by early October of 1243.

* * *

His meddlesome and stormy life and his quarrels with the Frankish feudal lords and rulers make him a representative example of that turbulent clergy that came to the Greek lands not only to achieve the subjugation of the “schismatics” of the East to the Catholic Church, but also to find profit and adventure.¹⁴⁷

This is how Dionysios Zakythinos characterized Archbishop Antelm of Patras. Antelm was in fact even more secular and less clerical than Zakythinos thought, even more sinful and less saintly than the most worldly of medieval prelates. Nor did he seem to discriminate between Greek “schismatics” and Latin “orthodox,” indifferently persecuting and trying to subjugate both. But the demands on Antelm as leading prelate of the newly conquered Principality of Achaëa entailed that he be involved in secular affairs to an even greater degree than usual. Pope Honorius III no doubt understood this. If Antelm was representative of the incoming Latin clergy of Frankish Greece, Honorius may have had few alternatives but to make the best of things. Punishing Antelm for his faults, the pope still left him powerful enough to carry out his less clerical duties.

¹⁴⁶ *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, no. 199. Bernard was dead by 12 September 1245 (ibid., no. 1480).

¹⁴⁷ Zakythinos, p. 402.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION:
THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS IN PALESTINE,
ARMENIA, AND CYPRUS

Hubert Houben

The political geography of the Eastern Mediterranean changed deeply following the foundation of the Latin Crusader States in Syria and Palestine at the end of the eleventh century. This intensified the contacts between the Latin Roman, Greek Orthodox, and Arab Islamic civilizations.¹ The survival of the Latin Crusader States in the Middle East until the end of the thirteenth century was guaranteed by the military Orders of the Templars, the knights of Saint John (Hospitallers), and the Teutonic knights, founded during the twelfth century.²

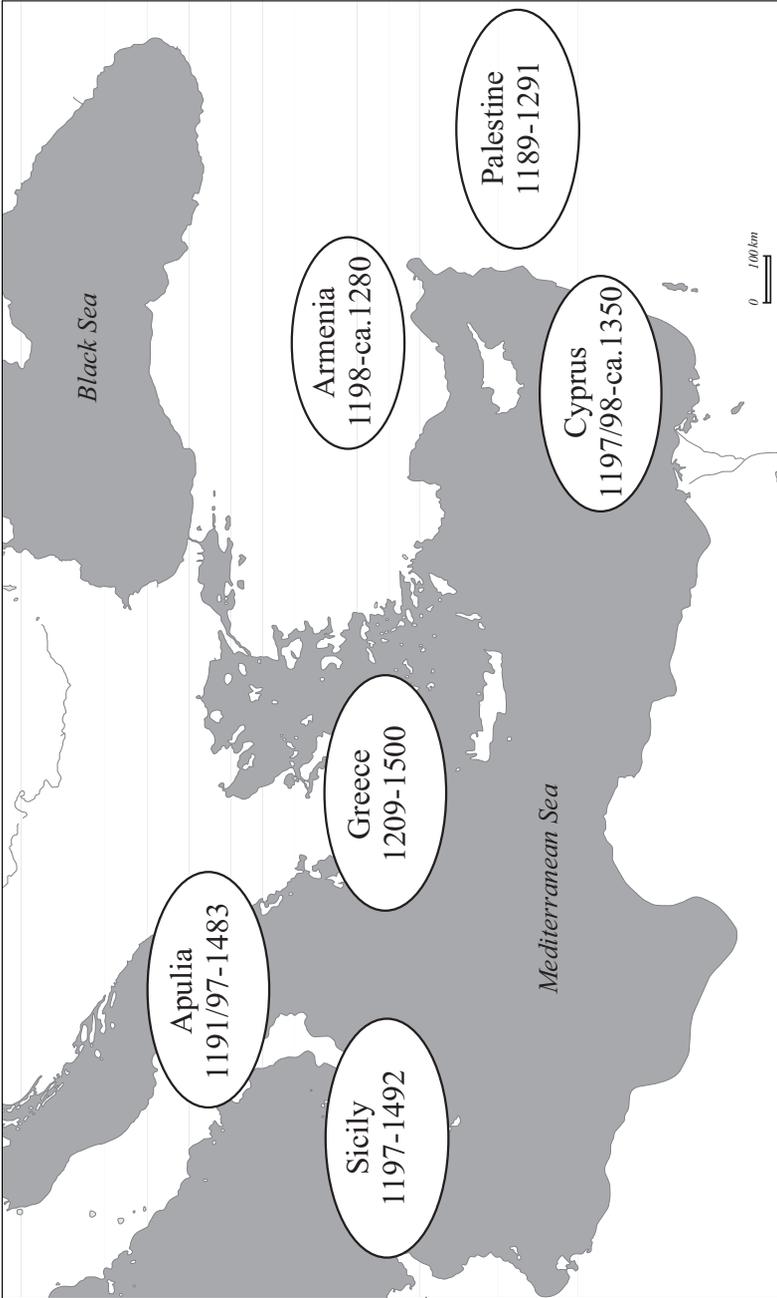
The two oldest military Orders, the Templars and the knights of Saint John, were international organizations, to which men from all over Western Europe belonged. The knights of the Teutonic Order, however, were predominantly from the German-Roman Empire.³ In this respect it was practically a national Order, comparable to the Spanish and Portuguese military Orders. While the latter limited their operations to the Iberian Peninsula, the Teutonic Order had a wide range of activity, which extended from the Middle East to the Baltic (Map 1).

The Statutes of the Teutonic Order do not prescribe that members had to be exclusively German, and, in fact, we do find non-Germans

¹ See, for example, A. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture* (Bloomington, 1962); V. P. Goss, ed., *The Meeting of Two Worlds. Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades* (Kalamazoo, 1986); M. Rey-Delqu e, ed., *Les croisades. L'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II   Saint-Louis 1096-1270* (Milan, 1997).

² Cf. A. Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1992); M. Barber, ed., *Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick, The Military Orders 1* (Aldershot, 1992); H. Nichol森, ed., *Welfare and Warfare, The Military Orders 2* (Aldershot, 1998).

³ Most of the bibliography on the Teutonic Knights is in German; for the most recent summary, see K. Miltzer, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Stuttgart, 2005). In English, see I. Sterns, "The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States," in N. P. Zacour and H. W. Hazard, eds., *A History of the Crusades V: The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East* (Madison, 1985), pp. 315-378. On the Teutonic Knights in Eastern Europe, see W. Urban, *The Teutonic Knights. A Military History* (London, 2003). For the most recent summary in French, see K. Toomaspoeg, *Histoire des chevaliers teutoniques* (Paris, 2001).



Map 1. The Teutonic Knights in the Eastern Mediterranean

among the Teutonic knights; they were, however, rare. That the Order was composed almost exclusively of Germans was probably due to the fact that internal communication took place in German and it was therefore necessary to have a good knowledge of this language to make a career in the Order. For instance, in 1422 the project to appoint the Spaniard Pedro de Luna commander of the Teutonic bailiwick of Spain failed because he did not know German and had no intention of learning such a difficult language.⁴

In the first half of the fourteenth century, however, a French translation of the Statutes of the Teutonic Order was drawn up, probably for the benefit of French-speaking members of the Order residing in the French houses.⁵ The oldest Statutes of the Order were written in Latin and subsequently translated into German, because most of the Teutonic knights did not understand Latin. Despite this, Latin was the language in which most of the Order's documents were written.⁶ In the Levant, naturally, the Teutonic knights also used other languages: in April 1239 the Grand Commander Lutold issued a document in French for the knights of Saint John.⁷ In 1228 the Teutonic knights obtained two documents in French from Prince Bohemond of Antioch,⁸ while around 1237 and in 1239 two other French documents were issued in Greece by *Robers de l'Isle chevaliers*.⁹ Finally, in 1271 a document was written in Armenian by Constantine, the son of baron *Dgiofré* (i.e. Godfrey), lord of Sarvatikar.¹⁰ In the Statutes of the Teutonic Order, written around

⁴ Cf. N. Jaspert, "L'Ordine Teutonico nella penisola iberica: limiti e possibilità di una provincia periferica," in H. Houben, ed., *L'Ordine Teutonico nel Mediterraneo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio, Torre Alemanna (Cerignola)—Mesagne—Lecce, 16-18 ottobre 2003*, Acta Theutonica 1 (Galatina, 2004), pp. 109-132, esp. pp. 109-110.

⁵ Cf. T. Krämer, "Der Deutsche Orden in Frankreich—Ein Beitrag zur Ordensgeschichte im Königreich Frankreich und im Midi," in Houben, ed., *L'Ordine Teutonico*, pp. 237-276, esp. p. 265.

⁶ Cf. K. Forstreuter, "Latein und Deutsch im Deutschen Orden," in E. Bahr, ed., *Studien zur Geschichte des Preussenlandes. Festschrift für Erich Keyser zu seinem 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern* (Marburg, 1963), pp. 373-391.

⁷ H. Prutz, "Eilf Deutschordens-Urkunden aus Venedig und Malta," *Altpreussische Monatsschrift* 22 (1883), pp. 385-400, esp. pp. 388, 394-396.

⁸ *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum*, ed. E. Strehlke (Berlin, 1869, reprinted Toronto, 1975; intr. H. E. Mayer), no. 61, p. 50; no. 64, p. 53.

⁹ *Tabulae*, ed. Strehlke, no. 130, pp. 131-132; no. 137, p. 136.

¹⁰ K. Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 2 (Bonn, 1967), pp. 136-137.

1250,¹¹ it was prescribed that in the Master's household (*familia magistri*) there should be a *scriptor sarracenicus*¹² and three "Turcoples." Turcoples were initially mercenaries of Turkish origin in the Byzantine imperial army, who were then incorporated as mercenaries into the military orders in the East; in all likelihood, they were mostly sons of Arab women and Western men, sometimes converted to Christianity.¹³ It is possible that the Arab scribe of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order also had the function of interpreter to communicate with the Turcoples and with Arabs in general.

The Teutonic knights were almost all German, but they were not cut off from the Mediterranean society in which they had settled.¹⁴ Studies on the Teutonic presence in Apulia and in Sicily have shown that the knights were surrounded by a network of indigenous lay people, who were often affiliated with the Order as *confratres*, namely lay brothers. The most illustrious *confratres* of the Teutonic knights were the kings of Armenia Leo II (1198–1219) and Hethoum I (1226–1269).¹⁵ Given that the number of Teutonic knights was small, they could only run their considerable estates by allocating them to local people. The case

¹¹ Cf. H. Houben, "Regole, statuti e consuetudini dell'Ordine Teutonico: status quaestionis," in C. Andenna and G. Melville, eds., *Regulae—Consuetudines—Statuta. Studi sulle fonti normative degli ordini religiosi nei secoli centrali del Medioevo*, Vita regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter, Abhandlungen 25 (Münster, 2005), pp. 375–385.

¹² *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften*, ed. M. Perlbach (Halle a. S., 1890), p. 28 (*Gewohnheiten* 11: *De bestiis et familia magistri*); in the French version: *escrivain sarazinois* (*ibid.*); in the German: *enen heydenischen scriver* and *einen heidnisschen schribere* (p. 98).

¹³ Sterns, *Teutonic Knights*, pp. 338f. J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c. 1055–1310*, A History of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem 1 (London, 1967), p. 325.

¹⁴ J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), p. 275: "The Teutonic Knights represented an attempt by a cultural minority to survive as such while simultaneously integrating into the working machinery of state and society."

¹⁵ K. Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg. Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1309*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 87 (Marburg, 1999), p. 170; H. Houben, "Der Deutsche Orden im Mittelmeerraum," in *Der Deutsche Orden in Europa* (Göppingen, 2004), pp. 29–48, esp. p. 31; A. Kiesewetter, "L'Ordine Teutonico in Grecia e in Armenia," in Houben, ed., *L'Ordine Teutonico*, pp. 73–107, esp. p. 99; M.-A. Chevalier, "Les chevaliers teutoniques en Cilicie: 'les macabées' du Royaume arménien," *Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 6 (2004), pp. 137–54, esp. pp. 150f. Cf. also, S. Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," in R. L. Wolff and H. W. Hazard, eds., *A History of the Crusades. Volume II: The Later Crusades, 1198–1311* (Madison, 1962), pp. 630–659; G. Dedeyan, "Les Arméniens et la croisade," in Rey-Delqué, ed., *Croisades*, pp. 77–83.

of Sicily is particularly interesting. Here the Teutonic knights had close ties with other ethnic minorities, namely Italian immigrants from the north of the peninsula, Catalans, and Jews, who in Sicily spoke Arabic.¹⁶ The Teutonic house of Palermo had at its service notaries who came from this city, knew Arabic and Greek, and could translate from both these languages.¹⁷ It also seems that after the foundation of their hospital at Acre in 1190, the Teutonic knights would have had intense contacts with the Armenians living in the Holy Land.¹⁸

In the small communities of the Teutonic Order in the Mediterranean German was used for internal communication. We also learn that in 1419 the Teutonic knights in Venice did not know Italian (*quod Italicum ignorant*).¹⁹ If there were difficulties in communication in Italy, the situation must have been even more difficult in Greek, Armenian, or Arab contexts, where the Teutonic knights were also present: in Palestine, in the Kingdom of Armenia (in Cilicia, in the south of modern-day Turkey), in Cyprus, and in the Peloponnesus.²⁰

Acre, the real capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem after 1187, was the seat of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.²¹ However, in 1226 the Teutonic knights enlarged the crusader castle of Montfort (in German, Starkenberg), which was located twenty kilometres north of Acre²² and had been bought in 1220 with the intention of making it

¹⁶ Cf. K. Toomaspoeg, "La Magione dei Cavalieri Teutonici e gli ebrei siciliani," in N. Bucaria, M. Luzzati and A. Tarantino, eds., *Ebrei e Sicilia* (Palermo, 2002), pp. 299–302.

¹⁷ Cf. K. Toomaspoeg, *Les Teutoniques en Sicile (1197–1492)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 321 (Rome, 2003), p. 141; H. Bresc, "La propriété foncière des musulmans dans la Sicile du XII^e siècle: trois documents inédits," in *Del nuovo sulla Sicilia Musulmana. Giornata di studio*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Fondazione Leone Caetani 26 (Rome, 1995), pp. 69–97, esp. pp. 72–73.

¹⁸ Cf. Chevalier, "Chevaliers teutoniques," p. 139.

¹⁹ Forstreuter, *Deutsche Orden*, p. 143.

²⁰ For settlements of Teutonic knights in Greece, see H. Houben, "Wie und wann kam der Deutsche Orden nach Griechenland?," in *'Αμπελοκήπιον. Studi di amici e colleghi in onore di Vera von Falkenhausen 1*, Νέα Ψώμη. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche 1 (2004), pp. 243–253.

²¹ Cf. D. Jacoby, "Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 20 (1979), pp. 1–45, esp. pp. 1, 6, 22, 44, reprinted in idem, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion*, Variorum Reprints (Northampton, 1989), no. V.

²² Montfort Castle (Qal'at al-Qurayn), located on a precipitous rock crest overlooking the Keziv river, was constructed by the Knights Templar in the early 12th century, probably as a fortified farm initially, since it does not control a road or any strategic point (Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 293, 308–312). Shortly after completion, the buildings

the administrative centre of their dominions in this region.²³ In 1240 a castellan of Montfort is mentioned and in 1244 a general chapter was held there, when the Grand Master Gerhard of Malberg resigned.²⁴ It is, nonetheless, uncertain whether the treasury and the archive were ever moved from Acre to Montfort Castle, which was attacked by the Mamluks in 1266 and conquered and destroyed in 1271.²⁵

Our knowledge of the presence of Teutonic knights in the Mediterranean is conditioned by the available documentation. While the archives of the Teutonic provinces in Italy have notably been preserved wholly or in part, those of other Mediterranean provinces have been lost. What little information we have on the contacts between the Teutonic knights and their Mediterranean surroundings comes only from some documents passed down by means of the archive of the Grand Master, transferred from Palestine to Italy and then to Prussia.

From the point of view of intercultural communication, a document drawn up on 23 April 1280 by John, a clergyman from Acre, *assisius* of the church of the Holy Cross in Acre and public notary *sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie*, is of particular interest.²⁶ The document was signed in the presence of John of *Westfalia*, Grand Preceptor (the head of the Teutonic community of Acre), lieutenant of the Grand Master. In this document, Joscelin of Amigdala, son of the late Agnes, lady of Scandalion (today, Iskanderūne in Israel, about thirty kilometres north

were destroyed by Saladin following the defeat of the crusaders at the Horns of Ḥaṭṭūn (1187). Five years later, the castle was re-conquered and restored by the crusaders.

²³ W. Hubatsch, "Montfort und die Bildung des Deutschordensstaates im Heiligen Lande," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologische-Historische Klasse* 1966, no. 5, pp. 159–199, esp. pp. 186–199; D. Pringle, "A Thirteenth-Century Hall at Montfort Castle in Western Galilee," *The Antiquaries Journal* 13 (1986), pp. 53–81; R. Frankel, "Montfort," in *The New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 3 (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 1070–1073; D. Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. An Archaeological Gazetteer* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 73–75; idem, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 40–43. The claim of G. Coppola, "Castelli crociati," in *Federico II. Enciclopedia Fridericana*, vol. 1 (Rome, 2005), pp. 243–247, esp. p. 245, that, in the same years, the Teutonic knights built a second castle at Jiddin (Judyn), seven kilometres north Montfort, is erroneous; see M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, "L'Ordine Teutonico in Terrasanta (1198–1291)," in Houben, ed., *L'Ordine Teutonico*, pp. 55–72, esp. p. 65 n. 71.

²⁴ Forstreuter, *Deutsche Orden*, pp. 41–46; Favreau-Lilie, "L'Ordine Teutonico," pp. 67–68.

²⁵ Militzer, *Akkon*, pp. 132–135.

²⁶ Prutz, "Eilf Deutschordens-Urkunden," pp. 394–396. Cf. M.-L. Favreau, "Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Scandalion (Iskanderūne)," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 93 (1977), pp. 12–29.

of Acre), promises to repay a loan given by the Teutonic knights to his mother. The names of the witnesses to the act are very interesting: the first is brother Peter of *Regio*, a Dominican, probably Italian; then, four Teutonic knights, namely Henry of *Bolande* (Bolanden), draper (*draperius*), that is the officer responsible for the clothing of the knights,²⁷ John of *Saxonia*,²⁸ hospitaller lieutenant, that is the officer responsible for the hospital, and then two other Teutonic knights, *Houriguonus* and Conrad. They are followed by two non-Teutonic knights, Amicus of Acre, known as *Laleman* (maybe “the German”), and Raymond of Cyprus; then by a certain George, *scriba in arabico in dicta domo*, an Arabic scribe (probably a Syrian Christian of oriental rite) in service at the house of the Teutonic knights of Acre, a certain Simon *de castro regis*,²⁹ and *Perrotinus* (that is, little Peter), a brother of Joscelin of Amigdala.

From another source, the so-called *Lignages d'outremer*, a compilation of the fourteenth century, we know that this little Peter and one of his brothers, called Guy, became, at an unknown date, members of the Teutonic Order.³⁰ This is evidence that in the thirteenth century

²⁷ In 1284, Henry of Bolanden (in Renania) became commander of the bailiwick of Sicily; see Toomaspoeg, *Les Teutoniques*, p. 463. In 1290, after the resignation of the Grand Master Burchard of Schwanden, he took command of the Teutonic knights in Acre and died in battle against the Mamluks, who took the city on 18 May 1291; see U. Arnold, “Deutschmeister Konrad von Feuchtwangen und die ‘preußische Partei’ im Deutschen Orden am Ende des 13. und zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts,” in *Aspekte der Geschichte. Festschrift für Peter Gerrit Thielen zum 65. Geburtstag* (Göttingen and Zürich, 1990), pp. 22–42, reprinted in U. Arnold, *Deutscher Orden und Preußenland. Ausgewählte Aufsätze anlässlich des 65. Geburtstags*, ed. B. Jähnig and G. Michels (Marburg, 2005), pp. 187–206, esp. pp. 187–188.

²⁸ One John of *Saxonia* was commander of the Teutonic bailiwick of *Lombardia* in 1266–1269 and a member of the house of the Teutonic knights in Padua in 1274; see Militzer, *Akkon*, p. 405. However, there is more than one person with this name: in 1321 a John of *Sassonia* was *preceptor et procurator ac yconomus* in Rome and in Tuscany, while in 1327 a John of *Sassonia* was *visitator* of the Grand Master in Sicily; see K. Toomaspoeg, “La fondazione della provincia di ‘Lombardia’ dell’Ordine Teutonico (secoli XIII–XIV),” *Sacra Militia. Rivista di storia degli Ordini militari* 3 (2002), pp. 111–159, esp. p. 132 and n. 95.

²⁹ Probably to be identified as *castellum regis*, the centre of the so-called *Seigneurie de Joscelin*, acquired by the Teutonic knights in 1220; see H. E. Mayer, “Die Seigneurie de Joscelin und der Deutsche Orden,” in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann, Vorträge und Forschungen 26 (Sigmaringen, 1980), pp. 171–216; Favreau-Lilie, “L’Ordine Teutonico,” pp. 63, 72.

³⁰ *Assises de Jérusalem au Recueil des ouvrages de jurisprudence composés pendant le XIII^e siècle dans les royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre*, vol. 2: *Assises de la cour des bourgeois*, ed. C. Beugnot (Paris, 1843), chap. 23, p. 464; *Lignages d'outremer*, ed. M.-A. Nielen, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 18 (Paris, 2003), p. 111: “Jocelin ala en Puille; Gui et Pierre se rendirent as Alemans.” Cf. Favreau, “Kreuzfahrerherrschaft,” p. 26. Militzer, *Akkon*,

membership in the Order was not yet reserved to Germans but was open to people of different origins, in this case Palestinians of Latin descent. Guy and Peter were grandsons of James of Amigdala,³¹ son of the Calabrian William of Amigdalea (Amendolea) and grandson of Joscelin III (of Courtenay), count of Edessa (1159–1190).³²

In the document relating to the granting of the loan to Agnes of Scandalion, issued on 2 August 1274, the Teutonic knight John of *Saxo* (from Saxony) appears in the role of treasurer of the Teutonic house in Acre, whilst George appears as the scribe of the treasury of the community.³³ In the same document a scribe of Agnes, called *Brahim*, probably an Arab, is also attested. Other witnesses were Peter of Cyprus, another Peter, Simon *de castro regis* (obviously the same person who witnessed the 1280 document), and Peter *de Marono*.³⁴ The document dated 1274 declares that the Teutonic knights had obtained the sum lent to Agnes from a Jew named Elia, while in the document dated 1280 the loan came from Jews and merchants from Siena, who had lent the money *sub gravibus usuris*, namely at a high rate of interest.

As the lords of Scandalion were not able to return the money that the Teutonic Order had lent them, they lost their seignory, which passed into the hands of the Teutonic knights (1281). When this happened, the Teutonic presence in Palestine was not to last much longer. Because

p. 397. Militzer's suggestion that the grandfather of Peter and Guy (Guido), Jacob of Amigdalea, was certified in 1265 as *confrater* of the Teutonic knights is not correct; he was *confrater* of the knights of Saint John; see Favreau, "Kreuzfahrerherrschaft," p. 17. In the document of 23 April 1280 Peter is not yet said to be a Teutonic knight; therefore he probably entered the Order after that date, though maybe not long after. Perhaps his brother Guy, not mentioned in this document, entered the Order shortly before.

³¹ For the Calabrian origin of the family *de Amigdala*, see E. G. Rey, *Les familles d'outremer de Du Cange* (Paris, 1869), p. 302; E. Bertaux, "Les Français d'outre-mer en Apulie et en Épire au temps des Hohenstaufen d'Italie," *Revue historique* 85 (1904), pp. 225–251, esp. p. 249, n. 4; H. Houben, "I Cavalieri teutonici nel Mediterraneo orientale (secc. XII–XV)," in A. Giuffrida, H. Houben and K. Toomaspoeg, eds., *I Cavalieri teutonici tra Sicilia e Mediterraneo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio, Agrigento 24–25 marzo 2006*, Acta Theutonica 4 (Galatina, 2007), pp. 47–74, esp. p. 65.

³² Cf. J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London, 1973), pp. 23–24.

³³ Prutz, "Eilf Deutschordens-Urkunden," pp. 393–394. Another document in which John of Saxony is said to be treasurer of the Teutonic house of Acre dates back to 14 October 1274; see M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, "The Teutonic Knights in Acre after the Fall of Montfort (1271). Some reflections," in *Outremer—Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem. Presented to Joshua Prawer* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 272–284, esp. p. 282.

³⁴ *Maronum* could be Maron in the signory of Toron, which borders on the signory of Scandalion; see Favreau, "Kreuzfahrerherrschaft," p. 21.

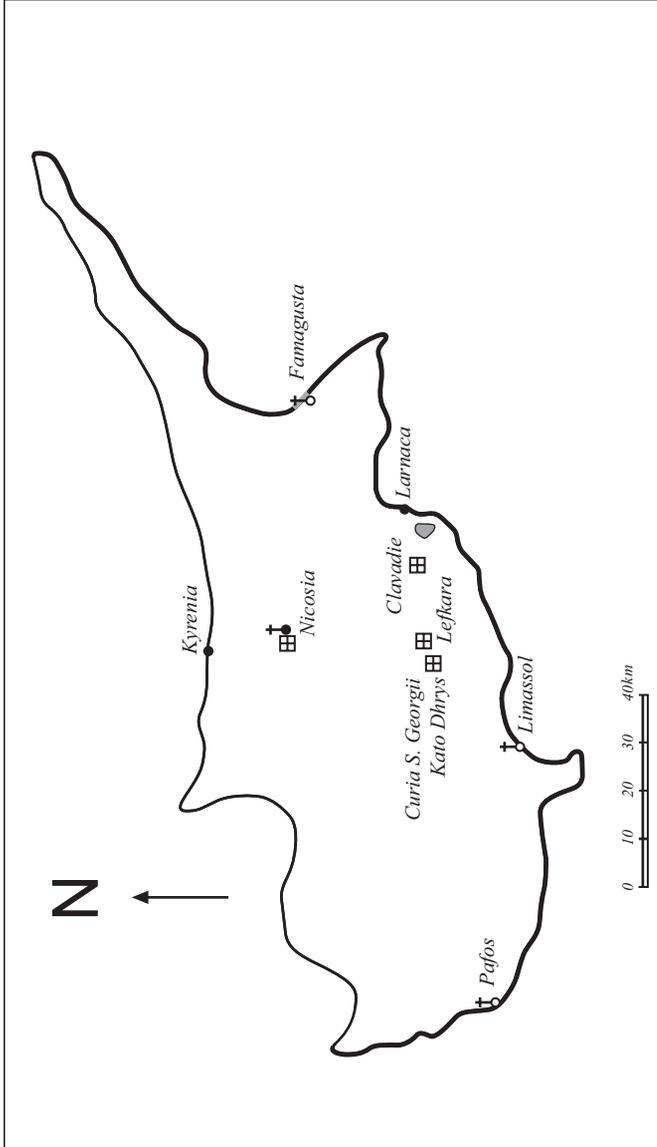
of the Mamluk threat in 1289/90, the Teutonic knights moved their archives and their central bank not to nearby Cyprus as the Knights Templar and Hospitaller had done, but to distant Venice.³⁵ The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order at first moved to this city after the fall of Acre in 1291, and some years later, in 1309, moved to Marienburg in West Prussia (nowadays Malbork in Poland).

The presence of two Cypriots among the witnesses in the aforementioned documents, namely a certain Peter mentioned in 1274 and Raymond mentioned in 1280, is explained by the strong ties between Cyprus and Palestine (at some point the king of Cyprus was also king of Jerusalem) and by the presence of the Teutonic knights in Cyprus (Map 2). On 11 August 1273 the dean Arnolf (Ranulph), archbishop-elect of Nicosia, was mediator in a dispute over a house in Acre between the bishop of Hebron and the Teutonic Order, and judged in favour of the Teutonic knights.³⁶ From these documents of the second half of the thirteenth century we can conclude that a good relationship existed between the Teutonic knights and some personages hailing from Cyprus. How can these good relations be explained and where did they originate?

To answer this question, it is necessary to go back to the origins of the Order of the Teutonic Knights in the context of the crusade undertaken by the two emperors of the house of Hohenstaufen, Frederick I Barbarossa and his son, Henry VI. After the fall of Jerusalem into the hands of the Sultan Saladin in 1187, following almost a century of Christian rule, Frederick Barbarossa went out a military expedition to the Holy Land (1189), as did the kings of France and England, Philip II Augustus and Richard the Lionheart. The German emperor, however, died in 1190 and never arrived in Palestine. The German crusaders

³⁵ Cf. Favreau-Lilie, "L'Ordine Teutonico," pp. 68–69.

³⁶ *Tabulae*, ed. Strehlke, no. 126, pp. 116–118: "ad talem concordiam, finem et pacem devenerunt, mediante discreto viro domino Arnolfo decano Nicossiensis electo, amico communi." Cf. W. Hubatsch, "Der Deutsche Orden und die Reichslehenschaft über Cypern," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologische-Historische Klasse* 1955, no. 8, pp. 245–306, esp. p. 281, who speaks erroneously of a dispute over Mount Musardus, while in fact the dispute was over a house in Acre situated "in loco, qui dicitur mons Musardus." For Montmusard, the suburb of Acre, see D. Jacoby, "Montmusard, Suburb of Crusader Acre: The First Stage of Its Development," in *Outremer*, pp. 205–217; reprinted in idem, *Studies*, no. VI. The correct name of the archbishop is Ranulph; see Ch. Schabel, "Religion," in A. Nicolaou-Konnari and Ch. Schabel, eds., *Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191–1374, The Medieval Mediterranean 58* (Leiden and Boston, 2005), pp. 157–218, esp. p. 206.



Map 2. The Teutonic Knights in the Kingdom of Cyprus

who continued the expedition participated with the French and English crusaders in the reconquest of Acre (1191), while in 1190, during the siege of that city, they had founded near Acre a hospital, or rather a hospitaller confraternity. This hospital replaced the German hospital, which had been founded in Jerusalem in the first half of the twelfth century, called *Sancta Maria Teutonicorum in Jerusalem*. In 1197 this hospitaller confraternity obtained possessions in Apulia and Sicily from the Emperor Henry VI, who was also king of Sicily through his marriage to Constance of Hauteville, heir to the Norman Kingdom of Sicily.

The Teutonic hospitaller confraternity also obtained possessions in Cyprus³⁷ after the imperial chancellor Conrad of Querfurt, bishop of Hildesheim, crowned the lord of Cyprus Aimery of Lusignan in September 1197 in the cathedral of Nicosia, thus establishing the Kingdom of Cyprus³⁸ (in 1196 Aimery had set up a Latin ecclesiastical organization in Cyprus with Nicosia as its metropolitanical seat and Limassol, Famagusta, and Paphos as suffragans).³⁹

In March 1198, following the failure of the crusade of Henry VI, who died suddenly in September 1197, the German confraternity became a military order on the model of the Templars and the knights of Saint John, whose structures and rules inspired it. The new German military order was called *Ordo fratrum hospitalis S. Mariae Teutonicorum in Jerusalem*, that is “the Order of the brothers of the hospital of Saint Mary of the Germans in Jerusalem,” while its headquarters were actually in Acre, as Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Muslims. In 1198 the Order obtained possessions in the so-called Lesser Armenia

³⁷ See below, n. 48.

³⁸ Aimery had already sent a delegation to Germany in 1195 (received by Henry VI at Gelnhausen in October of that year) asking for the status of Cyprus to be raised to that of a kingdom. The emperor agreed to the request, sending, in spring 1196, the archbishops of Trani and Brindisi, who gave Aimery the royal sceptre. The coronation was planned to take place during the imminent crusade of Henry VI, who, however, died in September 1197, before he could leave for the Holy Land. Cf. L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852–1861), 2: p. 30, with reference to a document issued in May 1196 by “Guidus de Luczignano”(!) for the citizens of Trani, in which is written “a domino imperatore ad nos cum sceptro regni Cypri transmisso.” Hubatsch, “Der Deutsche Orden,” p. 251 n. 10, thinks that the contents of the document can be trusted. N. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie im staufischen Königreich Sizilien, I: Prosopographische Grundlegung, Bistümer und Bischöfe des Königreiches 1194–1266*, Teil 2: *Apulien und Kalabrien* (Munich, 1975), p. 549, n. 41, agrees with him.

³⁹ N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 3–4; H. E. Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 10th edition (Stuttgart, 2005), p. 282.

or Armenia Minor (in Cilicia, present-day Turkey), whose prince, Leo II, had been crowned king on 6 January 1198 by the head of the Armenian Church, the Katholikòs Gregor VI Abirad, in the presence of archbishop Conrad of Mainz.⁴⁰

The Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia were vassal states of the Roman-German Empire, which explains why they expected military assistance from the Teutonic Order. The contacts between the kings of Armenia and the Teutonic knights were particularly intense, because the Armenians relied heavily on their support against Byzantine and Muslim enemies. We do not know if the Teutonic Order hoped to be able to build a proper seignory on the northeast border of the Kingdom of Armenia, as it then did in Prussia, or if it was just a case of building fortified settlements to protect the border.⁴¹ However, an actual Teutonic province (bailiwick) of Armenia was set up, acquiring the possessions of the Order in Cyprus. Recently an unpublished letter of King Conrad IV, dating to about 1253, has been discovered. It states that his father, Frederick II, used to keep the crown of Armenia either in the house of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in Acre or in the castle of Montfort. Moreover, the letter, which is not completely preserved, shows that King Hethoum of Armenia requested and obtained the crown owing to the archbishop-elect of Palermo, who had been ordered by Conrad to bring the crown from Acre to Armenia.⁴²

⁴⁰ Cf. B. U. Hucker, *Kaiser Otto IV*, MGH, Schriften 34 (Hannover, 1990), pp. 170–71; Chevalier, “Chevaliers teutoniques,” p. 138.

⁴¹ Cf. Kiesewetter, “L’Ordine Teutonico,” pp. 101, 107; Chevalier, “Chevaliers teutoniques,” pp. 153–154.

⁴² Innsbruck, University Library, MS 400, fol. 140rv: “Venerabili magistro et conventui domus Theutonicorum. Vacante pectoris nostri sollertia erga benemeritos oculos nostre benignitatis advertere praeter visus indaginem perspicati mentis intuitu delectamur. Grata siquidem Hectoris (!) regis Armenie dilecti affinis et fidelis nostri fidei et devotionis constancia, in nostre provisionis archivo locum sibi vendicans, nostris crebro meditationibus occurrit, ut propter obsequiorum gratitudinem, que predecessores sui et ipse ad nostros et nos placidis et operosis sedulitatibus habuerunt, rem ipsius H. votis accomodam et ab eo diutius expetitam, videlicet coronam regni, cui presidet, per dominum genitorem nostrum in domo vestra (ms. nostra) repositam, inter alia quibus divina clementia fecunda omnium ubertate reficimur perscrutantes de eo, suis occurrere desideriis liberali largitione providimus, et ut hoc iuxta beneplacitum nostrum debitum potiatum effectibus, ecce H. venerabilem Panormitanum electum etc.” I thank Prof. J. Riedmann for providing me with a photocopy of the manuscript. For the archbishop-elect of Palermo, see N. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie im staufischen Königreich Sizilien*, I: *Prospographische Grundlegung. Bistümer und Bischöfe des Königreiches 1194–1266*, Teil 3: *Sizilien* (Munich, 1975), p. 1137. For the manuscript, cf. J. Riedmann, “Unbekannte Schreiben Kaiser Friedrichs II. und Konrads IV. in einer Handschrift der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck. Forschungsbericht und vorläufige Analyse,” *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung*

According to the Statutes of the Order, drawn up around 1250 and updated around 1260, the commander of the bailiwick of Armenia and Cyprus had highly prestigious duties. Each year, on the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross (14 September), he was expected to go to the main house of the Order in Acre to give an account of his administration. His position would either be confirmed or his successor would be nominated.⁴³ His presence at the election of the Grand Master was considered indispensable in the Statutes going back to about 1260.⁴⁴ In 1266, however, when the Mamluks defeated the Armenians, the Teutonic bailiwick of Armenia lost its most important settlements, suffering a “lethal blow” from which it was never to recover.⁴⁵

We do not have exact figures for the numbers of Teutonic knights in the Mediterranean. According to a recent estimate there would have been around 400 in Palestine in about 1250, and about 200 all together in the other Mediterranean bailiwicks, in Spain, Italy, Armenia, and Cyprus, but these figures may be exaggerated.⁴⁶ The conquest of Acre by the Mamluks in 1291 marked the end of the presence of the military orders in Palestine. Like the Templars and the knights of Saint John, some Teutonic knights moved to nearby Cyprus, from where they hoped one day to be able to reconquer their lost positions in the Holy Land, while their Grand Master moved to Venice.

In the Middle Ages Cyprus was an important port for pilgrims and crusaders travelling to the Holy Land. Its ties with nearby Palestine were strengthened when Aimery married Isabelle, widow of King Henry I of Jerusalem, and managed to obtain the crown of the Kingdom of Jerusalem at the beginning of 1198 (after the death of Henry I, on 10 September 1197), that is a few months after he had been crowned king of Cyprus. King Aimery (†1205) gave the Teutonic Order some houses in Nicosia⁴⁷ and the farmyard of Saint George at Lefkara

des Mittelalters 62 (2006), pp. 135–200; for the crown of the Kingdom of Armenia, cf. P. Halfter, “Corona regni Armeniae. Aus der Spätzeit der staufisch-armenischen Beziehungen,” *Le Muséon* 120 (2007), pp. 131–161.

⁴³ *Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, p. 97 (*Gewohnheiten* 8). Cf. Militzer, *Akkon*, p. 171f.

⁴⁴ *Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, pp. 91–92 (*Gewohnheiten* 2–3).

⁴⁵ Kiesewetter, “L’Ordine Teutonico,” p. 103.

⁴⁶ Militzer, *Akkon*, pp. 389–391. Kiesewetter, “L’Ordine Teutonico,” p. 102, estimates the number of Teutonic knights in Armenia at around fifty.

⁴⁷ Cf. Hubatsch, “Deutsche Orden,” pp. 251–252. The charter of 1197, in which King Aimery gives the Teutonic hospital the right to collect alms and exemption from taxes in the Kingdom of Cyprus (*Tabulae*, ed. Strehlke, no. 34; pp. 27–28, rest. by Hubatsch, “Deutsche Orden,” p. 289), is a forgery: see H. E. Mayer, *Die Kanzlei*

(possibly identifiable as Kato Drys, two kilometres southwest of Lefkara; Map 2), confirmed by Innocent III among the properties belonging of the Order in 1209.⁴⁸

That King Aimery was well disposed towards the Germans is reinforced by the fact that he arranged a marriage between his daughter Burgundia and a German, or rather Alsatian, crusader, Count Walter of Mömpelgard (Montbéliard, dép. Doubs), granting him a fief in Cyprus and the appointment as constable in the Kingdom of Jerusalem (after October 1200).⁴⁹ After the death of the king (in autumn 1205), his German son-in-law acted as regent in Cyprus on behalf of the minor Hugh I until 1210, when he reached majority.⁵⁰

Some years later, in 1217, when the Grand Master Hermann of Salza (1209–39) was in Cyprus, the Teutonic knights obtained from Hugh I (1205–18) the confirmation of the privileges granted by his predecessor and an annual income in grain, wine, and oats from the royal village of Lefkara (200 *modios frumenti*, 200 *metras vini*, 400 *modios ordeï*).⁵¹ Under the guidance of Hermann of Salza the Order was to see considerable expansion in Europe and the Mediterranean.

der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem, 2 vols., MGH, Schriften 40 (Hannover, 1996), 2: pp. 694–696.

⁴⁸ Hubatsch, “Deutsche Orden,” pp. 253ff.; *Tabulae*, ed. Strehlke, no. 298, pp. 266–289, esp. p. 267: “curiam, quam habetis in Cipro, que dicitur sancti Georgii cum omnibus pertinentiis suis.”

⁴⁹ “Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquete de la Terre d’Outre mer,” in *RHC, Historiens occidentaux*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1859), pp. 208, 316; *Lignages*, ed. Nielen, pp. 61, 89, 98, 142, 165. For Walter, see P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 41–46, and, recently, H. E. Mayer, “Drei ober-rheinische Kreuzfahrer des 13. Jahrhunderts. Berthold von Nimburg (Vater und Sohn) und Werner von Egisheim,” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 153 (2005), pp. 43–60, esp. p. 46.

⁵⁰ “Estoire de Eracles,” p. 305; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 44–45; Mayer, “Drei oberrheinische Kreuzfahrer,” pp. 46–47.

⁵¹ Hubatsch, “Deutsche Orden,” pp. 292–293. The act was drawn up in Nicosia “per manum domini Radulfi venerabilis cancellarii regni Cypric et archidiaconi Nichossie.” Witnesses: “dominus Johannes de Hybelino dominus Berithi, dominus Philippus de Hybelino frater eius, dominus Gualterus de Cesarea Cypric conestabulus, dominus Galterus de Betsan, dominus Gormondus de Betsan, dominus Petrus Chape et dominus Jacobus de Riuet.” Contrary to Hubatsch’s assertion, it is not certain that Hermann of Salza accompanied canon Wilbrand of Oldenburg when he visited Cyprus in 1212 (Kyrenia, Nicosia, Limassol, Famagusta); see Wilbrand of Oldenburg, I, pp. 27–32 (*Peregrinationes mediæ ævi quattuor*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent, 2nd edition [Leipzig, 1873], pp. 180–182, and Hubatsch, “Deutsche Orden,” pp. 295–297); cf. Hucker, *Kaiser Otto IV.*, pp. 178–179.

The prestige of the Teutonic Order increased following its first participation in a crusade, which took place between 1218 and 1221, when the crusaders tried to conquer Damietta in Egypt. In 1220–1221 the Teutonic knights obtained papal privileges which made them equal to the Templars and the knights of Saint John and in 1220 they acquired, owing to a donation of Duke Leopold VI of Austria, the so-called *Seigneurie de Joscelin*, one of the biggest fiefs in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, situated north of Acre.⁵²

The marriage of Frederick II and Isabelle of Brienne, heir to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, celebrated in 1225, involved the Hohenstaufen even further in the Holy Land, although already in 1215 Frederick had launched a crusade to restore Jerusalem to Christianity. In 1226 we find Gauvain of Cheneché, a Cypriot baron, at the court of Frederick II.⁵³ The emperor himself stopped at Cyprus on his journey to and from the crusade in the Holy Land: on his way, in July 1228, he remained for at least six weeks to affirm imperial dominion on the island.⁵⁴ The chronicler Philip of Novara states that Frederick took with him John, the youngest son of the powerful John d'IBelin (†1236), promising him Foggia in Apulia, and that for that reason he was called *Johan de Foges*, that is “John of Foggia.”⁵⁵ On his way back, in May 1229, the emperor stopped only for a short time in Cyprus. Some weeks later, in June 1229, the Teutonic knights obtained from the young king of Cyprus, Henry I (1218–53), the village of Klavodia (present-day Klavdhia, situated

⁵² Mayer, “Die Seigneurie de Joscelin;” Favreau-Lilie, “L’Ordine Teutonico,” pp. 65–72.

⁵³ Witness to a diploma issued by Frederick II together with Isabelle of Brienne; see Hubatsch, “Deutsche Orden,” pp. 262–263; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 51–53; B. Hechelhammer, *Kreuzzug und Herrschaft unter Friedrich II. Handlungsspielräume von Kreuzzugspolitik*, *Mittelalter-Forschungen* 13 (Ostfildern, 2004), pp. 179–180.

⁵⁴ Cf. W. Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, vol. 2: *Der Kaiser 1220–1250* (Darmstadt, 2000), pp. 147–148.

⁵⁵ Filippo da Novara, *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223–1242)*, ed. S. Melani, *Nuovo Medioevo* 46 (Naples, 1994), 37 (133) p. 100: “Toutes voies ressut il messire Balian de sa maisnie et ly offry et li douna assés, et celui, qui estoit et plus vaillant bachelier et vigourous et larges, et avenant et plaisant à toutes gens sur tous ceaus desa mer; le servy volentiers et amiablement, tant que l’emperere s’e[n] loet moult; et l’autre fis de monseigneur de Baruth, qui estoit valet et avoit nom Johan, retint il puis que il furent en Surie, et dist que il ly donreit Foges, qui est en Puille, et por ce fu il apelés Johan de Foges.” Cf. Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre*, 1: p. 246, with reference to “Amadi fol. 74”: “et aurait reçu de lui la possession ou la garde du château de Foggia dans la Capitanate, d’où lui serait venue le surnom de Jean de Foies, qu’il porta parmi les Chipriotes;” Hubatsch, “Deutsche Orden,” p. 266. However, there are no other (Italian) sources confirming the narration of Philip of Novara.

eleven kilometres to the west of Larnaca and eighteen kilometres from the farm of Saint George; Map 2), as well as a house in Nicosia.⁵⁶

The agricultural possessions of the Teutonic knights were situated in the south of the island, between Limassol and Larnaca, while in the capital Nicosia they possessed some houses (Map 2). Unlike the Templars and the knights of Saint John, the Teutonic knights did not have any castles in Cyprus, whilst having them elsewhere (for example, in Palestine and Armenia). This difference is due to the fact that, at least in the first half of the thirteenth century, the Teutonic knights considered Cyprus only as a logistic base for food supplies of the knights acting in Palestine.

Soon after Frederick II's return to Brindisi in Italy, on 10 June 1229, the imperial dominion of Cyprus ended,⁵⁷ while in 1242 Hohenstaufen rule finally collapsed in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.⁵⁸ However, the Teutonic knights, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, managed to keep their possessions in Cyprus beyond the end of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, because they distanced themselves from Frederick II and his successors when their downfall appeared inevitable. It is significant that, in 1258, when the knights of Saint John recognised the Hohenstaufen Conradin as king of Jerusalem, the Teutonic knights, like the Templars,

⁵⁶ *Tabulae*, ed. Strehlke, no. 71, p. 56: "casale de Clavodie cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, sicut dominus Iohannes de Milmars eum in integrum possidebat, in villanis, agris cultis et incultis, in arboribus, in chevagiis, aquis et in omnibus dricturis eidem casali pertinentiis et domum, que fuit Druonis de Bedert, cum ambitu suo in Nichosia;" Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 60; Hubatsch, "Deutsche Orden," pp. 293–294. For the witnesses, *Guillelmus de Riveto, Aymericus Barlays, Amalricus de Bessano, Gauvanus, Hugh de Gibeletto*, who were the five regents to whom Frederick II had entrusted the government of Cyprus, see Hubatsch, "Deutsche Orden," p. 271 and n. 70 for John of Mimars; cf. Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 60. Hubatsch's supposition that the holdings of the Teutonic knights would have also produced sugar has no documentary evidence. For King Henry, see M. Balard, "Enrico I, re di Cipro," in *Federico II. Enciclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 511–513.

⁵⁷ Hubatsch, "Deutsche Orden," pp. 272–273. For the presence of Richard Filangieri and the battles of the imperial troops against John of Ibelin in Cyprus in 1232–1233, see *ibid.*, pp. 277–278, and Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 63–65. The Cypriot nobleman Philip Chenard (Chinard), a "uterine half-brother" of Gauvain of Cheneché (Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 52), was also in the imperial troop; he then moved to southern Italy, becoming castellan of the castle of Trani in Apulia; see A. Haseloff, *Die Bauten der Hohenstaufen in Unteritalien* (Leipzig, 1920), pp. 30–31; translated in Italian, *Architettura sveva nell'Italia meridionale*, ed. M. S. Calò Mariani (Bari, 1992), pp. 30–31.

⁵⁸ Cf. D. Jacoby, "The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant," *DOP* 40 (1986), pp. 83–101, reprinted in *idem, Studies*, no. III.

swore allegiance to Hugh II, king of Cyprus and regent of Jerusalem (1253–1267).⁵⁹

With the end of the Hohenstaufen dynasty the Mediterranean ambitions of the Teutonic knights did not come to an end. Their commitment became more intense, however, in the Baltic Sea (Prussia), where they created a dominion (*Ordensstaat*) which, in the modern era, was to become the Prussian State. The Teutonic Order kept its possessions in the Mediterranean until the fifteenth century. However, the moving of the seat of the Grand Master from Venice to Marienburg in 1309 marginalised the Mediterranean provinces. Subsequently the presence of Teutonic knights in the Mediterranean, apart from Italy, became more sporadic.

Walter Hubatsch, who has investigated extensively the presence of the Teutonic knights in Cyprus, has called attention to a sepulchral epitaph found in the ruins of Paphos by the British governor of Cyprus, Sir Ronald Storrs, published in 1927 by Camille Enlart.⁶⁰ The epigraph talks about Bernard, *le fils de sire Iorge, l'escrivain des Alemans*, who died in 1297. According to Hubatsch, Jorge (George), *l'escrivain des Alemans*, could have been a secretary of the imperial regents and, therefore, of Frederick II.⁶¹ Nevertheless, as far as I am concerned, he could also have been a scribe in the service of the Teutonic knights, similar to the *scriba in arabico* that we saw in Acre in 1280.

According to Hubatsch, in 1300 the Teutonic Order was running a hospital in Famagusta, directed by the Teutonic brother Henry of Trabach.⁶² The Genoese document, to which the German historian

⁵⁹ "Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin" in *RHC, Historiens occidentaux*, vol. 2, p. 634; cf. Hubatsch, "Deutsche Orden," p. 280 and n. 90; P. W. Edbury, "The Disputed Regency of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1264/6 and 1268," *The Camden Miscellany* 27 (1979), pp. 1–47, esp. p. 42; reprinted in idem, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders. From Jerusalem to Cyprus*, Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot, 1999), no. V.

⁶⁰ C. Enlart, "Deux inscriptions françaises trouvées à Chypre," *Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie* 8 (1927), pp. 234–238, esp. p. 236, fig. 2 (on p. 237): "Ici gist Bernard le fils de sire Iorge, l'escrivain des Alemans, qui mourut en lan de (N)otre Seigneur Ihu Crist M.CC.LXXXXVII; le premier jour del (mo)is de Delier. Q. Dieu en ait(t) larme."

⁶¹ Hubatsch, "Deutsche Orden," p. 279, who puts forth the theory about Jorge; see also N. Iorga, *France de Chypre* (Paris, 1931), p. 33; it is rejected, however, "for chronological reasons" by G. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, vol. 2: *The Frankish Period, 1192–1432* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 207. It is not at all clear if the phrase "l'escrivain des Alemans" refers to Bernard, who died in 1297, or to his father George.

⁶² Hubatsch, "Deutsche Orden," p. 282.

refers, however, does not mention a Teutonic hospital in Famagusta, but only deals with the receipt of a notable sum of money which *frater Enricus de Trabac, manescalcus hospitalis Sancte Marie Teotonicorum*, had borrowed in Famagusta.⁶³ The Teutonic Hospital of Saint Mary is here simply the name of the Order, and not a reference to a hospital existing in Famagusta, as Kurt Forstreuter has also observed.⁶⁴ Among the witnesses, a Teutonic knight called *Iachinus* is mentioned.⁶⁵

This document gives evidence for the presence of Teutonic knights in Cyprus after 1291, when the Order, together with all the other military Orders, abandoned the Holy Land following the fall of the last Christian stronghold, Acre. As a consequence, the Teutonic Order managed in 1293 to reorganize its Mediterranean bailiwicks, entrusting the Teutonic provinces of Apulia, Sicily, Greece, and Cyprus to a single commander, a Palestinian of Calabrian descent, Guy (*Guido*) *de Amigdala/Amendolea*, son of Agnes of Scandalion.⁶⁶

In 1307 the Teutonic knights in Apulia were authorized to export grain, vegetables, and war horses (*equos ad arma*) to Venice, in order to support an unspecified number of Teutonic brothers who were to be sent from Venice, then seat of the Grand Master, to the Teutonic house

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 294–295; *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 luglio 1300–3 agosto 1301)*, ed. V. Polonio, CSFS 31 (Genoa, 1982), no. 140, pp. 156–57: “Ego frater Enricus de Trabac, manescalcus hospitalis Sancte Marie Teotonicorum, . . .” Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 106 n. 21, cites the document to support his theory according to which “The Teutonic Order may also have been involved in the Tortosa expedition,” that is the reconquest of this city in 1300 by the Templars. However, there is no clear documentary evidence that the Teutonic knights had been involved in this expedition.

⁶⁴ Forstreuter, *Deutsche Orden*, p. 56; Miltzer, *Akkon*, p. 398, n. 53; M. Balard, *La Méditerranée médiévale. Espaces, itinéraires, comptoirs* (Paris, 2006), p. 143.

⁶⁵ Hubatsch, “Deutsche Orden,” p. 295; *Notai genovesi*, ed. Polonio, p. 157: “Testes vocati et rogati frater Iachinus, miles ordinis Teotonicorum, Iacobus de Signago, Ben Trevisanus et Iohanes, serviens domini consulis Famagoste Ianenensium.”

⁶⁶ H. Houben, “Die Landkomture der Deutschordensballei Apulien (1225–1474),” *Sacra Militia. Rivista di Storia degli Ordini militari* 2 (2004), pp. 115–154, esp. p. 139. *Guido de Amendolea* is mentioned in October 1289 as commander of the Teutonic house of Barletta in Apulia; a month later he became commander of the bailiwick of Apulia. He is not mentioned in Apulian sources until the 31 August 1292, when he is present in Barletta; he could then have participated in the defence of Acre, which he would have survived, but this is pure speculation. On 6 January 1293 he is said to be commander of the Kingdom of Sicily, Greece, and Cyprus, on 26 February 1293, commander in *regno Sicilie et in Apulia*, and, finally, in 1295, commander of Apulia; see Houben, “Landkomture,” pp. 127–129, 139–140, with relevant references.

in Cyprus (*ad domum ipsorum, quam habent in insula Cipro*).⁶⁷ A year later, on 20 September 1308, Pope Clement V asked the Teutonic Order to help the knights of Saint John with cavalry, infantry, and ships, because of the Muslim threat to Armenia and Cyprus.⁶⁸ The presence of Teutonic knights in Cyprus is mentioned around 1337 by the German traveller Ludolf of Sudheim, who stated that a number (unspecified) of Teutonic knights lived in the diocese of Limassol, in a place called *Pravimunt* or *Perrinunt*, which has not yet been securely identified.⁶⁹

We do not know how long the Teutonic knights remained in Cyprus, but given that no further surviving sources attest their presence in the island, it is probable that they left Cyprus at least by the end of the fourteenth century. They remained longer in the Peloponnesus, until 1500, when they were ousted by the Turks.⁷⁰ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, during discussions on the possibility of transferring the Teutonic Order from Prussia to the Mediterranean, where the knights could fight against the Turks, the name of Cyprus also came up;⁷¹ however, it was a fanciful project with no chance of being realized.

⁶⁷ H. Houben, "Zur Geschichte der Deutschordensballei Apulien. Abschriften und Regesten verlorener Urkunden aus Neapel in Graz und Wien," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 107 (1999), pp. 50–110, esp. p. 100; Hubatsch, "Deutsche Orden," p. 283. Cf. U. Arnold, "Der Deutsche Orden in Venedig," in E. Coli, M. De Marco, and F. Tommasi, eds., *Militia Sacra. Gli ordini militari tra Europa e Terrasanta* (Perugia, 1994), pp. 145–165, esp. p. 152, reprinted in Arnold, *Deutscher Orden*, pp. 207–224, esp. pp. 215f.; Hubatsch, "Deutsche Orden," p. 256, put forth the hypothesis that the Teutonic knights had had supplies of horses in Cyprus (*Pferdedepots*), but he was not able to refer to sources which would support it.

⁶⁸ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1886), no. 3219, pp. 234–236; Forstreuter, *Deutsche Orden*, p. 57.

⁶⁹ *Ludolphii de Itinere Terrae Sanctae liber*, ed. F. Deycks (Stuttgart, 1851), p. 32: "In hac etiam diocesi (scil. Nymocium) degunt fratres domus Theutonicorum in loco dicto Pravimunt;" in another version the name is reported as *Perrinunt*, see Hubatsch, "Deutsche Orden," p. 284, n. 109. For further discussion, see J. Richard, *Documents chypriotes des Archives du Vatican (XIV^e et XV^e siècles)*, Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 73 (Paris, 1962), p. 120.

⁷⁰ Cf. Forstreuter, *Deutsche Orden*, pp. 81–82; Kiesewetter, "L'Ordine Teutonico," p. 94.

⁷¹ Cf. Hubatsch, "Deutsche Orden," pp. 285–287.

DOCUMENTS FROM THE HOSPITALLER REGISTERS
ON RHODES CONCERNING CYPRUS, 1409–1459:
FORM AND CONTENTS

Karl Borchardt

For two centuries the Hospitallers on Rhodes were the closest Latin neighbours of Lusignan and Venetian Cyprus. Moreover, the Hospitallers from Rhodes held rich estates on Cyprus and played a role in Cypriot politics. The archives from Rhodes survive, at least partially, because in 1522 Suleiman the Magnificent permitted the Hospitallers to leave Rhodes together with their documents. The Hospitaller archives are now in the National Library of Malta, Valletta, where they form the *Archivum Ordinis Melitensis* (AOM). Basically there survive three kinds of documents: (a) original documents, i.e. charters and letters which the Master and Convent on Rhodes received, issued by popes, kings, cities, etc.; (b) registers, i.e. copies of charters and letters which the Master and Convent issued to other Hospitallers or to foreign people; and (c) minutes or other records of decisions in the Order's council, where the Master and senior officers decided political and administrative questions. Concerning Cyprus no original documents are extant, probably because the Hospitallers kept primarily papal bulls and similar charters from the West referring to perpetual rights, privileges, and possessions, but not political or administrative correspondence that had become obsolete by 1522. There are also losses from the two series of books which contain the registers of the Master and the minutes of the council. The extant registers of the Master start in 1346 and, up to 1798, there are 318 volumes, each of them with about 300 pages. The extant minutes of the council start in 1459 and, up to 1798, there are 179 volumes, each of them also with about 300 pages.¹

¹ J. Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts. Verfassung und Verwaltung der Johanniter auf Rhodos (1421–1522)*, Vita regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter 14 (Münster, Westfalen et al., 2001), pp. 11–14, with further references. J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac (1310–1421)* (Paris, 1913, reprinted London, 1974). The notes in this paper are restricted primarily to sources; books and articles will be quoted in the final edition, see below.

The following paper is about the form and contents of the documents in the thirty-one volumes of the register series between 1409 and 1459. For the period before 1409 the documents concerning Cyprus have been used, though not all of them published, by Anthony Luttrell in five articles.² Now the Cyprus Research Centre has commissioned Anthony Luttrell, Ekhard Schöffler, and myself to edit the documents from 1409 to 1459. The project stops in 1459, when the extant minutes of the Hospitaller council start, because that series is arranged chronologically and, as a consequence, it is very time consuming to look for the few Cypriot entries. The registers, however, are arranged geographically, Cyprus being counted among the *partes cismarine* as opposed to the European priories of the Hospital. Therefore, it is fairly easy to find those documents that the scribes of the registers considered to be important for Cyprus or other *partes cismarine*. Yet it should be noted that sometimes documents for the Western priories also mention persons important for Cyprus such as the grand commander of Cyprus or other Hospitaller officers.

The language of the Hospitaller documents is usually Latin. Letters to the king of Cyprus, his queen, or other members of his court were sometimes in French. Italian texts also occur, as some of the personnel of the Hospitaller chancery and many merchants on Rhodes came from Italy. Usually the documents were issued by the Master and the Convent, and according to their final clauses they were usually sealed with the leaden Conventual bull of the Master and Convent. Other documents were issued by the Master only, using his own magistral seal. From time to time the Master was absent from Rhodes, especially Fr. Philibert de Naillac in the second decade of the fifteenth century, attending the councils of Pisa and Constance. There the Master was accompanied by a group of proctors of the Convent, with whom he issued charters with the Conventual bull. When the Master was absent

² A. Luttrell, "The Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1386," in idem, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and Its Western Provinces, 1306–1462*, Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot, 1999), no. V, pp. 1–20; idem, "Sugar and Schism: The Hospitallers in Cyprus from 1378 to 1386," in *ibid.*, no. IV, pp. 157–166; idem, "The Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–1378," in idem, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and Their Mediterranean World*, Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot, 1992), no. IX, pp. 155–184; idem, "The Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291," in idem, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West 1291–1440*, Variorum Collected Studies (London, 1978), no. II, pp. 161–171. Also, idem, "The Sugar Industry and Its Importance for the Economy of Cyprus during the Frankish Period," in V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides, eds., *The Development of the Cypriot Economy. From the Prehistoric Period to the Present Day* (Nicosia, 1996), pp. 163–174.

from Rhodes for a longer period of time, there remained a lieutenant of the Master on Rhodes, who together with the Convent also issued the usual charters. For such periods the Hospitallers kept two parallel register books, for example AOM 339 for the lieutenants of the Master on Rhodes and AOM 340 for Fr. Philibert de Naillac.³

The contents of the documents can be grouped broadly into the following five classes: (a) appointments; (b) payments and receipts; (c) licences; (d) personal status; and (e) general events.

A. *Appointments*

The preceptor or commander, sometimes called grand preceptor or grand commander of Cyprus,⁴ was appointed by the Master and Convent. The leading Hospitallers on Rhodes struggled to get the rich preceptory. The pope, the king of Cyprus and others tried to secure the office for their friends among the Hospitallers. For example, King Janus of Cyprus asked that his favourite Fr. Estolonus de Lescure be given the grand preceptory,⁵ and later he tried to secure it for his seven-year-old illegitimate son, Louis de Lusignan. The Convent, whose Western revenues were insecure, coveted the rich revenues and favoured a division of the grand preceptory among the seven tongues or *langues* of the Hospitallers on Rhodes. Finally Pope John XXIII revoked his provision of the grand preceptory to Louis de Lusignan, and in 1414 the Master Fr. Philibert de Naillac had it incorporated into the Convent.⁶ Often the grand preceptor was absent from Cyprus, either because he was trying to advance his career in the Convent or because he was away on diplomatic missions. So the grand commander could have a lieutenant on Cyprus, who would have revenues for himself. For routine administration and for the revenues due to the Order's treasury

³ The Hospitaller chancery and its products deserve further studies. It is to be hoped that the edition of the Cypriot documents will be a contribution to a better understanding of the texts and their diplomatics.

⁴ Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, pp. 672–673, lists grand preceptors of Cyprus, preceptors of Temple [Templos], preceptors of Kolossi, and preceptors of Finika [Phinikas] and Noyera [Anoyira].

⁵ Without date, AOM 339, fol. 276v (old 242v). Estolonus was the brother of Raymond de Lescure, the previous grand preceptor of Cyprus.

⁶ AOM 338 fol. 189r–v; Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, p. 321 n. 7; G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1948, reprinted 1972), 2: p. 463.

on Rhodes there would be a third official, the *arrendator* or *appaltator* of the grand preceptory. This person was usually responsible for paying the annual *responsiones*, which varied, rising from 6,000 florins to 9,000 florins, to Rhodes.⁷

The Master held the preceptory of Phinikas and Anoyira as a magistral chamber on Cyprus. However, in 1417 the Master ceded his magistral chamber to the Convent and received in exchange the bailiwick of Flanders, which had previously belonged to the treasury.⁸ Like the grand commander, the commander of Phinikas and Anoyira could have a lieutenant when absent, and he could also have an *arrendator* or *appaltator* to manage ordinary administration. In 1442 the *arrendator* Fr. Antonio de Thebaldis da Roma, preceptor of Florence, pledged to pay 700 ducats as annual *responsiones*. He was given the two houses *cum omnibus servis sive parichis masculis et feminis, asinis et animalibus aliisque supellectilibus*, with the obligation to maintain the buildings, but only with the licence of the preceptor was the *arrendator* allowed *facere papates sive calogeros sive sacerdotes Grecos*.⁹ The document adds very detailed instructions about seeds, water-supply, and other agricultural affairs.

Hospitaller appointments to commanderies of priories were usually either for ten years or for life. When officers failed to pay *responsiones* and similar dues, they could be deposed. The rich estates of Cyprus enabled Hospitaller officers to lend money to the Master and the Convent or to other persons and to have important transactions with merchants. In 1436 Fr. Angelo Muscetula, admiral of the Convent and grand preceptor of Cyprus, owed 2,500 ducats to Bartolomeo Doria from Genoa, citizen and merchant of Rhodes, *saponarie* (the soap-boiling offices) *nostre Rhodi appaltator*. For Niccolò Tron, merchant of Venice, Fr. Angelo Muscetula paid to the treasury first 3,000 ducats, then 1,050 ducats for pepper. Finally the admiral and grand preceptor gave a loan of 500 ducats to the treasury.¹⁰

Appointments to lesser posts on Cyprus were usually made by the two senior officers on Cyprus, the grand commander and the commander of Phinikas and Anoyira, or by their lieutenants or *appaltatores*. Only if,

⁷ AOM 356, fols. 84r (old 84r), 211v–212v (old 221v–222v).

⁸ AOM 340, fols. 22v–23r. Phinikas is nowadays a deserted village; I wish to thank Chris Schabel, University of Cyprus, who spent a whole day in order to reach the place and explain it to me.

⁹ AOM 355, fols. 248r–250r (old 249r–251r).

¹⁰ AOM 352, fols. 160v–161r (old 162v–163r), 161r (old 163r), 162v (old 164v).

for some reason or other, the Master or the Master and the Convent confirmed such appointments, do lesser officials appear in the Maltese archives. Such lesser posts, as for example governor or bailiff of Kolossi, could be in the hands of Hospitallers,¹¹ though laymen could also be appointed. When in 1428 Antonius Pintor, inhabitant of Rhodes, his wife and children were granted the *baiulia* of *Quelaci* with its member of *Ziroke* for their lives, this was confirmed by the Master and the Convent.¹² Sometimes there were lay procurators. In 1414, for example, Michael de Aqua, citizen of Famagusta, was appointed for three years to administer the church of Saint John at Famagusta.¹³ Sometimes the Master granted lesser offices on Cyprus to his personal *familiares* or to his chaplains. In this way Fr. Anthonius de Sancto Amando received the *prestaria* of Templos near Kerynia and Fr. Jean Durand received the priory of the Temple in Nicosia, vacant by the resignation of Fr. Martinus Odde.¹⁴ When the prior of the church of Saint John at Nicosia, the magistral chaplain Fr. Johannes Cobeti, resigned this church into the hands of the Master, the latter appointed in 1447 the magistral chaplain Fr. Franciscus Senuti as his successor.¹⁵

Finally there was at least one scribe of the Cypriot grand preceptory in 1438, Ser Jacobo de Jerusalem, who was rewarded for his good services by being appointed as scribe for life.¹⁶ In 1459 Baglianus de Jerusalem was confirmed in his succession of his late father Jacobus in the office of *scriba generalis* of the Cypriot grand preceptory.¹⁷ His title implies that there were more scribes, but so far there are no documents known that mention them.

B. *Payments and receipts*

Regular payments followed from the appointments, as the grand commander and lesser officers, including the laymen, had to pay *responsiones* and other dues to the Order's headquarters on Rhodes. When officers and other brethren of the Order died, the treasury claimed its share of

¹¹ AOM 353, fol. 153r (old 154r).

¹² AOM 348, fol. 164r (old 162r).

¹³ AOM 339 fols. 291v–292r (old 257v–258r).

¹⁴ AOM 353, fols. 156r–v (old 157r–v).

¹⁵ AOM 359, fol. 213r–v (old 217r–v).

¹⁶ AOM 353, fol. 153r (old 154r).

¹⁷ AOM 369, fols. 60v–61r (old 50v–51r).

the spoils. The Headquarters had great difficulties in reclaiming money that deceased brethren had lent out. In 1427 Fr. Pedro Sernes and a certain Leonardo Imperiale, citizen of Genoa, merchant in Nicosia, were sent to the king of Cyprus to collect 5,000 ducats of a loan made to him by the late admiral Fr. Giacomo d'Alamania.¹⁸ Irregular payments, that is payments not made on an annual basis, might come from people's wills, as for example in 1445, from the deceased knight Hugues Soldanus, chamberlain of the Kingdom of Cyprus, who left 2,000 ducats of Rhodes as a subsidy to finance the resistance against the fleet of the sultan of Egypt.¹⁹

Cyprus produced sugar and grain for Rhodes. Documents illustrating sugar production and commerce are particularly valuable, as there exist three excavated sugar factories on Cyprus, including that of the Hospitallers themselves at Kolossi. In the 1440s and 1450s the two brothers Giovanni and Girolamo Martin, merchants of Venice, secured for themselves the *venditio pulverum zucari* of the grand preceptory of Cyprus and especially of the Hospitaller casale of Kolossi, probably because in 1442 Giovanni had been procurator of the grand preceptor of Cyprus Fr. Jacques de Milly,²⁰ who had a successful career and became Grand Master on Rhodes from 1454 to 1461. Giovanni and Girolamo Martin secured a contract for five years, which was renewed in due course. To the Order's treasury they guaranteed first 2,500 ducats and later as much as 3,000 ducats. Either at Kolossi or at Famagusta the Hospitallers were to hand over all their sugar to Giovanni and Girolamo, who exported and sold it at their own risk, keeping 12 quintals for themselves. In 1450 the Master and his council decided that, if the treasury bought the sugar of Kolossi from Giovanni and Girolamo, the price would be 25¹/₄ ducats per quintal.²¹

Rhodes imported Cypriot grain. In 1446 the Order's treasury on Rhodes bought grain, *frumentum* as opposed to *ordeum* [barley], from Cyprus and from Kos, purchasing 1,500 *modia* at 8 aspers *pro modio*, that is for 375 ducats, from Pietro Barozzi of Venice, who lived in the town of Rhodes, and 1,000 *modia* at 7 aspers *pro modio*, that is for 234

¹⁸ AOM 347, fol. 229v.

¹⁹ AOM 357, fol. 193v (old 205v). Cf. George Boustronios, *A Narrative of the Chronicle of Cyprus 1456–1489*, transl. N. Coureas (Nicosia, 2005), p. 99, no. 58 n. 124.

²⁰ AOM 355, fol. 213r (old 214r).

²¹ AOM 362, fols. 195r–v (old 194rv), 195v (old 194v); edited by Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, pp. 647–650.

ducats, from Michele Grillo, merchant of Genoa.²² In 1448 the treasury bought grain from Cyprus, purchasing 2866 *modia* at 8 aspers and 4 *denarii pro modio*, that is for 1,182 florins, 4 aspers and 8 *denarii*, from Cipriano dei Vivaldis, merchant of Genoa.²³

In 1450 some revenues of the casale of Tarsi on Cyprus were used to finance the new infirmary the Order was building at Rhodes.²⁴

Money could also be transferred by credit: in 1459 Jaume Masdeniunt, merchant of Catalonia living in Nicosia, was to pay 1,150 ducats of Venice to the consul of Genoa in Nicosia, Girolamo Carmedini, because the Hospitallers had received this sum in Rhodes from Tobia Lomelino, citizen and merchant of Genoa living in Rhodes. Such documents were validated with the *bullā communis plumbea* together with the two subscriptions of the *conservator generalis* and of the *scriba communis* of the Order's treasury.²⁵

C. Licences

The most frequent type of licence in the Hospitaller registers are permissions to travel granted to individuals. Members of the Order were allowed to move only with the express and written consent of a superior. Licences to travel were also issued for citizens of Rhodes. In 1410 Nicolaus Roconde, citizen of Rhodes, was permitted to move to Cyprus at the request of King Janus.²⁶ Ships received licences to anchor at Rhodes, as, for instance, in 1457 a vessel whose patron was Oberto Squarcafichus, citizen of Genoa, and whose captain was Napoleone Lomelino of Famagusta; the crew included Christians and two categories of Muslims, Moors and Turks.²⁷

A second type of licence concerned the reception of brethren into the Order. Sometimes the name was specified, as in a licence of 1412 for Fr. Jean Clarret, the lieutenant of the grand preceptor of Cyprus, to receive a certain Berandus de Pues.²⁸ New *militēs* of the Order had to be of noble and legitimate birth; all *fratres* had to be physically sound

²² AOM 359, fols. 176r (old 180r), 179r (old 183r).

²³ AOM 361, fol. 277r-v (old 265r-v).

²⁴ AOM 361, fols. 365v-366r (old 354v-355v).

²⁵ AOM 369, fol. 220r (old 188r).

²⁶ AOM 339, fol. 201v (old 168v).

²⁷ AOM 367, fol. 190r-v (old 190r-v).

²⁸ AOM 339 fol. 208v (old 175v).

and free of all other obligations, other religious vows, personal debt, or marriage.²⁹

D. *Personal Status*

The following examples show the wide range of such documents: in 1447 the Master Fr. Jean de Lastic agreed to be the godfather, *compater*, to the child born to the Count of Jaffa and his wife.³⁰ In 1445 some *francomati* on Cyprus wanted to serve the Hospital with their wives, servants, and animals, but they doubted whether they would be treated in a decent way; so the grand preceptor of Cyprus was to ensure that these *francomati* would volunteer to serve in *loca et casalia* of the Hospital.³¹ The *servi* or *parici* were always attached to a specific casale. In 1436 the Master and Convent confirmed that the grand preceptor of Cyprus had freed a certain Georgius Jani Tucalogueru, *servus ascripticius casalis de Nacruso*, to be a *civis Romanus*, on condition that Georgius and his successors paid one bezant and 16 *denarii* to the grand preceptor; Georgius, however, would no longer be obliged to provide services with his plough-oxen, donkey, etc., or in other words he ceased to render labour services.³² In 1449 Janulus Talagudi, *servus sive paricus* of the late grand preceptor of Cyprus, Fr. Felip d'Hortal, was freed *ab omnibus angariis et perangariis*, provided that he paid the grand preceptory 24 bezants annually on the feast of Saint John the Baptist and that he continued to pay the usual third part of his income; this privilege, however, was restricted to him in person and could not be extended to his children or successors. The same status was conferred upon another *famulus* of Fr. Felip d'Hortal, a certain Alexi de la Chira.³³

There were people from Cyprus at Rhodes: a certain *domina Marion de Chipro* appeared in a case concerning the son of her slave, *Johannes, filius Theodore de Duracio*, who was obliged to *servitudo marinaria* on Rhodes.³⁴ Salomon of Ancona, a Jew in Cyprus, married a Jewess of Rhodes and obtained a licence to live himself on Rhodes.³⁵

²⁹ AOM 355, fol. 208r (old 175r).

³⁰ AOM 359, fol. 222r (old 226r).

³¹ AOM 357, fol. 218v (old 231v).

³² AOM 352, fol. 175r (old 178r).

³³ AOM 361, fols. 354r (old 342r), 354r-v (old 342r-v).

³⁴ AOM 339, fol. 256v.

³⁵ AOM 354, fol. 257r (old 256r).

E. *General Events*

This last group of documents concerns a broad variety of political and other issues that for certain reasons were copied into the registers. Among such texts we find, for example, a letter of 1411 in which the Order thanked King Janus for having exempted the Hospitaller possessions on Cyprus from the royal tenth.³⁶ There was an exchange of news between Rhodes and Cyprus. In 1414 the lieutenant of the Master informed the king of Cyprus about thirty Muslim ships allegedly on the way to Constantinople or Thessaloniki.³⁷

In the 1420s the Egyptian invasion of Cyprus, the capture of the king, and the payment of his ransom had consequences for the Hospitallers.³⁸ In 1428 the Hospitallers gave permission to sell life-rents in France worth 10,000 ducats or ecus in order to send help to Cyprus.³⁹ The king of Cyprus was forced to make peace with Egypt. A military-religious order, however, faced a problem in making peace with enemies of the faith. Still, because the king had made peace with the sultan, the Hospitallers on Cyprus could not continue to wage war. After an abortive siege of Rhodes by the sultan's fleet in 1440, the Hospitallers tried to negotiate for themselves some kind of peace or armistice with Egypt. For this purpose they enlisted the help of the king of Cyprus, to whom they sent as an envoy their chancellor, Fr. Melchior Bandini.⁴⁰ Finally a treaty was made that obliged the Hospitallers in the grand preceptory of Cyprus, but not the Hospitallers on Rhodes, to live in peace with the Mamluks.⁴¹ The Hospitallers had paid a substantial part of the king's ransom. In 1446 King John II came to an agreement for the repayment of the debt. This settlement was negotiated by Fr. Giacomo Acciaiuoli, lieutenant of the admiral.⁴²

At about the same time there was a quarrel between the king and the archbishop of Nicosia, Galesius de Montolif, who fled to Rhodes in 1445 and had to renounce certain pensions that former grand preceptors of Cyprus had promised to pay to the archbishopric. The

³⁶ French, AOM 339, fols. 266v (old 232v), 267r (old 233r).

³⁷ AOM 339, fol. 283v (old 249v).

³⁸ L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, vol. 2-3 (Paris, 1852-1855), 2: pp. 506-544; Hill, *History*, 2: pp. 469-496.

³⁹ AOM 348 fols. 197r-198v (old 203r-204v).

⁴⁰ AOM 355, fols. 254r-v (old 255r-v), 256v (old 257v), 266r (old 267r).

⁴¹ AOM 355, fols. 214v-215r (old 215v-216r).

⁴² AOM 359, fols. 207v-208r (old 211v-212r).

quarrel between king and archbishop was to be mediated by Giovanni da Monteleone, bishop of Famagusta, who arrived on Rhodes as an envoy from Pope Eugenius IV.⁴³

In 1448 the Hospitallers allied themselves with the king of Cyprus against the Grand Karaman. In 1449 Fr. Louis de Rillach was sent to Nicosia with detailed instructions spelled out in thirty-three points to conduct negotiations concerning commerce, the administration of the grand preceptory of Cyprus, and the Turks.⁴⁴ In 1454 a certain Henry Bothcoth from Exeter in England was said to have helped the ships of the king of Cyprus and of the Hospital to besiege the town of Anamur on the Cilician coast, which was held by the Grand Karaman.⁴⁵

In 1452 damages of more than 12,000 florins occurred in the grand preceptory, owing to weather conditions unfavourable for the growth of sugar, to the plague that had killed many *parici*, and to the incursions of the Grand Karaman. On his own initiative, probably to enhance his prestige and advance his career, the seneschal Fr. Louis de Magnac, preceptor of Chamberaud in the priory of Auvergne and of the magistral chamber of Phinikas and Anoyira, paid 12,000 florins to the treasury and promised to rebuild the tower of the casale of Kolossi where the sugar and other products of the grand preceptory were collected and which had been burnt by the Muslims:

Additis insuper esse turrin in nostro casalli Collossi, dicte nostre magne preceptorie precipuo membro, alias a Sarracenis combustam, in qua conduntur et collocantur zucari et pulveres zucaronum et alii introitus dicte nostre preceptorie, et ab intrusionibus infidelium homines preceptorie ipsius presidium et receptaculum illic inveniunt. Que turris, nisi eydem celeri structura et reparationi subveniatur, in ruinam ibit, cum iam scissa pluribus in locis consistat. Quamquidem turrin vestris propriis expensis reparare et ponere in formam castri cum quatuor turribus et barbacana certis pactis et modis vos optulistis.

The new structure was to have the form of a castle with four towers, one in each corner. The walls were to be at least ten palms thick. Their height was to be decided by a commissioner and by a *prothomagister* from Rhodes. A barbican was to be built around the tower with lime and sand and according to a timetable set up by the commissioner and the *prothomagister* from Rhodes:

⁴³ AOM 357, fol. 236r–v (old 249r–v). L. de Mas Latrie, “Histoire des archevêques Latins de l’île de Chypre,” *AOL* 2 (1884), pp. 286–287.

⁴⁴ AOM 361, fols. 368r–370v (old 356r–358v).

⁴⁵ AOM 363, fol. 259r (old 259r).

...promisit et se solemniter obligavit ad fortificari ac construi faciendum prefatam turrin Colossi in formam castrati quadrati cum quatuor turribus, videlicet unusquisque angulus dicti castrati habebit unam turrin. Et grossitudo sive spissitudo muri ipsius castrati erit palmorum decem ad minus et plus ad discretionem dicti domini preceptoris. Altitudo vero dicti muri castrati prefati et turrium erit secundum quod ordinabitur per commissarium et prothomagistrum mittendos ex Rhodo per dictum reverendissimum dominum magistrum et eius venerandum consilium ad prefatum locum Colossi. Item tenetur dictus dominus preceptor fieri facere unam barbanchanam circumcircha dictum castrum bonam et sufficientem secundum qualitatem castrati. Et quidquid edificabitur, ut premittitur, sit cum calizo et harena. Quod quidem castrum, turres et barbanchana dictus dominus preceptor promiserit, quod erunt facta in termino ordinando a dictis commissario et prothomagistro mittendis ad prefatum locum Colossi.⁴⁶

This is only a small sample of the documents from Malta being edited by the author of the present paper, with Anthony Luttrell and Ekhard Schöffler. The paper is meant to illustrate what the sources offer and what can be expected from the edition. Given the virtual destruction of Cyprus's late-medieval archives, the Hospitaller documents add much to the knowledge of the island's past; they are also important for the historians of the Hospital and of Rhodes. The examples discussed above demonstrate that they improve, broaden, and deepen our knowledge of prosopography, commerce, agriculture, and building on Cyprus.

⁴⁶ AOM 363, fols. 142r–143v, 143v.

A MATTER OF GREAT CONFUSION:
KING RICHARD I AND SYRIA'S *VETUS DE MONTE*

Brenda M. Bolton

The art of diplomatics, according to Jean Mabillon's *Res diplomatica*, came about as a result of the desire of historians to decipher, to examine, to evaluate and to deploy documentary sources in the search for truth. In other words, this was to discover whether the contents of these sources were consistent with the known facts.¹ Records, having been drawn up either by those who felt the need to communicate in writing with colleagues or by those who wished to preserve the memory of a certain event, must surely face intensive investigation and cannot be successfully evaluated in isolation. Leonard Boyle suggests that the same rhetorical principles should apply in every case, whether the record is authentic or forged, credible or implausible.² Questions to be asked of any document are: "Who wrote it? What does it say? How is it written? Why, when and where was it written? Who were involved in it besides the principal agent?"³ Only when these details are known can proper scholarly judgment be made. Such critical examination of a document ought to take into account not only its substance but also its context and the circumstances surrounding its production. If no original survives, then the study of diplomatics moves on to a new plane of investigation. This would be concerned with the production of the document in the historical context of the original, with the content as much as with the form.⁴ Two letters of the 1190s are appropriate for such detailed investigation. Although they have separate

¹ My thanks to Christoph Egger, Axel Müller and John Gillingham for providing bibliographical advice and invaluable food for thought. They are in no way to be held responsible for views expressed here.

² L. Boyle, "Diplomatics," in J. M. Powell, ed., *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Syracuse, 1992), pp. 82–113.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁴ J. Sayers, "English Charters from the Third Crusade," in D. Greenway, C. Holdsworth and J. Sayers, eds., *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall Presented by her Friends on the Occasion of her Seventieth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 195–213, at p. 195.

addressees, they are often mistakenly treated as though they were one and the same, possibly because they were issued under exceptional circumstances. They provide an unusual linkage of an event in the region of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Kingdom of Jerusalem with the ruling families of Christendom. My modest aim, building on some of the conclusions of others, is to allow them to “speak again with a full and distinct voice”⁵ and, in so doing, to try to clear away some of the confusion.

By 1195 or 1196, the two letters were circulating within the court circles of Europe.⁶ Both purported to come from Rāšid ad-Dīn Sinān, the contemporary Grand Master of the Syrian Nizārīs or Assassins (1162–1192/3), otherwise known under the more intriguing title as *Vetus* or *Vetulus de Monte*, the Old Man of the Mountain.⁷ The Old Man’s purpose in writing the letters was ostensibly to take responsibility for the assassination in Tyre on 28 April 1192 of Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat.⁸ Since it was strongly rumoured that Richard I *Coeur de Lion* had played a leading and sinister role in the Marquis’s murder, it will not be surprising that both variants of the exonerating texts have survived in English chronicle sources.⁹ More recently, the serious suggestion has been made that the letters emanated from the Chancery of Richard I, set, as they were and should be, against the background of

⁵ Boyle, “Diplomatics,” p. 89. See also J. Brown and W. P. Stoneman, eds., *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1997), p. x.

⁶ F. Daftary, *The Assassins: Legends: Myths of the Isma’ilis* (London, 2001), p. 73; idem, “The Isma’ilis and the Crusaders: History and Myth,” in Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky, eds., *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity* (Budapest, 2001), pp. 21–41, at pp. 28–30.

⁷ Rāšid ad-Dīn Sinān, born at Bašra in Lower Chaldea (southeastern Iraq), became fourth Grand Master (1165–1192/3) in succession to Ḥasan, and died at the Nizārī Syrian fortress of Kahf. One of the earliest and most comprehensive accounts of his life is that given by S. Guyard, “Un grand maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin,” *Journal Asiatique*, 7^e ser., 9 (1877), pp. 324–489, at pp. 345–408. See also, Ch. E. Nowell, “The Old Man of the Mountain,” *Speculum* 22 (1947), pp. 497–519; B. Lewis, “Kamāl al-Dīn’s Biography of Rāšid al-Dīn Sinān,” *Arabica* 13 (1966), pp. 225–267; idem, *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (London, 1967), pp. 97–124, at pp. 110–119.

⁸ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, “Corrado di Monferrato,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 29 (Rome, 1983), pp. 381–387. For a comprehensive analysis of the political and economic background see D. Jacoby, “Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1187–1192),” in L. Balletto, ed., *Dai Feudi Monferrini e dal Piemonte ai Nuovi Mondi oltre gli Oceani, Atti del Congresso Internazionale, Alessandria, 2–6 aprile 1990*, 2 vols., Biblioteca della Società di Storia Arte e Archeologia 27 (Alessandria, 1993), 1: pp. 187–238.

⁹ Cf. J. Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven, Conn., 1999), pp. 197–202, for an excellent overview.

a lively propaganda war being waged across Christendom.¹⁰ Whatever the truth of the charge, the validity of the purpose and transmission of the letters in this complicated diplomatic context remain mired in confusion. No wholly satisfactory answers have yet been found to explain their appearance although, in the perspective of time, various competing suggestions have been advanced. The time is now ripe to examine afresh what is known of the affair, and to discuss it in the context of those communication strategies employed by various chanceries in their attempts to influence public opinion. Whilst an investigation of the complicated inter-relationships amongst the rulers of Europe will, in general, go some way towards this, the particular Conrad-Richard affair should prove to be an instructive example of the evaluation of such evidence. Whether forgeries or not, and opinion almost universally deems them to be so,¹¹ these letters do seem to indicate the existence of an unusually advanced inter-cultural, mutual understanding and appreciation between Richard I and Sinān, leader of the Nizārīs. Although Sinān's letters are usually regarded as being more or less identical in content, style and wording, it is fruitful to examine each in turn, since the first is addressed to Duke Leopold V of Austria (d. 1194)¹² and the second to the princes of Europe in general (see Appendix).

Ralph of Diceto, dean of St Paul's (ca.1180–1201/1202),¹³ author of the *Ymagines Historiarum*, confidant of numerous public figures and

¹⁰ Idem, "Royal Newsletters, Forgeries and English Historians: Some Links between Court and History in the Reign of Richard I," in M. Aurell, ed., *La Cour Plantagenêt (1154–1204). Actes du Colloque tenu à Thouars du 30 avril au 2 mai 1999*, Civilisation Médiévale 8 (Poitiers, 2000), pp. 171–184.

¹¹ K. Norgate, *Richard the Lion Heart* (London, 1924), pp. 217–218, n. 6. "The letter is unquestionably a forgery," Gillingham, "Royal Newsletters," pp. 171, 179, "and it was, of course, a forgery," and 183.

¹² Leopold V of Austria (1157–31 December 1194), one of the long-standing leaders of the siege of Acre but hostile to Richard I. In December 1192, Leopold's men arrested the King as he returned to England, taking him to Dürnstein in ducal territory. Philip Augustus and Henry VI both wrote to Leopold in early 1193 instructing him to hold his royal prisoner in secure captivity until he could be taken to Germany. Leopold was excommunicated in June 1194 for ill-treating a crusader and ordered to repay the ransom he had received. After his foot was crushed in a riding accident on 26 December 1194, the wound became gangrenous. He was reconciled to the Church on his deathbed at Fischau five days later.

¹³ Born ca. 1120/1130 at ?Diss, Norfolk; canon of St Paul's, London; archdeacon of Middlesex (1152–1153); dean of St Paul's (1180–1181) until his death or resignation sometime before May 1201. D. E. Greenway, "The Succession to Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St Paul's," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 39 (1966), pp. 86–95; A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols. (London, 1974–1982), 1: pp. 230–236; Gillingham, "Royal Newsletters," pp. 178–179.

semi-official historian of the Angevin court by virtue of the centrality of his place of residence in London, did not himself go on crusade and was, therefore, reliant on information contributed by others for inclusion in the annals he was known to be compiling.¹⁴ One such “careful informant”¹⁵ close to Diceto was his own chaplain, William, an Englishman, not only present at the siege of Acre, where he vowed to found a chapel and cemetery at the city’s gate,¹⁶ but also responsible for identifying Conrad of Montferrat’s battle position as the crusaders prepared their lines before the city walls.¹⁷ It was, however, Diceto’s particular friendship with another William, William de Longchamp, Richard I’s chancellor from 1189 to 1197, justiciar of England and bishop of Ely,¹⁸ which allowed the author to receive direct and invaluable information on many other matters of interest. One of these was a transcript of the Old Man’s letter addressed to Duke Leopold,¹⁹ which Longchamp suggested might be suitable material for Diceto to include in his chronicles.²⁰ Diceto responded to this frank request from his powerful friend by placing Chancellor Longchamp’s letter in the final section of the *Ymagines Historiarum*, that part of his work in which he dealt with contemporary affairs covering the period from 1188 to 1200. The earliest text of the *Ymagines*, possibly Diceto’s own autograph

¹⁴ Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 1180–1202, ed. W. Stubbs, Ralph of Diceto, *Opera historica*, 2 vols., Rolls Series 68 (London, 1876), 2/1: pp. lxxii–lxxvi.

¹⁵ *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, 2 vols., Rolls Series 38 (London, 1864–1865), 2/1: p. xxxvii (hereafter cited as *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*).

¹⁶ Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2/2: pp. 80–81.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2/2: p. 79. “Ante montem Musardi supra mare sunt Geneuenses. Post illos sunt Hospitalarii. Post quos est marchio Montis Ferrarii.”

¹⁸ William de Longchamp (d. January 1197 at Poitiers), served as chancellor to Richard, count of Poitou. Created chancellor of the realm (1189) with custody of the royal seal, he was consecrated as bishop of Ely on 31 December 1189 and named as papal legate to England by both Clement III and Celestine III. Deprived of office and reinstated by 1193, he took part in several diplomatic missions to Germany and France. See, R. V. Turner, “William de Longchamp,” *New Dictionary of National Biography* 34 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 381–384; D. Balfour, “The Origins of the Longchamp Family,” *Medieval Prosopography* 18 (1997), p. 90, and *idem*, *William de Longchamp* (Burford, 2008) (forthcoming).

¹⁹ Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2/2: pp. 127–128; Gillingham, “Royal Newsletters,” pp. 178–179, at p. 178. For the Austrian dimension and letter to Leopold V, see *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Babenberger in Österreich*, ed. H. Fichtenau and E. Zöllner, 4 vols. (Vienna, 1950–1968), 4/4: pp. 222–223, no. 925.

²⁰ “Nos verum harum transcriptum litterarum vobis de cuius dilectione plenum habemus experimentum duximus destinandum, ut de illo agatis in cronicis vestris,” Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2/2: p. 128.

copy,²¹ lists the letter in the *Capitula Ymaginum Historiarum* or summary of contents under the year 1195.²²

In Diceto's version of Sinān's letter, which had been addressed to Leopold, duke of Austria, the Old Man acknowledged that many kings and princes beyond the seas imputed blame to Richard for the death of Conrad of Montferrat. But Sinān swore by God's law and that of the Assassins that the King of England was in no way implicated in the crime, and then proceeded to explain the circumstances of Conrad's murder in the following terms. While a Syrian Nizārī merchant was returning home from Satalia,²³ at that time the most important port on the southern coast of Asia Minor, a great storm drove his cargo ship off course and into the harbour of Tyre. As lord of the city, Conrad immediately had the man captured, and seized a large sum of money from him before finally ordering that he be put to death. In response, Sinān sent messengers to Conrad with orders that the money should be returned and some sort of compact reached between the marquis and the Assassins in regard to the rich merchant's murder. Conrad, however, refused any such restitution, spurned Sinān's messengers and instead tried to place the blame for the killing on Reynald, lord of Sidon.²⁴

A second Assassin, a certain Edrisius by name, sent to Tyre to resolve the matter, was threatened with drowning by Conrad and was only saved from this fate by the action of some of Sinān's friends. Edrisius rapidly returned to his own country to report back to his master. From this moment on, Sinān claimed that he had wished to seek retribution against Conrad and he dispatched two Assassins with instructions to murder the marquis openly, "more or less in the presence of all the people of Tyre."²⁵ Having rehearsed the course of these events, Sinān

²¹ London, MS *Lambeth*, 8A, fol. 129r. This manuscript survived amongst the archives of Old St Paul's Cathedral as a relic of Ralph, the "good dean," and remains today as one of the treasures of Lambeth Palace Library.

²² Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2/1: pp. 267–286, at p. 284.

²³ Present-day Antalya.

²⁴ Reynald, lord of Sidon and Beaufort (1171–1200). See "Les Seigneurs de Sidon ou de Sagette," in E.-G. Rey, *Les familles d'Outremer de Du Cange* (Paris, 1869), pp. 431–438, at pp. 432–434; "Un baron arabisant du douzième siècle. Renaud de Sidon et la défense de Beaufort," in R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934–1936), 2: at pp. 832–834; J. L. La Monte, "The Lords of Sidon in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Byzantion* 17 (1944–1945), pp. 183–211, at pp. 193–200.

²⁵ "... tuncque duos fratres ad Tyrum misimus, qui eum aperte et fere coram omni populo Tyri occiderunt," Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum*, 2/2: p. 128.

repeated that he exonerated Richard from any part in Conrad's murder, stating that those who had declared the king culpable had done so unjustly and without cause. The Old Man ends with a bold flourish, asserting that Assassins kill neither for bribes nor money but only if someone has first harmed them. The letter is dated "in the year 1505 from Alexander," and was sealed in the presence of the Nizārī Assassins from Maşyāf, Sinān's fortress-residence in the Ġabal Bahrā', a mountainous area of central Syria.²⁶

Copies of the Leopold letter from the Old Man occur in two other compilations by English chroniclers, both probably gathered together in the generation after the 1190s. One appears in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, an edited compilation of four different manuscripts by William Stubbs as volume I of his *Chronicles and Memorials of the reign of Richard I*.²⁷ Helen Nicholson has indicated something of the complex transmission of the *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, attributed to Richard of Holy Trinity (Richard the Canon) (ca. 1220),²⁸ and the clear parallels which exist between Books 2 to 6 of Stubbs' edition and the *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, a French verse chronicle on the Third Crusade composed by a certain Ambroise who claimed to be an eyewitness.²⁹ She believes that the author of the *Itinerarium regis Ricardi* took the Old Man's letter from Ralph of Diceto, commenting nevertheless that the letter "is unlikely to be genuine, although the contents may be true, but the original source is unclear."³⁰ In other words—content debatable—author unknown!

Sometime before 1235, Roger of Wendover³¹ had included the same letter in his *Flowers of History*, the earlier part of this work being likewise

²⁶ This in western dating was mid-September 1193. The Assassins dated by the Seleucid era, that is, from the recovery of Babylon in 312 B.C. by Seleucus I Nicator; cf. *Urkundenbuch*, ed. Fichtenau and Zöllner, 4/4: p. 222, no. 925, for an alternative and tentative date of 1191? with no explanation.

²⁷ *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, liber VI, cap. xxxvii, pp. 444–445.

²⁸ Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade. A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. H. Nicholson, Crusade Texts in Translation 3 (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 1–17, at pp. 6–11; cf. *Das Itinerarium Peregrinorum. Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed. H. E. Mayer, MGH, Schriften 18 (Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 105–106.

²⁹ *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte par Ambroise*, ed. G. Paris (Paris, 1897); *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart by Ambroise*, trans. M. J. Hubert, with notes by J. L. La Monte (New York, 1941), pp. 334–339 (hereafter cited as Ambroise, *Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*).

³⁰ Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, pp. 384–385, n. 112. Nicholson adds (at n. 111) "it is written in very simplistic Latin, quite unlike MS C's usual rhetorical style."

³¹ Roger of Wendover (d. 1236), Benedictine monk of St Albans and prior of Beauvoir, writing after 1204.

derived from the *Imagines* of Ralph of Diceto.³² However, Wendover adds a sentence of explanation, which is lacking in Diceto's version, stating that it was Richard himself who had sent envoys to the Old Man asking for testimony to his innocence.³³ Of interest, too, is that Wendover is the only chronicler to place the letter squarely amidst the events of the year 1193—perhaps taking as confirmation the dating clause in Diceto's version—following a lengthy passage in which he describes not only Richard I's capture by Leopold of Austria but also the charges levelled against the king by the Emperor Henry VI, and details of the subsequent royal ransom.³⁴

The English chronicler, William of Newburgh (1136–1197/8?),³⁵ provides a second and rather different version of the letter from that which the Old Man addressed to Leopold of Austria. It is this letter which was received at the royal court in Paris³⁶ and which Newburgh included under the year 1195 in Book 5, chapter 16 of his *History of English Affairs*, with the heading “How the King of the English was cleared of the death of the marquis by letters of the Old Man of the

³² Roger of Wendover, *Chronica sive Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. O. Coxe, 5 vols. (London, 1841–1845), 5/3: pp. 74–75. See also the pamphlet by V. H. Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris*, David Murray Foundation Lecture in the University of Glasgow, 9 March 1944 (reprinted Glasgow, 1970); Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 1: p. 359; Richard Kay, “Wendover's Last Annal,” *English Historical Review* 84 (1969), pp. 779–785.

³³ Wendover, *Chronica*, 5/3: p. 74: “Rex autem Anglorum Richardus, cum injuste fuisset, ut dictum est, de morte Marchisii accusatus, nuntios misit ad magistrum Assinorium solennes, petens ab eo ut scriberet duci Austriae sive imperatori et suam innocentiam excusaret, a quo has sequentes literas impetravit.” Cf. Gillingham, “Royal Newsletters,” p. 179, who points out that Matthew Paris did not take over this passage.

³⁴ Wendover, *Chronica*, 5/3: pp. 68–74.

³⁵ William of Newburgh, Augustinian canon regular of Newburgh Priory, the most religious-minded English historian of his generation, who dedicated his *History of English Affairs* to Ernard, abbot of Rievaulx, and his *Commentary on the Song of Songs* to Roger, abbot of Byland. He spent his whole life in the north of England, beginning to write his *History* in 1196 but ending it abruptly in 1197/8. John Taylor, “William of Newburgh,” *New Dictionary of National Biography* 40 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 587–589.

³⁶ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, 4 vols., Rolls Series 82 (London, 1884–1885), vols. 4/1 and 4/2. Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 1: pp. 262–268; N. F. Partner, *Serious Entertainments. The Writing of History in Twelfth-century England* (Chicago, 1977), pp. 51–140. See also J. Gillingham, “Two Yorkshire Historians Compared: Roger of Howden and William of Newburgh,” *Haskins Society Journal* 12 (2002), pp. 15–37; idem, “The Historian as Judge: William of Newburgh and Hubert Walter,” *English Historical Review* 119 (2004), pp. 1275–1287; idem, “William of Newburgh and Emperor Henry VI,” in W. Koch, A. Schmid and W. Volkert, eds., *Auxilia Historica: Festschrift für Peter Acht zum 90. Geburtstag*, Schriftenreihe zur Bayerischen Landesgeschichte 132 (Munich, 2001), pp. 51–71.

Mountain.”³⁷ Indeed, William of Newburgh explains that after the letter had been formally read aloud in the presence of the King of France, Philip Augustus announced that Richard was outstandingly absolved of such a mark of infamy.³⁸ In several recent articles, Gillingham reveals Newburgh’s “unusually good knowledge of politics” at the court of Emperor Henry VI and cites several instances to indicate that this Austin canon from North Yorkshire enjoyed a degree of special access to information on events in the kingdoms of Germany and France, particularly between the summer of 1195 and the spring of the following year.³⁹ Not only did Newburgh share the Christian and international outlook of the English author of the Latin Continuation of William of Tyre,⁴⁰ but he was also influenced by the German narrative of Barbarossa’s crusade as utilized by the author of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*.⁴¹ By revealing the narrative sources of which he made use, Newburgh is now widely regarded as the best informed of the late twelfth-century English chroniclers, including in his *History* not only the Old Man’s letter but also two whole chapters in Book 4 which reveal a considerable understanding of the diplomatic background to the murder.⁴² William composed his *History* between 1196 and 1197, at Newburgh, a village just north of York. Based not many miles away, to the south of York, was Roger of Howden, that most widely travelled of all English medieval historians, royal servant and chronicler, active both in the service of government and of the bishop of Durham until at least 1200.⁴³ Gillingham has speculated that “it is hard not to think of Newburgh writing with a copy of Howden’s *Chronica* before him,”

³⁷ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, 4/2: book V, cap. xvi, pp. 457–460.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 4/2: book V, cap. xvi, pp. 458–459.

³⁹ Gillingham, “Royal Newsletters,” pp. 179–185; *idem*, “Two Yorkshire Historians Compared,” pp. 17–26; *idem*, “The Historian as Judge,” pp. 1282–1287; *idem*, “William of Newburgh and Emperor Henry VI,” pp. 60–61.

⁴⁰ Gillingham, “Royal Newsletters,” p. 180, n. 52. Cf. Partner, *Serious Entertainments*, p. 104; Gillingham, “William of Newburgh and Emperor Henry VI,” pp. 56, 60–61. See also *Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus*, ed. M. Salloch (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 34–37.

⁴¹ *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, pp. 174–179, 184–185.

⁴² William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, 4/1: book IV, cap. xxiv–xxv, pp. 363–367; Gillingham, “Royal Newsletters,” p. 180, n. 52; *idem*, “William of Newburgh and Henry VI,” pp. 60–71.

⁴³ Gillingham, “Royal Newsletters,” pp. 179–185; *idem*, “Writing the Biography of Roger of Howden, King’s Clerk and Chronicler,” in D. Bates, J. Crick and S. Hamilton, eds., *Writing Medieval Biography 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 207–220.

and has characterized Newburgh's history as "Howden rewritten."⁴⁴ Whatever evidence there may be, it does not explain why Roger of Howden says relatively little about the Assassins and does not include Sinān's letter in his chronicle. It is possible to speculate that the letter might have logically been expected to be placed there. In any case, Newburgh, who "compared with Diceto and Howden . . . included very few documents in his history," seems fully informed on the issue.⁴⁵

In contrast to Diceto's specific addressee, namely Duke Leopold, the letter cited by Newburgh professes to have been written spontaneously in order to meet a specific need and was far more widely transmitted to "the princes and all the people of the Christian religion."⁴⁶ Of great interest is the information provided uniquely by Newburgh that not only were three versions originally circulated, in Hebrew, Greek and Latin characters, but more particularly, these trilingual letters were not actually written in ink but, significantly, in "a most unusual medium."⁴⁷ This was the blood of a purple-fish, the *murex* (actually, a marine mollusc), "as the letters themselves made clear."⁴⁸ That the letters reached the court of Philip Augustus in Paris is certain. Newburgh specifically states that a "trustworthy man" had testified to him that he had certainly seen and read them himself when they were formally presented to the French king.⁴⁹ To whom then might Newburgh have been referring when he spoke of this "vir fide dignus," his eyewitness informant, who supposedly passed on the letter for publication in the *History of English Affairs*? Newburgh's version is, of course, the Latin one, and of the others—Hebrew or Greek—there remains no trace.

Newburgh's copy of Sinān's letter offers as explanation for the assassination of the Marquis of Montferrat a particular rivalry which had grown up between them when they were both established in parts of

⁴⁴ Gillingham, "Royal Newsletters," p. 181; idem, "Two Yorkshire Historians Compared," p. 20.

⁴⁵ Gillingham, "William of Newburgh and Emperor Henry VI," p. 54.

⁴⁶ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, 4/2: book V, cap. xvi, p. 458.

⁴⁷ "Erant autem eadem epistolae scriptae non atramento, sed re multum inusitata, sanguine scilicet muricis, sicut ipsae indicabant," William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, 4/2: book V, cap. xvi, p. 457.

⁴⁸ Cf. M. Z. Bat-Yehouda, *Les encres noires au Moyen Age (jusqu'à 1600)*, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, Documents, études et répertoires (unnumbered) (Paris, 1983).

⁴⁹ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, 4/2: book V, cap. xvi, p. 457: "Has nimirum se vidisse atque legisse vir fide dignus mihi protestatus est, cum regi Francorum Parisius constituto sollemniter fuissent oblatae . . ."

the East.⁵⁰ Much is made in the letter of the honour of the Assassins and of their desire to declare the truth of the matter, so that “we do not suffer long those who have sinned against us to rejoice over injustices done to our simplicity.”⁵¹ Conrad was not killed on account of a plot by Richard but because he had sinned against the Assassins “and when reproved, he had failed to make amends.”⁵² Thus the marquis perished at the wish and command of Sinān and by the hands of his servants, who would willingly die in order to carry out his instructions. But the Old Man adds that a common rumour concerning Richard was in circulation, that he had persuaded Sinān’s men to ambush the French king. “This,” he thundered, “is without doubt false and an invention of the most empty suspicion.”⁵³

The sources indeed confirm Sinān’s view that relations between Conrad and Richard were difficult but equally reveal that other underlying tensions were causing deep rifts throughout the crusader army. To Conrad’s credit, arriving off Acre in late July or the second half of August 1187⁵⁴ and finding the city in Saladin’s hands, he had landed instead in Tyre with only a few followers, snatching it from the Saracens and defending it vigorously. His subsequent refusal to cede Tyre to King Guy of Lusignan precipitated a damaging power struggle between the two men, but Conrad nevertheless remained in virtual command of Christian operations until the long-awaited arrival in the Holy Land of the kings of France (April 1191) and of England (June 1191). Once there, Philip Augustus backed Conrad as his kinsman while Richard supported Guy, who by then had become his vassal.⁵⁵ The compromise reached, following the crusaders’ capture of Acre on 12 July 1191, provided that Guy should be king for his lifetime and Conrad his

⁵⁰ “Quoniam audivimus illustri Anglorum regi Ricardo necem marchionis de Monteferrato a pluribus imputari, tanquam ejus machinatione ob quandam inter eos exortam simultatem interfectus sit, cum uterque esset in Orientis partibus constitutus,” William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, 4/2: book V, cap. xvi, p. 458.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 458: “Nolumus alicujus innocentiam nostri operis occasione laborare, cum nulli immerito et insonti mali quippiam irrogemus, eos vero qui in nos delinquerint.”

⁵² “...pro eos quod in nos deliquerat, et admonitus emendare neglexerat,” *ibid.*, p. 458.

⁵³ “Quod proculdubio falsum et vanissimae suspicionis commentum est...,” *ibid.*, p. 458.

⁵⁴ Jacoby, “Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat,” p. 190.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

successor.⁵⁶ Conrad, however, proved unable to resist stirring up trouble from Tyre.⁵⁷ Richard of Holy Trinity went so far as to refer to him as “that unspeakable marquis,”⁵⁸ but, as a somewhat lame excuse for his behaviour, Conrad could only cite his fear of King Richard.⁵⁹ Nor did Hugh III, duke of Burgundy,⁶⁰ contribute any positive relief for the tensions existing in the crusader army.⁶¹ Indeed, he even composed an insulting song against Richard I, so shameful and lacking in propriety that Richard of Holy Trinity was strongly of the opinion that it ought never to have been made public.⁶² It was, needless to say, sung repeatedly by the French troops! King Richard responded in kind with an equally rude song which, so we are told, he had little trouble in composing since “there was plenty of material to hand.”⁶³ Leopold of Austria harboured not one but at least two deep-seated grudges against Richard. In the first place, Richard had encouraged the capture of Emperor Isaac of Cyprus and his daughter, who were Leopold’s close relations,⁶⁴ and secondly, it was supposedly with his connivance that the ducal banner, erected on the walls of the newly liberated city of Acre between those of Richard and Philip Augustus, had been torn down and trampled

⁵⁶ *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, liber V, cap. xxiv–xxv, pp. 335–338; Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, book 5, chapters 24–25, pp. 302–304.

⁵⁷ Jacoby, “Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat,” p. 210.

⁵⁸ “. . . ille nefandus Marchisus,” *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, liber III, cap. xxiii, p. 239; Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, book 3, chapter 23, p. 225.

⁵⁹ *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, liber IV, cap. iii, pp. 241–243; Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, book 4, chapter 3, p. 230.

⁶⁰ Hugh III of Burgundy (d. July 1192) was close to both the German emperor and the king of France, and became vassal to Philip Augustus in 1186. He was appointed commander of the French forces by the French king in July 1191, but seems subsequently to have been the principal author of dissent within the Christian army at Acre.

⁶¹ “. . . orta est inter regem et ducem Burgundiae discordia,” *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, liber V, cap. ix, p. 320; Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, book 5, chapter 10, p. 291: “. . . disagreement arose between the king and the duke of Burgundy, caused by rivalry.”

⁶² *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, liber VI, cap. viii, pp. 394–396; Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, book 6, chapter 8, pp. 345–346; Ambroise, *Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, p. 393, lines 10, 650–10, 660.

⁶³ “. . . quia superabundans suppetebat materia,” *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, liber VI, cap. viii, p. 395; Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, book 6, chapter 8, p. 346.

⁶⁴ *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris (Der so-genannte Ansbert)*, ed. A. Chroust, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, n. s., 5 (Berlin, 1928), p. 102; Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 150–152.

upon.⁶⁵ Full of wrath, Leopold returned to his duchy as soon as he could. Such irritants on the camping ground could, however, scarcely match other and stronger forces at work.⁶⁶

Amongst the critics of the exoneration of Richard, as set out in the Old Man's letters, stood a powerful and privileged kin group which would have included the Montferrat extended family and several contemporary rulers of Europe. They were ideally positioned to highlight any public disagreement to the detriment of Richard. Indeed, Christoph Egger has recently referred to this tortuous matter as a genealogical jungle, a view which can be readily understood.⁶⁷ The Montferrat clan enjoyed kinship with a panoply of royalty and nobility across Christendom (Table A). Details of these relationships were diffused not only within the Montferrat territory of sub-alpine Piedmont and Lombardy but also across a wider canvas through the work of the chronicler, Sicard, bishop of Cremona (1185–1215).⁶⁸ Sicard's *Cronica universalis*, the first part of which he had completed by 1201,⁶⁹ and in which Conrad features prominently,⁷⁰ includes a long digression, approximating to a rudimentary *Gesta*, recording the genealogy of the house of Montferrat and its relationship to the rulers of both France and the Empire. As David Jacoby has shown, it was precisely this degree of kinship which raised the status of the Montferrat amongst the Italian nobility, turning them into valuable partners and strong supporters, and enabling them to seek their fortune in the East.⁷¹

Conrad of Montferrat's grandmother, Gisela, was daughter to Count William I of Burgundy, and sister to Guy (later Pope Calixtus II) and Stephen of Burgundy. Gisela was twice married, first to Humbert II,

⁶⁵ *Chronicon Richardi Divisensis de tempore Regis Richardi Primi*, translated as *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, ed. J. T. Appleby (London, 1963), pp. 46–47 (hereafter cited as Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*).

⁶⁶ See Leopold's letter of 14 February 1193 addressed to Emperor Henry VI in *Urkundenbuch*, ed. Fichtenau and Zöllner, 4/1: pp. 120–122, no. 88.

⁶⁷ A. Cartellieri, *Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich. 2. Der Kreuzzug (1187–1191)* (Leipzig and Paris, 1906), Stammtafel 4: "Die Verwandtschaft Markgraf Konrads von Montferrat." I am grateful to Dr Keiko Nowacka for drawing the chart.

⁶⁸ E. Brocchieri, *Sicardo di Cremona e la sua opera letteraria. Introduzione allo stato attuale delle ricerche*, Annali della Biblioteca governativa e Libreria civica di Cremona 11/1 (Cremona, 1958), pp. 1–115.

⁶⁹ *Sicardi episcopi Cremonensis cronica*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH, Scriptores 31 (Hannover, 1903), pp. 22–188, at pp. 172–174.

⁷⁰ "Quis fuerit iste quantusve marchio Conradus, retro seriem percurramus," *ibid.*, p. 172.

⁷¹ Jacoby, "Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat," p. 188.

Count of Maurienne. Adelaide, one of their daughters, married Louis VI of France in 1115. Gisela of Burgundy was thus the grandmother of Louis VII and the great-grandmother of Philip II Augustus. On the death of Humbert II, Gisela married again. This new husband was Count Rainier, head of the Montferrat family, and amongst their children was William III "the Elder," who followed enthusiastically in the family's tradition of multiple marriages.⁷² William's first wife, Sophia, was Frederick Barbarossa's daughter, but on Sophia's death, William III married Judith, daughter of Leopold III, the Babenberger Margrave of Austria. Amongst the several Montferrat sons born to Judith and William was William IV (or V), known as "Longsword," and also the assassinated Conrad of Montferrat.⁷³

There are still more strands and the kinship network grows ever more complicated! Judith's mother was Agnes, daughter of Emperor Henry IV. Agnes' first husband was Frederick I, duke of Swabia, by whom she produced two sons, Frederick II, duke of Swabia (who confusingly married another Judith, daughter of Welf VI), and Conrad III, king of Germany. Frederick's son, who later became Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, married Beatrix of Burgundy, granddaughter of Stephen of Burgundy, Gisela's brother, and amongst their several sons was the Emperor Henry VI. Agnes's second marriage to Leopold III of Austria, produced a son, Henry II Jasomirgott, elevated by Barbarossa as the first hereditary duke of Austria, as well as a daughter, that Judith who became the wife of William "the Elder." Judith was thus not only Conrad's mother but also aunt to Leopold V of Austria, to whom the Diceto version of the Old Man's letter had been addressed. Hence, Leopold, like Conrad, was *consanguineus* to both Henry VI⁷⁴ and to the

⁷² William "the Elder" (1140–1188). A. Settia, "Guglielmo il Vecchio di Monferrato," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 60 (2003), pp. 757–761.

⁷³ "...de qua genuit filios V, Willelmum Spadam-longam, Chorradam, Bonifacium, Fredericum et Rainerium," *Sicardi episcopi Cremonensis cronica*, p. 172; L. Usseglio, *I marchesi di Monferrato in Italia ed in Oriente durante i secoli XII e XIII*, 2 vols., Biblioteca della Società storica subalpina, 100–101 (n. s. 6, 7) (Casale Monferrato, 1926), 1: p. 125; 2: pp. 69–85; A. Settia, "Guglielmo 'Lungaspada' di Monferrato," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 61 (2003), pp. 16–17; W. Haberstumpf, "Guglielmo Lungaspada di Monferrato, conte di Ascolona e di Giffa (1176–1177)," *Studi piemontesi* 18 (1989), pp. 601–608; G. Ligato, "Guglielmo *Lungaspada* di Monferrato e le istituzioni politiche dell'Oriente latino," in Balletto, ed., *Dai Feudi Monferrini*, 1: pp. 153–185.

⁷⁴ For example, a letter of 18 May 1189 from Frederick Barbarossa in *Urkundenbuch*, ed. Fichtenau and Zöllner, 4/4: no. 892, pp. 205–207, at p. 206: "...cum dilecti nostri consanguinei, dux videlicet Austrie Leopaldus eiusque filius Fridericus omnem maiestati nostre resignassent iusticiam..."

king of France.⁷⁵ This relationship brought the wheel full circle, creating the kinship link between Philip II Augustus and Henry VI, and placing both Leopold V and Conrad of Montferrat at the very heart of this immensely complex group of grandchildren, great-grandchildren and a wide range of cousins.

Conrad also enjoyed indirect links with the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which were only to strengthen with the passage of time.⁷⁶ His older brother, William IV Longsword, had left Piedmont and the ancestral Montferrat lordship for the Eastern Mediterranean in order to establish himself permanently in this region. On the death of King Amalric I of Jerusalem in 1174, his leper son, the childless Baldwin IV (d. 1185), succeeded to the throne and, together with his counsellors, chose William Longsword as a prospective husband for Sybilla, his sister and heiress.⁷⁷ William, however, died in mysterious circumstances in 1177 within less than a year of the marriage,⁷⁸ leaving a son, the future Baldwin V, who was crowned on 20 November 1183. Meanwhile, Marquis William “the Elder” entrusted his sons, Conrad and Boniface, with the charge of the family lands in Piedmont and travelled to the Kingdom of Jerusalem in order to protect the interests of his young grandson. Following Baldwin V’s death in 1186, William “the Elder” settled in the East, holding the fief of Saint Elye in Samaria, and Conrad, arriving in Tyre in the late summer of 1187, found that his father had been taken prisoner at Ḥattūn and was being held by none other than Saladin.⁷⁹ Conrad’s sister-in-law, Sybilla, widow of William Longsword, took Guy of Lusignan as her second husband, and the

⁷⁵ Letter of January-March 1193 to Leopold from Philip Augustus in *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ed. H.-F. Delaborde, 2 vols. (Paris, 1906–1916), 1: p. 528, no. 440: “Verum scimus vos fixa tenere memoria quod Richardus Chunradum marchionem, dominum Tyri, . . . consanguineum quondam vestrum karissimum et nostrum, per Assassinos crudeliter fecit interfici.” See also *Urkundenbuch*, ed. Fichtenau and Zöllner, 4/4: pp. 220–221, no. 923, at p. 221.

⁷⁶ Jacoby, “Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat,” pp. 187–194; *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, pp. 166–168.

⁷⁷ H. J. Nicholson, “‘La roine preude femme et bonne dame’: Queen Sybil of Jerusalem (1186–1190) in History and Legend, 1186–1300,” *Haskins Society Journal* 15 (2004), pp. 110–124; G. Ligato, *Sibilla regina crociata. Guerra, amore e diplomazia per il trono di Gerusalemme* (Milan, 2005).

⁷⁸ Ligato, “Guglielmo Lungaspada,” p. 170.

⁷⁹ William was released in June 1188. *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, liber I, cap. x, p. 23; Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, book 1, chapter 10, p. 40. See also D. Brader, *Bonifaz von Montferrat bis zum Antritt der Kreuzfahrt (1202)* (Berlin, 1907), pp. 199–201; Jacoby, “Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat,” pp. 188–189.

couple were crowned as queen and king of Jerusalem. Sibylla, however, together with her two daughters by Guy, died of fever in the summer of 1190 at the siege of Acre and Guy thereby lost his royal status.⁸⁰ Isabella, Sibylla's half-sister, thus became heiress to the Kingdom of Jerusalem but she was still childless.⁸¹ Divorcing her husband, Heinfrid [Humphrey IV] of Thoron,⁸² Isabella married Conrad, the brother of her sister's first husband, on 24 November 1190,⁸³ the couple being assisted in the matter of the annulment by Philip of Dreux, bishop of Beauvais and cousin to Philip Augustus.⁸⁴ By 7 May 1191, Conrad, who had previously been styled "lord of Tyre," now assumed the title *rex electus*,⁸⁵ in the right of his wife and with the authority and consent

⁸⁰ According to P. A. Williams, "The Assassination of Conrad of Montferrat: Another Suspect?," *Traditio* 26 (1970), p. 385, Guy was "generally believed to be incompetent... merely the sixth son of a rebellious, moderately important, Poitevin family."

⁸¹ For a general overview, see S. Lambert, "Queen or Consort: Rulership and Politics in the Latin East, 1118–1228," in A. J. Duggan, ed., *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held in King's College London, April 1995* (London, 1997), pp. 153–169, at pp. 160–167.

⁸² Heinfrid, also called Reinfrid or Humfrey, was the son of Stephanie, Lady of Tiberias or Transjordan, and hence hailed from one of the leading families of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, holding the castles of Kerak and Shaubak (Crac de Montréal). Betrothed to the eight-year old Isabella in 1180, he married her in 1183. He was captured and imprisoned by Saladin in 1188 and released in May 1189. *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, liber I, cap. lxiii, pp. 119–122; Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, book 1, chapter 63, pp. 122–125 and n. 256, deemed Heinfrid effeminate "with a gentle manner and a stammer." Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin or al-Nawādir al-Sultāniyya wa'l-Mahāsīn al-Yūsufiyya*, trans. D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 173, 194 and 198, writes of his high status in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and indicates that he frequently acted as interpreter between Richard I and Saladin.

⁸³ Jacoby, "Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat," p. 193. For Conrad's long-drawn-out scheming in this affair, see Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, book 1, chapter 63, pp. 121–125; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum*, p. 86; Imād ad-Dīn al-İṣfahānī, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, trans. H. Massé, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades 10 (Paris, 1972), p. 304.

⁸⁴ Philip of Dreux, bishop of Beauvais (d. 1217), son of Robert I of Dreux, brother to Louis VII of France. He was thus nephew to King Louis and cousin to Philip Augustus. A renowned warrior, he was a close friend to Conrad and Queen Isabella, over whose marriage he presided, and it was his invitation to dinner which led indirectly to Conrad's murder. Philip was at the French king's court in 1191, 1193 and 1195. Dispatched to the imperial court on his return from Syria. Captured at the Castle of Milli in 1197 by Mercadier, Richard I's commander of Brabançons, and imprisoned in chains at Rouen and Chinon.

⁸⁵ "...quod ego Conradus, marchionis Montis ferrati filius, per dei gratiam rex Jerusalem electus," *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, I (814–1205)*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, Fontes rerum Austriacum. Diplomataria et Acta 12 (Vienna, 1856), pp. 212–215, no. 76, at p. 213 and 215; *Urkundenbuch*, ed. Fichtenau and Zöllner, 4/4: p. 211, no. 901; H. E. Mayer, *Die Kanzlei*

of, amongst others, the French king, Philip Augustus, Philip, count of Flanders, Ralph, count of Clermont,⁸⁶ Hugh, duke of Burgundy and Leopold, duke of Austria. A list of characters who were all more or less antagonistic to King Richard!

Amongst such a close network of those who mourned Conrad's death were some who saw it as an opportunity to attack Richard, and others who did both. King Richard appeared almost totally isolated and few supporters seemed willing to speak out in his favour. One such was Richard of Devizes, monk of Winchester,⁸⁷ whose *Cronicon de Tempore Regis Ricardi Primi* (*Chronicle of the Time of Richard I*) provides an invaluable counterbalance to the King's critics.⁸⁸ Richard of Devizes is alone in reporting in detail the significant activities and character of Philip of Dreux, bishop of Beauvais.⁸⁹ The departure of King Philip from Palestine had left this bellicose bishop in command of the French crusaders. Henry, count of Champagne (d. 1197), King Richard's nephew by his half-sister Marie, was the exception, actually daring to challenge Philip of Dreux's considerable authority and upsetting the bishop by refusing to obey when instructed to return to France.⁹⁰ Instead, Henry stayed on in the Holy Land, briefly becoming ruler in the right of his wife, Isabella, whom he had married immediately after Conrad's death.⁹¹

Consequent on this, Richard of Devizes reports that from the moment that Philip of Dreux arrived in Germany, and at every stopping place at his onward journey to Paris, he succeeded in spreading disinformation amongst the people.⁹² Indeed, Bishop Philip made a

der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem, 2 vols., MGH, Schriften 40 (Hannover, 1996), 2: pp. 443–444, 474–476, 479–480; Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 157, n. 7.

⁸⁶ Hereditary constable of France and chief military commander of the French troops.

⁸⁷ Richard of Devizes, monk at St Swithin's, or the Old Minster, at Winchester. His chronicle runs from Richard I's coronation of 3 September 1189 to the king's departure from Acre in October 1192.

⁸⁸ Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 1: pp. 248–253; Partner, *Serious Entertainments*, pp. 143–179; Gillingham, "Royal Newsletters", p. 175.

⁸⁹ Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*, p. 80.

⁹⁰ Henry, count of Champagne (1181–1197), son of Henry "the Liberal" and Marie de France, daughter of Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine and nephew to both Richard I and Philip Augustus. Cf. Williams, "Assassination of Conrad of Montferrat," pp. 381–389.

⁹¹ On Henry's death, Isabella married Amalric II, the brother of Guy of Lusignan. Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum*, 2: p. 104; Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 201–203.

⁹² Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*, p. 80.

whole series of claims: chiefly that Richard had always intended to betray Philip Augustus to Saladin; that it was the King of England who had had Conrad of Montferrat's throat cut so that he could seize Tyre; that Richard was responsible for the poisoning of Hugh, Duke of Burgundy,⁹³ and that it was his extreme savagery combined with his skill in dissimulation which had caused Philip Augustus's rapid return to France, leaving Jerusalem still unconquered.⁹⁴ Not surprisingly, it was said of Philip of Dreux that he was "one of the men whom Richard hated most in all the world."⁹⁵

The propaganda war was thus vigorously, although unevenly, waged on both the French and English sides, and, according to Richard of Devizes, Philip of Dreux was implicated still further, not only on account of the rumours he spread against Richard I but also by whispering secretly to his cousin, the King of France, of Richard's supposed intention to send assassins to kill him.⁹⁶ Interestingly, both William of Newburgh⁹⁷ and Rigord of Saint Denis, official historian of the French crown, confirm Richard of Devizes' information here,⁹⁸ while Guillaume Le Breton adds that for a while Philip Augustus took extraordinary precautions for his safety, never being without his personal bodyguard, armed with bronze clubs, who took it in turns to watch over him all night.⁹⁹ Rigord reported that King Philip had also sent messengers to

⁹³ Hugh III of Burgundy (d. July 1192), the principal author of dissention within the Christian army in Acre, was related to both the emperor and the king of France, and became vassal of the latter in 1186.

⁹⁴ Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*, p. 80. Cf. Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, book 3, chapter 21, pp. 223–224, for Philip's excuse that he was ill.

⁹⁵ *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. P. Meyer, 3 vols., Société de l'histoire de France (Paris, 1891–1907), 3/1: pp. 284–285; Gillingham, "Royal Newsletters," p. 185, n. 78.

⁹⁶ Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*, pp. 46–47.

⁹⁷ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, 4/2, book IV, cap. xxv, pp. 365–367: "Cumque in propriis esset finibus tam longe a Syria constitutus, illius in Oriente consistentis vel frustra timebat vel potius se, ad augendam invidiam, timere fingeat insidias; et tanquam ab eo subornati imminerent sicarii, praeter morem majorum suorum non nisi armata vallatus custodia procedebat, in tantum ut quidam familiari ausu propius accedentes, non sine periculo hoc ausi dicantur."

⁹⁸ Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, ed. and trans. E. Carpentier, G. Pon and Y. Chauvin, Sources d'histoire médiévale, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes 33 (Paris, 2006), p. 315: "Interim tamen instituit rex ad majorem cautelam custodes corporis sui claveas eretas semper in manibus portantes et per totam noctem alternatim circa ipsum vigilantes."

⁹⁹ *Guillelmi Armorici Liber*, ed. F. Delaborde, *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume Le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1882), 2/1: p. 194, no. 64: "...Propter quod

Vetulus, that he might learn the truth more accurately and fully directly from the Old Man.¹⁰⁰ When French messengers returned from Syria bearing a letter from *Vetulus*, Philip Augustus accepted that the rumours spread by Philip of Dreux were false.¹⁰¹ Roger of Howden elaborated on this particular piece of intelligence by reporting under his entry for the year 1195 that some fifteen Assassins had appeared at the castle of Chinon in Anjou while Richard was staying there, in an attempt to gain access to him.¹⁰² When captured, their claim was that the King of France had sent them to kill Richard.¹⁰³

It is against this anti-Richard European grouping that the statements in the two letters from the Old Man should be considered seriously. They sprang from the honour and beliefs of the Assassins, and how these might have resonated, not only in the East amongst the crusaders but also amongst those in the West.¹⁰⁴ It is also within this cultural background that the reliability of the events regarding the murder of Conrad should be judged. The Assassins or Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Syria and their Old Men were deeply influential in both history and legend.¹⁰⁵

idem rex Philippus sui corporis habuit de cetero custodes fidelissimos, [et ipse fere semper clavam eream vel ferream in manu gestavit], et sui custodes similiter habuerunt de cetero consuetudinem gestandi clavas in manibus [usque in hodiernum diem].”

¹⁰⁰ Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, pp. 313–314: “Et quia animus ipsius regis pro hujusmodi rumoribus multum turbabatur et sollicitudo magis ac magis crescebat in dies, habito cum familiaribus consilio, misit nuncios suos ad Vetulum Arsacidarum regem ut per ipsum rei veritatem diligentius et plenius cognosceret.”

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 314: “Reversis nunciis ad regem, per litteras Vetuli rumores falsos esse cognovit et per relationem nuntiorum suorum ab ipsis diligentibus inquisita veritate et cognita, animus ejus, abjecto falso rumore, a falsa suspitione quievit.”

¹⁰² Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols., Rolls Series 51 (London, 1868–1871), 4/3: p. 283: “A.D. 1195, Eodem anno, dum rex Anglie moram faceret apud Chinon in Andegavia, accesserunt ad curiam regis quidam Accini numero xv.”

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*: “Et cum vellent ad regem accedere, ut eum interficerent, quidam illorum capti sunt et retenti, dicentes quod rex Francie eos miserat ad regem Angliae interficiendum; sed rex Anglie dissimulans regem Francie hoc velle, distulit iudicium facere de illis, donec socii illorum comprehenderentur.”

¹⁰⁴ In particular, Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH, Scriptorum 21 (Hannover, 1868), liber VII, pp. 235–241. Arnold was writing before 1210 as Continuator of the *Chronicle of the Slavs* of Helmond of Bosau. He may even have visited the East in 1172 for he seems to have direct oral sources, and refers to the report of his fellow countryman, Burchard of Strassburg, who briefly visited Syria in September 1175 on an embassy from Frederick I Barbarossa, *ibid.*, p. 235. Cf. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, “Der kaiserliche Notar und der Strassburger Vitztum Burchard,” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 43 (1889), pp. 456–477. Cf. B. U. Hucker, “Die Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck as ‘Historia Regum’,” *Deutsches Archiv* 44 (1988), pp. 98–119.

¹⁰⁵ Daftary, *The Assassin Legends*, pp. 94–127.

Theirs was an important Šīrī Muslim community which, early in the twelfth century, under the leadership of Ḥasan Šabbāḥ, had founded a special territorial state of their own at Alamūt in Persia, with a subsidiary in Syria.¹⁰⁶ Sinān, Ḥasan's protégé, became the ruler of the Assassins' enclave in Syria and pursued a policy of his own, becoming involved in a web of intricate alliances and rivalries with various Muslim rulers. In Syria, Sinān's rule coincided with the *qiyāma*, the idea of the spiritual Resurrection or "last day," when the followers were collectively introduced to Paradise on earth.¹⁰⁷ In fact, the Old Man managed to establish generally quite peaceful relations with most crusaders, whilst having periodic confrontations with Hospitallers and Templars. In 1173, Sinān had sent an embassy to Amalric I of Jerusalem, evidently seeking formal rapprochement with the Latin kingdom, but this came to nothing on Amalric's death in the following year.¹⁰⁸ The greater threat to Nizārī independence came surprisingly from Saladin, the champion of Sunnism and Muslim unification, and Sinān actually attempted to have him assassinated at the time.¹⁰⁹

While the Nizārī community was generally more concerned with day-to-day survival against their Sunni Muslim rivals than with complex theological speculation, it certainly valued and maintained an intellectual and literary tradition. The Nizārīs established libraries and archives specializing in various branches of learning and science. If it were true, as several sources proclaimed, that Assassins on secret missions were adept at integrating into other societies, then the learning of languages and cultural assimilation were also important for them, as so clearly indicated by Arnold of Lübeck, who attributes to them knowledge of Latin, Greek and French as well as Arabic.¹¹⁰ The trilingual letters

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 68–70.

¹⁰⁹ Lewis, *The Assassins*, pp. 112–118; Daftary, *The Assassin Legends*, p. 40.

¹¹⁰ "In quibus palatiis filios rusticorum suorum plurimos a cunabulis enutriti facit et diversis linguis imbui, scilicet Latīno, Greco, Romano, Sarraceno et aliis quam plurimis," Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, p. 240. It is clear that the Assassins' proficiency in foreign languages continued into a later period. In 1278 Charles I of Anjou, King of Sicily and Jerusalem, learned from Count Roger of San Severino, his regent in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, that the Sultan of Egypt was about to send twelve Assassins to Europe "qui sciunt loqui diversis linguis et specialiter lingua gallicana." According to the now-lost report, six were to attack the king of France and the other six to attack Charles himself. We know of it, because though the threat was probably a rumour, Charles found it necessary to take elaborate precautions, by sending a mandate to Angelo Sanello, the *magister portulanus* of Apulia, in which he summed up Count Roger's report. This he did in order to make Sanello understand the grave need behind the

mentioned by William of Newburgh reveal something of the considerable educational prowess of the Assassins and possibly their interest in the medium of writing and use of coloured inks. Since Biblical times, Tyre was famous for the use of the secretions of shellfish—the *murex* and *purpurea*—to produce rare dark colours of wonderful intensity, known as Tyrian purples.

The Assassins were so-called by crusaders and Latin chroniclers alike, but this name, perhaps an adaptation of the narcotic, hashish, came to mean “murderer.”¹¹¹ By the end of the twelfth century, ever more elaborate legends—similar to the Prester John legends¹¹²—were beginning to circulate about their activities, especially about their leader, the so-called Old Man of the Mountain, at whose behest they carried out secret and dangerous missions.¹¹³ One such legend held that the Old Man only exerted obedience from his followers through the ministering of some potion, in conjunction with a secret “garden of paradise,” the experience of which caused them to carry out the most dangerous commands in order to share the same bliss.¹¹⁴ William of Newburgh had heard this same rumour, referring to the Assassins as “a class of men highly persuadable and inclined to their own destruction when they are solicited and enticed by the artificial authority of the Old Man, whom they worship as a prophet.”¹¹⁵ From his deceptive promises,

countermeasures ordered in the mandate by Charles, including the strict control of all persons arriving in Apulian ports from the East. In the event, nothing happened to him, or to the King of France. *I Registri della cancellaria angioina ricostruiti da Riccardo Filangieri con la collaborazione degli archivisti napoletani*, vol. 21 (Naples, 1967), p. 19, no. 88 (taken from a print by Del Giudice, in turn taken from the original register which was burned in 1943). I am most grateful to Prof. H. E. Mayer for supplying information for this reference.

¹¹¹ Silvestre de Sacy, “Mémoire sur la dynastie des Assassins, et sur l’étymologie de leur nom,” *Mémoires de l’Institut Royal de France* 4 (1818), pp. 1–84; translated by Daftary as “Memoir on the Dynasty of the Assassins and on the Etymology of Their Name by Silvestre de Sacy,” in his *The Assassin Legends*, pp. 136–188, at pp. 160–171.

¹¹² Ch. F. Beckingham, “The Achievements of Prester John,” *An Inaugural lecture at the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London, 1966); reprinted in Ch. F. Beckingham and B. Hamilton, eds., *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 1–22; B. Hamilton, “The Lands of Prester John. Western Knowledge of Asia and Africa at the Time of the Crusades,” *Haskins Society Journal* 15 (2004), pp. 127–141.

¹¹³ Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, pp. 235–241, at p. 238.

¹¹⁴ Daftary, *The Assassin Legends*, p. 101.

¹¹⁵ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, 4/2: book IV, cap. xxv, p. 364: “Fertur enim esse in Oriente agens sub ditone cujusdam potentis Sarraceni, quem Senem agnominant, quoddam hominum genus adeo seductibile atque in propriam proclive perniciem, ut ab eodem, quem scilicet loco prophetae colunt, artificiosissimis fal-

they reckon that they will receive everlasting benefits after their death if they obey his commands until that death.” Both the Diceto¹¹⁶ and Newburgh versions¹¹⁷ of the letters make the point that the Assassins reacted only to defend themselves. Since they refused to accept bribes in return for killing and followed a strict code of honour in defending those whose names had been blackened unjustly, perhaps Richard I would have fitted into this category. Their assassinations were carried out by *fidāʿīs*, young, self-sacrificing devotees who offered themselves for suicide missions.¹¹⁸ According to William of Newburgh, they had gained their formidable reputation for their skill in breaking through a cordon of bodyguards and in this way had built up a considerable tally of famous victims.¹¹⁹ Conrad of Montferrat was just such a one!

The letters give exact details of the reasons why Conrad needed to be dealt with and how things were carried out. It is therefore no surprise, as we have seen, that their full explanation completely exonerates Richard. Other Muslim sources have disagreed. Three well-informed Arab historians, ʿImādaddīn al-Isfahānī,¹²⁰ Ibn al-Aʿt̄ir,¹²¹ and Bahāʿaddīn also known as Ibn Ṣaddād,¹²² all with significant connections to Saladin,

lacium pollicitationum praestigiis sollicitatum atque illectum, immortalia se post mortem commoda percepturos aestiment, si illi imperantū usque ad mortem obtemperent.”

¹¹⁶ Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum*, p. 128: “Sciatis pro certo quod nos nullum hominem hujus mundi pro mercede aliqua, vel pro pecunia occidimus, nisi nobis malum prius fecerit.”

¹¹⁷ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, 4/2: book V, p. 457: “Consuetudinis quippe nostrae est eos, qui nobis vel amicis nostris in aliquo injuriosi exstiterint, primo ut nobis satisfaciant commonere. . . .”

¹¹⁸ Daftary, *The Assassin Legends*, pp. 34–35. The so-called “death-leap” legend became associated with Henry of Champagne’s reported visit in 1194 to Sinān. See *ibid.*, pp. 104–107, at p. 106.

¹¹⁹ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, 4/2: book IV, p. 364: “Denique propter hoc maxime genus orientales principes provisorii se custodia muniunt, et praeter familiarissimos nullius, ad se, nisi propriis stipatoribus mediis, patiuntur accessum.”

¹²⁰ ʿImādaddīn (1125–1201) was secretary to Nūraddīn and then secretary, chancellor and protagonist for Saladin. He chronicled events in Saladin’s life from 1175 and his descriptions of events in Syria and Mesopotamia are generally accurate. See ʿImād ad-Dīn, *Conquête de la Syrie*, p. 377; F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades, Selected and Translated from the Arabic Sources* (New York, 1969), pp. xxix–xxx, and 239, 241.

¹²¹ Ibn al-Aʿt̄ir (1160–1233), from Mesopotamia, a famous historian who disliked Saladin. He was author of *Kāmil at-tawārīḥ* (*The Collection of Histories*), an enormous history of the whole Muslim world from the beginning to 1231. He made use of the works of ʿImādaddīn and Bahāʿaddīn for the later crusades. See Ibn Al-Athir, *el-Kāmil*, in *RHC, Historiens orientaux*, vol. 5/2 (Paris, 1887), p. 58; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, pp. 239, 241.

¹²² Bahāʿaddīn Abū l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf b. Rāfiʿ b. Tamīm (1145–1234), born at Mosul. Known as Ibn Ṣaddād, he visited Jerusalem just after its capture and wrote a treatise

name Richard as the instigator of the murder. The Assassins themselves claimed to have been masquerading as Christians and to have lived ascetic lives of religious purity.¹²³ They had, it seemed, escaped detection, serving their masters with great devotion in order to inspire confidence. One had been in service with Barisan the Younger of Ramla,¹²⁴ the other with Reynald, lord of Sidon.¹²⁵

Could this situation really have occurred? Sinān was certainly interested in establishing peaceful relations with his Christian and Sunni neighbours. Like other highly educated Ismaʿīlīs, he believed in the common truths of all revelations, including those embodied in Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and had even familiarized himself with some of Christianity's sacred scriptures.¹²⁶ The question is, did the Assassins know anything about these letters, which have so fascinated many recent historians for the intriguing intellectual challenge that they pose? In 1924, Kate Norgate wrote strenuously that "the letter is unquestionably a forgery. It may have been circulated in the East as well as in the West, and the 'ultramarine' chroniclers may have taken their story from it. There is, however, a possibility that both they and the composers of the letter—whoever these may have been—all alike derived their information from a genuine source."¹²⁷ This is somewhat

on *The Virtues of the Jihad*. He presented this to Saladin and was enrolled in his service by 1188, becoming his intimate and close confidant. His biography is an excellent historical source, providing the most complete portrait of Saladin as the Muslims saw him. After Saladin's death, Bahā'addīn moved to Aleppo, building a madrasa in 1204/5. See Bahā' al-Dīn, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, pp. 200–201,

¹²³ ʿImād ad-Dīn, *Conquête de la Syrie*, p. 377; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 239. See also Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicarum*, ed. J. Stevenson, Rolls Series 66 (London, 1875), pp. 1–208, at p. 35.

¹²⁴ Balian II of Ibelin (d. ca. 1193), also called Barisan or Barizan from Barisanus (a latinized name for his father, Balian I), or in Arabic Bāliyān ibn Bārisān or Ibn Bārizān. Placed in charge of the defences of Jerusalem after the Battle of Ḥattīn by Patriarch Heraclius. He was named as one of Conrad's supporters and accomplices in the divorce case of Isabella and Henfried and negotiated with Saladin. *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, liber I, cap. lxxiii, p. 121, and liber V, cap. xxv, p. 337; Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, book 1, chapter 63, p. 123, and book 5, chapter 24, p. 304.

¹²⁵ See above, n. 24. Reynald had held the castle of Beaufort or Belfort against Saladin but was taken prisoner and sent to Damascus. In April 1190, Beaufort surrendered in return for Reynald's release, after which he went to Tyre. He was another of Conrad's supporters in his marriage case. *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, liber I, cap. lxxiii, p. 121, and liber V, cap. xxv, p. 337; Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, book 1, chapter 63, p. 123, and book 5, chapter 24, p. 304.

¹²⁶ Daftary, *The Assassin Legends*, p. 71.

¹²⁷ K. Norgate, *Richard the Lion Heart* (London, 1924), pp. 217–218, n. 6.

confusing. If the information is genuine but wrongly attributed, does that necessarily make it a forgery? Whatever the truth of the matter there seems to be no question that it was accepted in the East.

The view that those letters, emanating from the Chancery of Richard I, were forgeries, suggests that the institution itself should be investigated. How valuable was it to Richard in both efficiency and effectiveness?¹²⁸ At his accession in 1189, the Chancery was as it had been for the past century or more, an integral part of the king's household. However, Richard made William Longchamp almost simultaneously royal chancellor and bishop of Ely and charged him with caring for the realm in his absence.¹²⁹ Longchamp had already served in Poitou as Richard's chancellor there and, on the death of Henry II, the new king subsequently raised him not only to be Chief Justiciar of the realm but also promoted him as papal legate to England.¹³⁰ Longchamp's rule came at the beginning of a period of change for the Chancery as it moved from being an intimate domestic section of the royal household to becoming a separate department. As chancellor, Longchamp was served by a small number of skilled and experienced clerks whose duties included the composition and writing of the king's sealed writs, mainly commands and prohibitions of a judicial or administrative nature, but only some of the great charters of privilege.¹³¹ A most important change which came into being in this period was the increased use of the privy seal (*parvum sigillum*, *privatum sigillum*),¹³² which allowed a whole stream of personal communications to be authenticated, thus bypassing the many layers of bureaucracy previously required. Normally when the Chancery was with the king, the witness lists of royal charters almost certainly

¹²⁸ For general outlines, see G. W. S. Barrow, "The English Royal Chancery in the Earlier 13th Century," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 41 (1995), pp. 241–248. Cf. D. A. Carpenter, "The English Royal Chancery in the Thirteenth Century," in K. Fianu-De Lloyd J. Guth, eds., *Écrit et pouvoir dans les chancelleries médiévales: espace français, espace anglais, Actes du colloque international de Montréal, 7–9 septembre 1995*, Textes et études du moyen âge 6 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1997), pp. 25–53.

¹²⁹ E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy, eds., *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed. (London, 1986), pp. 84, 244.

¹³⁰ Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 121–122, discusses Longchamp's chancery service under Henry II and his distinction in learning. See F. J. West, *The Justiciarship in England 1066–1232* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 67, for the division of the justiciarship by Richard in 1189 after Longchamp and Hugh du Puiset had proved that they were unable to work together. Longchamp retained authority over England south of the Humber.

¹³¹ Barrow, "The English Royal Chancery," p. 242.

¹³² P. Chaplais, *English Royal Documents. King John–Henry VI, 1199–1461* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 23–26.

indicated the senior figures at court that day. This makes it possible to identify which individuals were present and at what particular times. Between Richard I's arrival in the Holy Land on 8 June 1191 at Acre and his departure from the same port on 9 October 1192, things were different. During those months, he was reliant on a small itinerant "field" chancery, limited in number and working closely with him.¹³³

Hans Eberhard Mayer, in considering Richard's charters from the king's stay in Marseille in early August 1190 until he left Germany in early February 1194, has attempted to identify the various personalities and scribal hands at work.¹³⁴ Chancellor William Longchamp did not feature amongst these since he had returned to England before the journey to Marseille.¹³⁵ William FitzRichard then assumed Longchamp's role, but it is unlikely that FitzRichard himself travelled to the Holy Land.¹³⁶ Instead, after the royal party left Messina, Master Roger *Malus Catulus*, who had taken over the functions of Vice Chancellor, was most unfortunately drowned on 24 April 1191 off Cyprus, still clutching the matrix of the Royal Great Seal.¹³⁷ When his body was washed up, a Cypriot farmer took the seal and sold it to a soldier in the English army who returned it to the king. Under these tragic circumstances, the hastily devised arrangements for the Chancery were necessarily makeshift in the extreme. Mayer argues that Master Philip of Poitou,¹³⁸ one of Richard I's most trusted clerks of the Chamber,

¹³³ L. Landon, *Itinerary of King Richard I with Studies on Certain Matters of Interest connected with His Reign*, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society 51 (n. s. 13) (London, 1935), pp. 50–69; Sayers, "English Charters," p. 196.

¹³⁴ H. E. Mayer, "Die Kanzlei Richards I. von England auf dem Dritten Kreuzzug," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 85 (1977), pp. 22–35, reprinted in idem., *Kreuzzüge und lateinischer Osten*, Variorum Collected Studies (London, 1983), no. IX.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹³⁶ FitzRichard sealed three charters between 1 and 5 August 1190 (nos. 335, 337 and 340) but his name does not appear again until 3 July 1195 (no. 454), Landon, *Itinerary*, pp. 38 and 102; Mayer, "Die Kanzlei Richards I.," p. 26.

¹³⁷ *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, liber II, cap. xxx, p. 184; Richard of Holy Trinity, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, book 2, chapter 30, p. 180.

¹³⁸ Philip of Poitou, clerk of Richard I's Chamber (1191–1192), accompanied the king to Germany (1193–1194), was elected to the see of Durham at Northallerton on 29 December 1195, ordained priest at Durham on 15 or 16 June 1196, and finally consecrated bishop of Durham (1197–1208) by Celestine III on 20 April 1197 in Rome. In 1198 Philip headed a legation to Germany which resulted in the election of Otto, Count of Poitou, Richard's nephew, as the future Emperor Otto IV. See Gillingham, "William of Newburgh and Emperor Henry VI," pp. 55–56, 61–68. Also M. G. Snape, "Philip of Poitou (d. 1208)," *New Dictionary of National Biography* 44 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 683–684.

who was travelling with the king to the Holy Land, stepped into the breach. Master Philip remained in the Holy Land for the duration of the king's stay, and his last charter from there is now known to have been issued from Jaffa on 26 August 1192.¹³⁹ Philip was also one of that small group of twenty men accompanying Richard on the journey back to England, and was himself arrested in Carinthia only a few days before Richard was seized by Leopold of Austria's men.¹⁴⁰ After his release, Philip of Poitiers chose to accompany Richard to his Palatinate prison and, together with others, witnessed charters from there and elsewhere,¹⁴¹ including one from Frankfurt, as Richard was moved from place to place under the watchful eye of Henry VI.¹⁴² In one of the last examples of Master Philip's draughtsmanship before William de Longchamp arrived in Worms in July 1193, he is styled as "Master Philip, our clerk of our Chamber."¹⁴³ From then onwards, Chancellor Longchamp resumed his function of undersigning all charters,¹⁴⁴ and Philip of Poitiers's last appearance on German soil was as an ordinary witness to a charter given at Cologne in February 1194.¹⁴⁵

Master Philip, Richard's much trusted clerk of the Chamber, had probably already been acting as an assistant to Roger *Malus Catulus* in Messina before the Cyprus disaster, but his assumption of a "vice chancellor-like role" was initially only a temporary solution.¹⁴⁶ His drafting and sealing of royal charters frequently appears unconventional and

¹³⁹ Cambridge, St John's College, muniments MS, D8.21, printed in *Acta of Henry II and Richard I, Part 2*, ed. N. Vincent, List and Index Society, Special Series 27 (1996), pp. 168–169, no. 220. Not in Landon, *Itinerary*. Mayer, "Die Kanzlei Richards I.," p. 27, thought that Philip's last charter was that dated 10 January 1192. Cf. Landon, *Itinerary*, p. 60, no. 366.

¹⁴⁰ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicarum*, pp. 54–56; Landon, *Itinerary*, p. 71 (20 December 1192); Mayer, "Die Kanzlei Richards I.," p. 27.

¹⁴¹ Landon, *Itinerary*, pp. 75–76, 163, nos. 373–375 (28 May–11 June 1193); Mayer, "Die Kanzlei Richards I.," p. 28.

¹⁴² H. E. Mayer, "A Ghost Ship called *Frankenef*: King Richard's German Itinerary," *English Historical Review* 115 (2000), pp. 134–144, at pp. 137 and 136–139, for details of the rulers' respective itineraries.

¹⁴³ "Teste me ipso apud Wermeseiam, viii. die Junii, per magistrum Phylippum, clericum nostrum de camera nostra," *Epistolae Cantuarienses, The Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christchurch, Canterbury from A.D. 1187 to A.D. 1199*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, 2/2*: pp. 365–366, no. 404: See, also, Landon, *Itinerary*, p. 76, no. 375.

¹⁴⁴ Landon, *Itinerary*, p. 79, no. 377 (11 July 1193 at Worms).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 84, no. 394 (12 February 1194).

¹⁴⁶ Mayer, "Die Kanzlei Richards I.," pp. 27–28. Unlike his predecessors, Master Philip did not take the title of Vice-Chancellor.

was certainly often at variance with the usual methods of the English Chancery. That this was so is apparent even from Philip's first document, the bridal agreement of Berengaria, issued from Limassol on 12 May 1191.¹⁴⁷ The numerous irregularities contained in this and other subsequent documents only serve to highlight his lack of expertise in the field. Mayer has shown just how far Master Philip was from being completely in tune with usual chancery practice for a frequent mistake was his omission of the dating clause.¹⁴⁸ Now, a recently discovered charter, drafted "by the hand of Master Philip, then *Sigillarius* of the king," reveals further evidence of Philip's ability to mutilate the dating clause.¹⁴⁹ Philip makes other mistakes too, quite apart from those which involve his peculiar form of dating, amongst them, referring to "terra partes Suria" rather than "terra sancta."¹⁵⁰ It is interesting to make a comparison here between Philip's error and a phrase used by Roger of Howden in his *Chronica*. In an entry for March 1193, Howden describes Richard's appearance as a captive before Henry VI at Speyer. Amongst the Emperor's complaints were "at that time concerning the betrayal of the land of Syria, furthermore about the death of the Marquis."¹⁵¹ Is the mistaken spelling of Syria, *terrae Suliae* instead of *Suriae*, by Howden that same which Philip the scribe and clerk of the Chamber made? Mayer regarded this as noteworthy,¹⁵² and it is not impossible that Howden's source might indeed have been a document drafted by Master Philip of Poitiers.¹⁵³

Philip's background, however, did not lie in the Chancery but in the Chamber. Mayer has shown that whilst he was able to follow chancery style and practice on those occasions when someone was looking over his shoulder, Philip actually preferred the more flowery and rhetorical

¹⁴⁷ E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum, historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1724–1733), 9/1: p. 995; Landon, *Itinerary*, p. 49, 163, no. 358; Mayer, "Die Kanzlei Richards I.," p. 28.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁴⁹ *Acta of Henry II and Richard I*, pp. 168–169, no. 220: "Data apud Joppen per manum magistri Philippi tunc regis sigillarii, anno verbi incarnati mcxc. secundo, septimo kal' Septembris." Nicholas Vincent has characterized this charter as "apparently genuine, despite the peculiar form of dating."

¹⁵⁰ 1 October 1191. Landon, *Itinerary*, p. 55, p. 163; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 4/3: p. 130, p. 132; Mayer, "Die Kanzlei Richards I.," p. 29.

¹⁵¹ "...tum de prodicione terrae Suliae, tum de morte Marchionis..." Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 4/3: p. 199.

¹⁵² Mayer, "Die Kanzlei Richards I.," p. 29.

¹⁵³ Gillingham, "Royal Newsletters," pp. 182–183.

ars dictaminis to the rather dry chancery style of writing.¹⁵⁴ Additionally, Mayer comments on the mannered playfulness of Master Philip's letter style, suggesting that this may well have been his hallmark,¹⁵⁵ and taking as an example the newsletter of Richard I to his justiciar reporting the capture of Cyprus and the relief of the siege of Acre.¹⁵⁶ Master Philip's creative approach to writing may, on occasions, have over-elaborated the true message and his career was henceforward to be played out elsewhere than in the Chancery. When the Durham monks sought Richard's advice on an episcopal candidate, the King was quick to recommend his household clerk, Master Philip of Poitiers. On 29 December 1195, he was elected as Bishop of Durham at Northallerton, close to William's priory at Newburgh, and not far from Roger's parsonage at Howden.¹⁵⁷

Gillingham has recently suggested that Philip of Poitiers, confidential clerk to Richard I, and later bishop of Durham, is a highly plausible candidate to be that "trustworthy man" from whom William of Newburgh might have obtained the Old Man of the Mountain's letter.¹⁵⁸ He does so on the grounds that Newburgh includes information in his *Historia* which is unrecorded elsewhere in the English chronicles, such as details on Henry VI's great assembly at Worms in December 1195 at which many German bishops took the cross and the Treaty of Louviers of January 1196.¹⁵⁹ Gillingham does add cautiously that the trustworthy man "might have been someone on Master Philip's staff."¹⁶⁰ However, Philip had himself been in Syria and may have absorbed some of the

¹⁵⁴ Mayer, "Die Kanzlei Richards I.," p. 34.

¹⁵⁵ "Diese manierierten Spielereien des Briefstils mögen wir dem Magister Philipp schon zutrauen," *ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁵⁶ 6 August 1191. Landon, *Itinerary*, p. 52, p. 163; *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, p. 347, no. 375.

¹⁵⁷ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 4/3: p. 308: "Et ibi coram eo elegit magistrum Philippum clericum et familiarem Ricardi regis Anglie, in Dunelmensem episcopum." For variations in the date, see Gillingham, "William of Newburgh and Emperor Henry VI," pp. 61–62, n. 59.

¹⁵⁸ Gillingham, "Royal Newsletters," pp. 183–184; *idem*, "William of Newburgh and Emperor Henry VI," pp. 61–71.

¹⁵⁹ *Annales Marbacenses*, ed. H. Bloch, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* 9 (Hannover, 1907), pp. 1–109, at p. 66; Gillingham, "Royal Newsletters," pp. 183–184 and n. 70; *idem*, "William of Newburgh and Emperor Henry VI," pp. 63–65; Landon, *Itinerary*, pp. 106–109.

¹⁶⁰ Gillingham, "Royal Newsletters," p. 184, n. 73; *idem*, "William of Newburgh and Emperor Henry VI," p. 55 and n. 23. Philip's clerks are mentioned in *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fifth Year of the Reign of King Richard the First: Michaelmas 1193*. (*Pipe Roll 39*), ed. D. M. Stenton, Publications of The Pipe Roll Society 41 (n. s. 3) (London, 1927),

more colourful local legends, blending these with accurate information on the Nizārī Assassins. The idea of a forgery originating from such a background may be admissible but it is not conclusive when referring to Sinān's letter. For example, William Longchamp himself, transmitter of the letter to Diceto, was not only absent from England for a year, possibly at the French court (Stubbs suggests that he was possibly even there as a spy), but he was also present in Worms. Philip and Longchamp, on leaving Germany together and perhaps working hand in hand, could have produced the idea of circulating such letters as those purporting to be the Old Man's in order to alleviate the damage which the propaganda war was beginning to cause to Richard. Should we not, therefore, be considering the possibility that the two different letters from the Old Man were written and transmitted, one by William, the other by Master Philip, since both had the same purpose in mind and the same suitable material to include for the propaganda battle of the time? This may also explain the difference in language between the Diceto and Newburgh versions. Diceto's, that is, the version transmitted by Longchamp, and perhaps even the earlier of the two,¹⁶¹ names real people and is written in simplistic Latin, while Newburgh's, certainly more in line with the style of Philip of Poitiers, and perhaps the later of the two letters, is somewhat dramatic and rhetorical. The letters from the Old Man could well be the product of the English Chancery at one or two removes. Such letters would have been difficult for an outsider from a different culture to forge, unless he had been a fluent Arabic speaker, such as Reynald of Sidon, with deep knowledge of the peoples and customs of the region.¹⁶²

Whatever the letters' origins, their content reveals the idiom and culture of the Nizārī and that sympathetic approach needed between men of honour. The customs of the Syrians would not have allowed rumour and imprisonment to sully the reputation of a great war leader such as Richard I, even if he was not on their side. It was this same admiration and loyalty for their friend, Richard, count of Poitou and lord king of England, which underlay the motivation of the two men,

p. 172; Gillingham, "Royal Newsletters," p. 184, n. 73; idem, "William of Newburgh and Emperor Henry VI," p. 55 and n. 23.

¹⁶¹ This letter must have been written before news of Leopold V's death on 31 December 1194 was widely known.

¹⁶² Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, pp. 26–27, 90–91; See also Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, 2: pp. 832–834.

his Chancellor, William Longchamp, formerly Chancellor of Poitou, who may have spent as much as a year at the French court, and Philip of Poitiers, a former clerk of his Chamber, who most certainly spent a year in Syria, and who subsequently travelled through France and Germany on royal business. Both were well fitted for the task in hand, namely the propaganda battle of the day. In the exoneration of their master, these royal servants could do no better than to allow the loyalty and honour of Sinān, *Vetus de Monte*, to come to Richard's aid as the Old Man would undoubtedly have wished.

*Appendix***A. Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 1180–1202, ed. W. Stubbs, *Ralph of Diceto, Opera historica*, 2 vols., *Rolls Series 68* (London, 1876), 2: pp. 127–128.**

William, bishop of Ely, to Ralph, dean of London. We send to you the letter which the Old Man of the Mountain sent to the duke of Austria about the death of the marquis in these words:

The Old Man of the Mountain to Leopold, duke of Austria, greeting. Since many kings and princes beyond the sea blame Richard, lord and king of England, concerning the death of the marquis. I swear by God, who reigns forever, and by the law which we keep, that he had no responsibility for his death. For the cause of the marquis's death is as follows: one of our brothers was coming in a ship from Satalia to our area, and by chance the weather drove him to Tyre, and the marquis had him captured and killed, and seized a large sum of his money. We sent our messengers with instructions to the marquis. Our instructions were that he should return to us our brother's money and reach an agreement with us concerning our brother's death, and he refused, and also spurned our messengers, and put the death of our brother on Reynald, lord of Sidon; and we did enough through our friends to know in truth that it was he who caused him to be killed and his money to be seized. And a second time we sent another messenger of ours called Edrisius to him, whom he wished to plunge in the sea; but our friends caused him to leave Tyre in a hurry and he quickly came to us and gave us the news. We also from that hour wished to kill the marquis, and we sent at that time two brothers to Tyre, who killed him openly in Tyre, more or less in the presence of the whole people. This then was the cause of the marquis's death; and we assure you in truth that the lord Richard, king of England, had no responsibility for this death of the marquis; and those who brought trouble on the king of England over this matter did it unjustly and without cause. Know for certain that we kill no man for any bribe or for money unless he has first done us harm. And know that we composed this letter in our place of residence at our castle of Messia in the middle of September in the presence of our brothers, and we sealed it with our seal in the one thousand, five hundred and fourth year from Alexander.

And we have considered that a transcript of this letter should be sent to you of whose love we have full experience, so that you may deal with this matter in your chronicles.

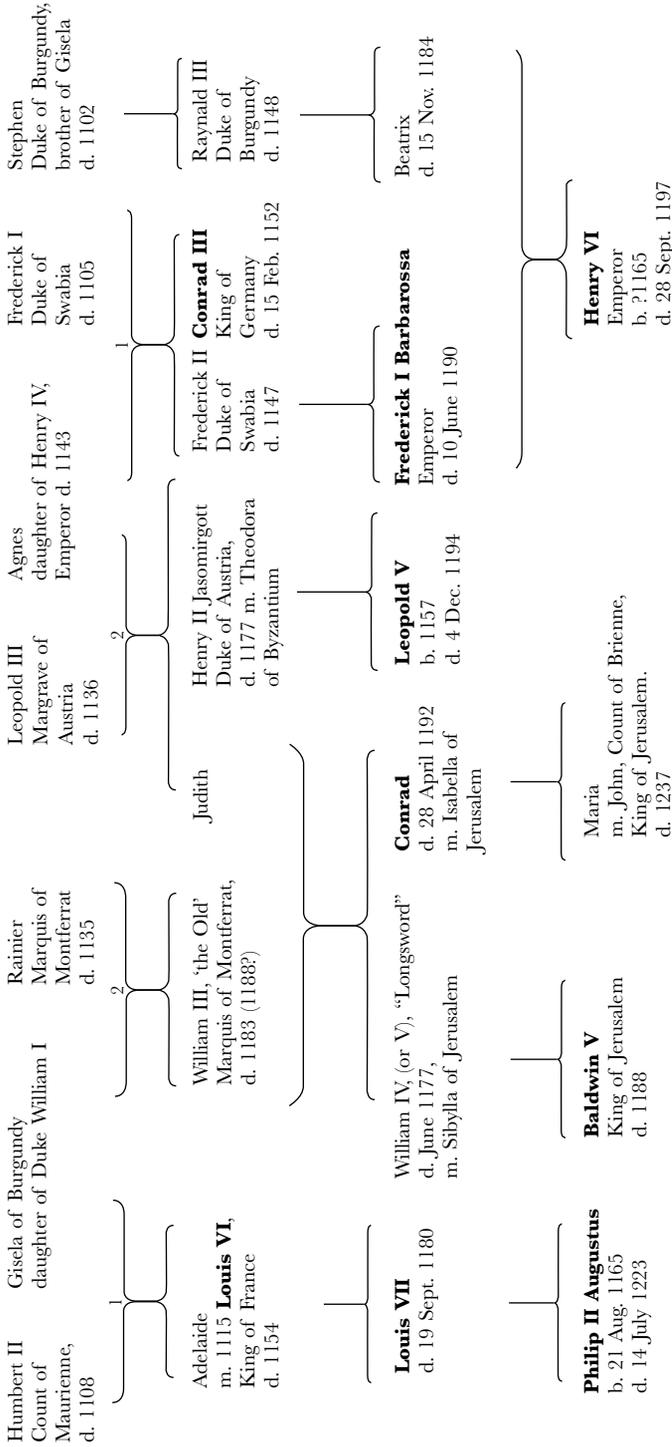
B. William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, 4 vols., Rolls Series 82 (London, 1884–1885), 2: book V, cap. xvi, pp. 457–460.

In these days letters from the Old Man of the Mountain came to the princes of Europe: for so, not for his age but as if for his wisdom and gravity, through successive generations the chief of a certain Eastern people whom they call the Assassini calls himself. We have provided fuller information of this chief or people above, when we were explaining the death of Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, who is believed to have been killed by them. These same letters were written in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and they were written not in ink but in a very unusual medium, namely the blood of a purple-fish (*murex*), as they themselves made clear. And a man worthy of belief has testified to me that he has certainly seen and read these when they had been formally presented to the king of the Franks, established in Paris, of which the contents were as follows:

The Old Man of the Mountain to the princes and the whole people of the Christian religion, greeting. Since we have heard that the death of the marquis of Montferrat is being imputed by many to Richard, the illustrious king of the English, as having been killed by his contrivance on account of a rivalry which had grown up between them when they were both established in parts of the East, it is in accordance with our honour, in order to clear the name of that king which has been blackened by suspicion of a false accusation, to declare the truth of this matter which till now has been hidden with us. We do not wish as the result of our work to labour the innocence of anyone, since we do not propose any trouble for any undeserving and innocent person, but on God's authority we do not suffer long those who have sinned against us to rejoice over injustices done to our simplicity. We therefore make known to you all, calling to witness Him through whom we hope to be saved, that the marquis was not killed by the plotting of the said king: indeed he, because he had sinned against us and when reproved had neglected to make amends, justly perished by our will and command at the hands of our dependents. For it is part of our custom that those who have been harmful in some way to us or our friends, first to urge them to give satisfaction to us; if they scorn this, to expect the severity of vengeance through our servants, who obey us with so much devotion that they do not doubt that they must be gloriously rewarded by God if they die in carrying out our instructions. We have also heard a common rumour concerning the aforesaid king that he has persuaded us as less

honest and reliable to send out some of our men to ambush the king of the Franks. This is without doubt false and an invention of the most empty suspicion; since neither has he, as God is my witness, attempted any such thing concerning us, nor would we allow an undeserving man to work evil under the guise of our honour. Farewell.

Table A: The Kinship Network of Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat



Adapted from Alexander Cartellieri, *Philipp II August, König von Frankreich. 2. Der Kreuzzug (1187–1191)* (Leipzig and Paris, 1906), Table 4.

PART TWO

CHANCERY TRADITIONS IN MEDIEVAL CYPRUS

ASPECTS DU NOTARIAT PUBLIC À CHYPRE SOUS LES LUSIGNAN

Jean Richard

Le recours à une procédure bien définie pour conférer une force exécutoire aux actes des particuliers n'était pas inconnu à Chypre aux temps byzantins et la présence d'une corporation de *taboullarioi* a persisté après l'établissement des Francs. Mais ceux-ci ont introduit leurs propres usages, qui comportaient au départ le recours à un sceau jouissant d'une autorité reconnue et dont le détenteur acceptait de notifier des actes émanant de ceux qui dépendaient de lui. Et, dès le 13^e siècle, les *Assises de Jérusalem* privilégiaient les actes passés devant les cours royales présidées par les vicomtes et constituées de jurés bourgeois, et c'est le sceau de la cour qui les authentifiait. Mais, dès le milieu du siècle, les *Assises de la cour aux bourgeois* ont admis que les «convenances» des parties pouvaient être reçues «par court ou par notaire».¹

Un passage de la *Pratica della mercatura* de Pegolotti paraît mettre en doute, ou du moins restreindre, le recours à un notaire. On lit en effet: «*in Cipro... in nulla parte dell'isola non vale nulla carta de notario se non fosse de testamento o de dota o di schiave comperato o de navoleggiamento salvo se lo re lo fasse valere per grazia a cui volere mettere avanti per usare sa ragione*». En fait il faut comprendre que les actes notariés étaient reçus comme faisant preuve dans les cas déjà cités, qui ne se limitaient pas au seul domaine du droit privé, puisqu'il est question d'une vente d'esclave ou du nolis d'un navire, mais qu'il était des contrats qui exigeaient une autre forme de validation: ce sont, nous dit l'auteur florentin, ceux qui ont un caractère commercial, lesquels doivent être passés par-devant les «*escrivains du comerc*», cette administration héritée du *kommerkion* byzantin et ayant une fonction fiscale. L'exécution de telles conventions, nous dit-il, était du ressort du bailli du comerc et les actes devaient avoir été enregistrés

¹ *Assises de la cour des bourgeois*, éd. A. Beugnot, dans *RHC, Lois*, t. 2, p. 99; *Abrégé du livre des Assises*, *ibid.*, pp. 349–350. Des actes ont été reçus, à Famagouste, devant la cour du vicomte, mais aussi devant celle du châtelain royal: C. Desimoni, «Actes passés à Famagouste de 1299 à 1301», *AOL* 2 (1884), pp. 63–65.

au «livre des remembrances du comerc». On notera en passant que l'on peut recourir au roi pour passer outre à ces restrictions.²

On voit toutefois apparaître, vers la fin du 13^e siècle (à une époque où l'autorité royale tend à s'affirmer), un autre mode d'authentification qui fait intervenir un officier dont la compétence nous est mal connue. Deux actes des protocoles du notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto, dont l'un date de novembre 1297, citent des conventions reçues *coram auditore domini regis Cipri in Nicosia*.³ Et l'ordonnance de 1310 sur le paiement des dettes contractées au temps de l'usurpation d'Amaury de Tyr prévoit que certaines d'entre elles seront «connues par devant l'auditeur», celui-ci disposant d'un «escrivain» qui tient un «cartulaire», qui délivre des chartes aux parties après jugement, ce qui atteste que l'auditeur exerce une certaine forme de juridiction gracieuse.⁴

Un document plus tardif nous montre comment fonctionnait cette juridiction. Il s'agit de la promesse d'adhésion du roi Pierre II à la ligue constituée contre Gênes à la veille de la guerre de Chioggia, qui fut reçue le 6 mars 1378 sous la forme d'un «instrument public» par-devant l'auditeur (c'était alors Jean Gorap), en présence de plusieurs personnages notables, de trois «juges» et du protonotaire de la chancellerie royale.⁵ Ceci laisse entrevoir l'association de l'auditeur avec

² Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *Pratica della mercatura*, éd. P. della Ventura, *Della decima e delle altre gravezze*, t. 3 (Lisbonne et Lucques, 1766), pp. 75–76; éd. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 88–89. Cf. G. Grivaud, «Sur le comerc chypriote de l'époque latine», dans A. A. M. Bryer et G. S. Georghallides, eds., «*The Sweet Land of Cyprus*.” *Papers given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991* (Nicosie, 1993), pp. 133–141.

³ L'acte de 1297: *Notai genovesi in Oltramare. Atti rogati in Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (31 marzo 1304–19 iuglio 1305, 4 gennaio–12 iuglio 1307), Giovanni da Rocha (3 agosto 1308–14 marzo 1310)*, ed. M. Balard, CSFS 43 (Genova, 1984), no. 76; autre acte du 23 mars 1301, comportant engagement de fourniture de sucre à un marchand génois par la comtesse de Jaffa: Archivio di Stato di Genova, Archivio notarile, Lamberto di Sambuceto, filza III, fol. 32v.

⁴ *RHC, Lois*, t. 2, p. 369. Aux termes de cette ordonnance, d'autres dettes avaient été contractées devant la secrète ou devant la cour du roi.

⁵ Cf. J. Richard, «A propos d'un privilège de Jean II de Lusignan: une enquête sur les modalités de la mise en forme des actes royaux», *Κυπριακά Σπουδαί* 50 (1987), pp. 128–133; du même, *Chypre sous les Lusignan. Documents chypriotes des archives du Vatican* (Paris, 1962), pp. 133–136. La liste des «chanceliers du royaume» figure dans E.-G. Rey, *Les familles d'Outremer de Du Cange* (Paris, 1869), pp. 674–677, mais en incorporant à cette liste deux «chanceliers du roi» qui, à la différence des premiers, ne sont pas de grands officiers de la couronne. Selon le même auteur (p. 666), l'auditeur «semble avoir rempli à peu près les fonctions d'un grand juge». On peut noter à ce propos les informations recueillies par L. Balletto «Ethnic Groups, Cross-social and Cross-cultural Contacts on Fifteenth-century Cyprus», *Mediterranean Historical Journal* 10 (1995) (= *Studies*

la chancellerie, dont on connaît mal l'organisation et la compétence, en-dehors de l'expédition des actes royaux, et qui était présidée par le chancelier du royaume, un des grands officiers de la couronne, sans doute détenteur du grand sceau, selon l'usage de toutes les monarchies médiévales.⁶ Les juges cités ici (on connaît le titre de «juge de la chancellerie») sont vraisemblablement ces personnages que l'on voit citer sous le titre de «juges royaux». Et la cour de chancellerie paraît donc avoir eu compétence pour rendre la justice comme pour recevoir les actes.⁷ En 1324, Hugues IV affirmait que les conventions avec les Vénitiens «devent estre en la canslerie et à la cort de visconte et autre part», ce qui paraît confirmer la part qu'elle tenait dans la conservation des actes.⁸ Nous retrouverions ainsi ce que suggérait l'ordonnance déjà citée: l'auditeur jouant le rôle d'un procureur du roi, ici et peut-être en d'autres cours,⁹ avec son écrivain et son cartulaire. Toutefois le titre d'écrivain de la chancellerie se serait effacé devant celui de «chancelier du roi» (*cancellarius regis*), appellation qui correspond à celle de «secrétaire»; en 1328 Jean de *Galiana* se titre *et nunc ipsius domini regis cancellarie scriba publicus*, ce qui suggère une parenté avec les fonctions de notaire public.¹⁰

Mais la royauté chypriote n'a pas donné à l'auditeur, ni à la chancellerie, les attributions qui furent celles des organismes que les rois de France

in Honour of David Jacoby), p. 45, à propos de Jacques Urry, ancien étudiant à Pavie, qualifié de *judex et auditor* du roi en 1431, à nouveau d'auditeur en 1456, dans l'intervalle de *procuratore*, en 1450, et que nous avons rencontré avec le titre de vice-chancelier en 1451 et 1454, ce qui donne une idée de la parenté de ces offices.

⁶ L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous les princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852-1861), 2: p. 372. Les «juges» sont Guillaume Pierre, Barthélemy Scaface, chanoine de Nicosie, et Georges Soliatine, docteur en décret. Quant à *Johannes de Justinis, prothonotarius cancellarie regis Cipri*, peut-être fils du Justin de *Justinis*, chevalier de Nicosie, qui avait bénéficié d'un indult de Clément VI, ses fonctions lui conféraient-elles une autorité particulière en matière d'enregistrement des actes de la cour?

⁷ Citons d'autres juges: Raymond Seguin de *Altigiis*, «conseiller et juge de la chancellerie» de Pierre Ier (*Urbain V Lettres communes*, éd. M.-H. Laurent, no. 1716), Domenico *Rodulfi* de Bologne, docteur en droit, *judex domini regis* en 1360, et Thomas de *Zenariis* de Padoue, «juge de la chancellerie» en 1406 (Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 2: p. 230, 441, 495; idem, «Nouvelles preuves de l'histoire de Chypre II», *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 34 [1873], p. 120).

⁸ Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 2: p. 199.

⁹ Nous pensons à la sentence de la Haute Cour concernant Odet Boussat, en 1452, où «l'auditeur», non autrement dénommé, figure en tête des membres de la cour (nos *Documents chypriotes*, p. 155).

¹⁰ Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 2: p. 142. On le retrouve avec maître Etienne de Chypre, lui aussi notaire impérial, qualifié de «notaire du roi», en 1330-1331 (p. 164).

et les grands barons de ce royaume ont investis de l'administration de la juridiction gracieuse en leur subordonnant les notaires, appelés à devenir des officiers ministériels. Et, en fait, c'est l'institution du notariat public qui a pris le pas sur les autres modes d'authentification.

Sans entrer ici dans l'histoire des notaires d'Occident, nous rappellerons que, dès le début du 12^e siècle, on a vu proliférer ces personnages appelés tabellions ou notaires publics à propos desquels R.-H. Bautier a employé l'expression de «notaires spontanés», mais qui, en fait, se réclament d'autorités éminentes, pape ou empereur, qui leur confèrent le pouvoir de recevoir des actes dans la Chrétienté toute entière. Ils sont habilités à prendre note des déclarations de volonté des parties et d'en délivrer des copies qu'ils authentifient en y apposant un seing manuel (*signum manuale*) qui apparaît comme une marque de fabrique déposée auprès de l'autorité qui les a investis.¹¹

On connaît bien les protocoles, c'est-à-dire les registres où étaient transcrites les minutes prises sous la dictée des parties, tenus par les notaires qui instrumentaient à Chypre au nom des communes privilégiées, Gênes, Venise et sans doute Pise, les Lamberto di Sambuceto, les Antonio Foglietta ou les Nicola de *Boateriis*; ils agissent au service des ressortissants de ces communes, y compris les Vénitiens ou les Génois que l'on dit «blancs» ou «noirs» et qui sont d'origine syrienne, mais aussi au profit d'autres contractants. Ces protocoles nous ont été conservés parce qu'ils ont trouvé le chemin des archives de leurs métropoles. Ils ne nous retiendront pas, car ils ont fait l'objet d'éditions et d'excellentes études.

Il n'en est pas de même pour les autres notaires. Un seul d'entre eux nous a laissé son registre, et ce n'est pas un protocole, mais un recueil réunissant à des notes personnelles des textes très divers, dont certains sont de caractère diplomatique ou intéressent Chypre, mais qui ne sont pas des minutes notariales. Nous aurons l'occasion d'y revenir. De ce fait, pour connaître quels sont les notaires qui ont instrumenté dans l'île, force nous est de relever les mentions qui figurent dans les

¹¹ R. H. Bautier, «L'authentification des actes privés dans la France médiévale. Notariat public et juridiction gracieuse», reproduit dans, idem, *Chartes, sceaux et chancelleries*, t. 1, Mémoires et documents de la Société de l'École des Chartes 34 (Paris, 1990), pp. 281, 286–287. L'auteur place cette institution dans les seuls pays de droit écrit, ce qui correspond à la situation dans le royaume de France; il en est différemment en terre d'Empire. En France, dans le domaine royal et dans plusieurs grandes baronnies, on avait créé des formes de juridiction gracieuse dans lesquelles les actes sont munis du sceau d'une juridiction qui a compétence pour leur exécution.

documents eux-mêmes qui nous sont parvenus, en essayant de cerner les contours de l'institution.

Nous avons ainsi pu relever une soixantaine de noms pour la période antérieure à l'annexion de Chypre au domaine de Venise, qui a modifié le régime précédent. La grande majorité de ces noms sont ceux d'Occidentaux; mais on peut retrouver des noms de Francs d'origine chypriote ou venus de Terre Sainte, tels ceux de Guillaume Gautier de Nicosie, notaire impérial, et de Barthélemy de Conches, notaire apostolique et chanoine de Tarse, qui ont signé ensemble, le 15 octobre 1315, un acte royal reçu en haute cour, ou celui de Jean Lambert, qui se dit en 1344 clerc du diocèse de Nicosie.¹² Mais le dossier des Audeth, famille syrienne entrée dans la communauté latine au point d'avoir fourni un évêque de Tortose et le réformateur de l'ordre des Carmes, nous a conservé des testaments qui ont été reçus par des notaires publics, institués au nom de l'empereur, qui n'en sont pas moins des Grecs chypriotes. C'est «*Thoma, sacerdote e cantore del arcivescovado dei Greci, nominato Cordatoto, nodaro per imperiale auctoritate*», qui a reçu les testaments de Jean Audeth, le 16 septembre 1451, et d'Antoine Audeth, en 1453; et «*Papa Thoma Facco, publico nodaro de imperial auctoritate*», celui de dame Jacque Audeth, en mai 1468. Et, dans ces trois cas, les testateurs avaient dicté leurs volontés en grec, la traduction italienne étant intervenue ultérieurement.¹³

Il se peut que nous ayons là le résultat d'une évolution et qu'antérieurement au 15^e siècle les notaires investis par l'autorité impériale aient été normalement des Latins, les membres des autres communautés ayant habituellement recours à des notaires ou à des personnes jouissant des mêmes pouvoirs issus de leurs propres rangs; c'est ainsi que le contrat de mariage d'Alix, fille de feu «ser» Philippe Mistahel de Famagouste—encore un Syrien en voie d'intégration dans la noblesse franque—avait été reçu en 1361 *in lingua arabica* par le prêtre Jacques

¹² Mas Latrie, «Nouvelles preuves II», pp. 56–64; Jean Lambert est dit *publicus apostolica auctoritate notarius*: L. de Mas Latrie, «Documents nouveaux servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan Chypre», *Recueil de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Mélanges historiques 4* (Paris, 1882), p. 124.

¹³ J. Richard, «Une famille de 'Vénitiens blancs' dans le royaume de Chypre au milieu du XV^e siècle: les Audeth et la seigneurie du Marethasse», *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* 1 (1981) (réimprimé dans, idem, *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs. Les perspectives orientales du monde latin médiéval*, *Variorum Collected Studies* [Londres, 1981], no. X), pp. 112–115, 118, 123. Par contre le notaire Cyprien Palevesin (sans doute un Pallavicini) reçoit en latin un testament, et c'est le neveu du testateur, l'évêque (de la hiérarchie latine) André Audeth, qui le traduit en grec pour en donner lecture à son oncle (ibid., p. 116).

de l'église Sainte-Marie de Nazareth de cette ville,¹⁴ et non par un notaire public de type occidental ni par un *taboullarios* relevant de l'église grecque.¹⁵

La plupart de ces notaires sont originaires de l'Italie septentrionale et centrale. On rencontre toutefois un Henri Ludolf de Ruremonde en Brabant, cité en 1292, et un Borchard Junge de *Ladic*..., dont le nom paraît évoquer une origine germanique, en 1422. Les pays de langue française ont fourni Jacques Serbay de la Porte Serpenoise, de Metz, et Renaud Labey de Beaufort, clerc du diocèse de Reims (1372), Eudes Benoît, du diocèse de Laon (1379–1399), Pierre de Sermaises, sans doute du diocèse de Sens, Guillaume Périnet, de celui d'Orléans (1381). De la France du Midi viennent Antoine Michel de Voiron, du diocèse de Grenoble (1367), Arnaud Bregas, de celui de Rieux (1329), Géraud de la Genèbre, du diocèse de Sarlat, et Raymond Vital de Toulouse (1329), Jean de Saint-Jean, du diocèse d'Arles (1411), et sans doute d'autres. On peut encore citer par curiosité Marc de Smyrne, notaire impérial, mentionné en 1406.

Ces notaires se réclament pratiquement tous de l'autorité impériale ou de l'autorité apostolique, la première étant largement plus invoquée que la seconde. Ceux qui se disent *publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius* ajoutent parfois à ce titre celui de *judex* ou *judex ordinarius*. De même, parmi les notaires apostoliques, il en est deux, tous deux originaires de Rome, qui se disent «notaires et juges de la Préfecture de la Ville», ce qui signifie qu'ils ont reçu leur investiture du préfet de Rome, à qui le pape avait reconnu le pouvoir de créer des tabellions.¹⁶ Ajoutons que quatre notaires au moins se réclament à la fois du pape et de l'empereur.

¹⁴ *Nicola de Boateriis, notario in Famagosta e Venezia (1355–1365)*, éd. A. Lombardo (Venise, 1973), no. 70. Sur les Mistahel, cf. *Le livre des remembrances de la secrète du royaume de Chypre*, éd. J. Richard, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 10 (Nicosie, 1987), no. 6 et n. 1; on y ajoutera la mention de Simon Mistahieli, fils d'un papas, tonsuré selon le rite latin en 1450, d'après l'étude de L. Balletto citée n. 5.

¹⁵ Tel ce protopapas Michel, *nomikos* du Marethasse et *taboullarios* de l'évêque de Solia, cité à la date de 1353 par J. Darrouzès, «Notes pour servir à l'histoire de Chypre», *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* 17 (1953), p. 97. Sur le notariat grec et son organisation dans le royaume de Chypre, nous renverrons à l'étude d'A. Beihammer, «Byzantine Chancery Traditions in Frankish Cyprus: The Case of the Vatican Ms. Palatinus graecus 367», dans S. Fourrier et G. Grivaud, éd., *Identités croisées en un milieu méditerranéen: le cas de Chypre (Antiquité—Moyen Âge)* (Rouen, 2006), pp. 301–315.

¹⁶ *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, éd. N. Coureas et Ch. Schabel, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 25 (Nicosie, 1997) (cité ci-après *Cartulary*), nos. 106a et 108a.

Lorsqu'un notaire se titre *publicus notarius archiepiscopalis*, comme le fait Jean de Saint-Jean, en 1411, on peut se demander s'il se réclame d'une investiture par l'archevêque de Nicosie, ou s'il est employé par celui-ci après avoir été reçu notaire impérial ou apostolique, en continuant à instrumenter en cette qualité.¹⁷ L'investiture pontificale pouvait d'ailleurs lui avoir été conférée par le prélat, mais en vertu des pouvoirs que celui-ci avait reçus du pape. Une bulle de Boniface VIII, en date du 17 juin 1295, adressée à l'archevêque Gérard, fait état d'une requête émanant de ce dernier, qui constatait que «les personnes habilitées à recevoir les contrats publics, les actes des juges et autres de même nature» étaient trop peu nombreuses en Chypre, et elle autorise l'archevêque, en vertu de l'autorité pontificale, à conférer l'office de tabellion à deux personnes dûment examinées, en les astreignant à prêter sur les saints Evangiles un serment dont voici les principales exigences:

Je serai fidèle à saint Pierre, à l'Eglise de Rome, au pape Boniface et à ses successeurs... J'exercerai l'office de tabellion avec fidélité. Je rédigerai fidèlement les contrats dans lesquels le consentement des parties est requis, sans rien ajouter ni modifier sans leur accord. Si, en confectionnant cet instrument, la volonté d'une seule partie est suffisante, je ferai de même. Je n'établirai pas d'instrument d'un contrat si je sais qu'intervienne force ou fraude. Je prendrai acte de ce contrat dans le protocole sans délai et j'en ferai un instrument public, sous réserve de mon salaire juste et accoutumé.¹⁸

Par la suite, nous possédons de nombreuses autorisations de ce genre, généralement accordées aux archevêques, leur déléguant le pouvoir de conférer des tabellionages à des clercs «non mariés ni engagés dans les ordres majeurs», en leur demandant le même serment, mais sans préciser qu'ils sont destinés à exercer leurs fonctions dans la province de Nicosie (nous avons constaté d'ailleurs que la plupart des notaires que nous avons rencontrés dans l'île sont dits impériaux).¹⁹ Il est probable

¹⁷ L. de Mas Latrie, «Nouvelles preuves de l'histoire de Chypre III», *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 35 (1874), p. 128. De même *Theodinellus de Aquasparta* est donné à la fois comme notaire et juge, familial et écrivain de l'archevêque en 1327 (*Cartulary*, no. 108b) et Antoine Michel, en 1367, comme *auctoritate imperiali et curie archiepiscopalis notarius*.

¹⁸ Nous remercions Ch. Schabel de nous avoir signalé l'intérêt du texte de cette bulle, simplement analysée dans *Les registres de Boniface VIII (1294-1303)*, éd. G. Digard et al., no. 304.

¹⁹ Le texte d'une de ces concessions, en faveur de l'archevêque Philippe de Chamberlhac, en 1345: *Cartulary*, no. 120. D'autres ont été accordées à divers prélats; un cas particulier est la lettre du pape à l'official de Nicosie, en date du 29 décembre 1361, le chargeant de conférer un office de tabellion à Georges dit le Grec, clerc de

que les pouvoirs accordés aux prélats de Chypre ont été utilisés par ceux-ci en faveur de clercs de leur entourage, et sans doute pour tirer d'eux quelque argent sans qu'ils aient à gagner l'Orient.

Que ceux que nous rencontrons à Chypre soient pour la plupart venus d'Occident n'a rien de surprenant. L'exercice du notariat requérait une formation à l'*ars dictandi* qui était normalement assurée par des écoles qui existaient en Italie, mais qui sans doute manquaient à Chypre, et il est possible que les clercs de l'île qui recherchaient cette formation aient été la chercher outre-mer. Quant à l'investiture, il était facile de l'obtenir auprès des nombreuses autorités qui jouissaient du droit de la conférer, et on a vu qu'il n'était pas exceptionnel de recevoir à la fois celle du pape et celle de l'empereur; la demander à un prélat en partance pour Chypre pouvait être commode. Les formalités étaient simples : après l'examen, elles consistaient en la remise de la plume et de l'écritoire qu'accompagnait la prestation du serment.²⁰

Les documents d'origine notariale qui nous sont parvenus sont de nature variée. L'un des plus anciens—il date de 1280—se présente comme un *vidimus* (une copie certifiée conforme), d'un texte qui figurait dans le *passionarium* (le calendrier?) de l'église de Nicosie parmi les constitutions des archevêques, dressé par un notaire apostolique appelé Nicolas de *Montealano*, lequel le fit d'ailleurs sceller par l'archevêque.²¹ Pegolotti avait noté les contrats de mariage, les ventes d'esclaves et les affrètements de navires comme actes normalement reçus par les notaires; mais il en était bien d'autres. Et la Chambre apostolique, qui gérait les finances de la papauté, se montrait très attentive à réclamer la confection d'«instruments publics» à l'appui des comptes, ce qui nous vaut la conservation de plusieurs d'entre eux, et notamment d'inventaires dressés par les tabellions, aux archives du Vatican. Tel notaire venu du Languedoc, comme Arnaud Bregas, croyait nécessaire de donner l'équivalence des abréviations ou des signes en usage à Chypre (et notamment de la notation de la fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ en chiffres arabes alors qu'en Occident on écrivait *dimidium*) qui n'étaient pas familiers aux Occidentaux.²² Tel autre, notaire impérial, estimait nécessaire de

Nicosie, non marié ni engagé dans les ordres majeurs (Archivio Vaticano, Reg. Avin. 148, fol. 569). Parmi les bénéficiaires figurent parfois des prêtres ou des clercs ayant reçu les ordres majeurs.

²⁰ A. Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique*, nouv. édition (Paris, 1925), p. 833.

²¹ Mas Latrie, *Documents nouveaux*, pp. 348–349, cf. aussi la traduction de Ch. Schabel, *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196–1373*, *Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus* 39 (Nicosie, 2001), no. X 30.

²² Nous avons publié ce passage, figurant à la suite de la copie des comptes de

s'excuser sur ce que la rareté du parchemin dans l'île l'avait empêché de donner son texte sur cette matière, comme l'avait prescrit Frédéric II, et de l'avoir écrit sur papier.²³

Qu'il s'agisse d'un contrat, d'un testament, d'une copie certifiée ou d'un inventaire après décès, l'instrument public, qui peut comporter l'indication de la présence de témoins, tire sa crédibilité de la *recognitio* du notaire qui affirme s'il y a lieu la fidélité de la transcription dont il est l'auteur.²⁴ Il prend soin d'indiquer les erreurs qu'il relève dans le document qu'il copie. Ainsi Renaud Labey, en 1372, termine sa transcription par ces mots:

Interfui et omnia et singula in hanc publicam formam redegi, ipse manu mea scripsi et signum consuetum apposui, rogatus, inquisitus in testimonio omnium et singulorum premisorum, rasure sue sunt in octava linea, videlicet: de dictis; in XIX linea, videlicet: de novo examinare et computare, et in XXVIII linea (etc.)... non viciose, sed errorum negligentia, et ideo propria manu approbo.

Et c'est à la suite qu'il annonce l'apposition, de sa propre main, de son seing, le *signum manuale*.²⁵

Celui-ci, dont le notaire prend soin de préciser que c'est celui dont il use habituellement, est un dessin, parfois compliqué, qu'on ne saurait mieux définir qu'en le comparant à une marque de fabrique. Nous retiendrons particulièrement celui de Jacques Serbay de la Porte Serpenoise, ce notaire venu de Metz, *publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritate notarius*, qui ajoute une jambe au quadrilatère qui est l'une des formes habituelles de ce seing, et qui figure à la fin de la transcription d'un cahier de dix-sept feuillets qu'il a copié à l'intention de la Chambre apostolique (voir p. 221).²⁶

l'évêque Géraud adressée à la Chambre apostolique (Archivio Vaticano, Instrumenta miscellanea 1087; cité ci-après Instr. misc.), dans nos *Documents chypriotes*, p. 49.

²³ Giry, *Manuel*, p. 498. Le notaire Nicola di Signorio écrit à la fin de son texte: *extractum est in papiru, defectu membrane non reperte* (Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 3: p. 471; 1403).

²⁴ Il arrive que le notaire, pris par d'autres occupations, fasse écrire l'acte par autrui, mais c'est de sa propre main qu'il écrit la souscription et dessine le seing. C'est le cas de Simon *Baradellus*, le 4 mai 1472, et déjà d'Antoine de Saint-Michel en 1367: Mas Latrie, *Documents nouveaux*, p. 411; J. Richard, «Les marchands génois de Famagouste et la défense de Smyrne», dans L. Balletto, éd., *Oriente e Occidente tra medio evo ed età moderna. Studi in onore Geo Pitarino* (Gêne, 1997), pp. 1068–1069.

²⁵ A la suite de la copie d'une cédule du collecteur Bérenger Grégoire, du 19 novembre 1372 (Instr. misc. 4604).

²⁶ Instr. misc. 4604 (1372). Sur les affaires en question, cf. J. Richard, «La succession de l'évêque de Famagouste et la remise en ordre de la collectorie de Chypre», *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 113 (2001), pp. 637–661.

Mais le même notaire ajoute: *et etiam ad majorem firmitatem et mandato domini vicarii* (il s'agit du vicaire de l'archevêque qui a commandé l'acte) *presens instrumentum fuit sigillatum in pendenti sigillo curie archiepiscopalis*. Ceci répond à une habitude fréquente en Chypre: le seing manuel du notaire s'accompagne d'un autre signe de validation qui est ici le sceau d'une juridiction. Et cette association se rencontre ailleurs et donne naissance à des actes composites. Ainsi, le 26 avril 1406, dame Pinadeben étant «aux extrémités», son mari, Nicolas d'Anson, fait venir à son chevet le chevetaïn de Cérines et les jurés de sa cour; c'est en présence de ceux-ci et de l'écrivain de la cour qu'elle dicte ses dernières volontés au notaire impérial Marc de Smyrne qui a été requis d'en dresser instrument public. Mais c'est un juge de la chancellerie du royaume qui en donne connaissance au bayle de Venise le 28 octobre suivant (car cette dame était originaire de Ferrare et avait des biens en Vénétie); il a donc fallu que le testament dûment authentifié ait été soumis à la chancellerie avant d'être notifié au représentant de la Sérénissime.²⁷

Soixante ans plus tard, dame Jacques Audeth dicte ses dernières volontés à un autre notaire impérial qui se trouve être le prêtre grec Thomas Facco qui en dresse un *instrumento et publico testamento* qu'il souscrit selon les règles et authentifie par l'apposition de son *solito segno notarial*. C'est alors qu'intervient le vicomte de Nicosie, Jean de Ras, qui fait examiner le testament que Thomas lui a soumis par le vicaire de la cathédrale, Antoine Soulouan, en même temps qu'il l'examine lui-même. Après quoi, cinq besants ayant été payés à la cour du vicomte, l'écrivain de celle-ci, Christophe Crassuri, souscrit le document de sa propre main *segondo la usanza di Cipro*. L'«instrument public» est ainsi assimilé à un «écrit de cour» et ceci paraît conforme aux usages.²⁸

Ce qui facilite cette compénétration des signes de validation, c'est que nombre de notaires ajoutent à leur fonction publique d'autres activités au service des autorités qui les utilisent dans leurs bureaux d'écriture. Dès 1292 Henri Ludolf de Ruremonde, notaire impérial, fait savoir qu'il vient d'acquérir les fonctions de notaire de la cour de l'archevêque et, après avoir apposé son seing manuel au bas d'un acte, il y ajoute le sceau de l'archevêque et celui du chapitre cathédral, l'acte

²⁷ Mas Latrie, «Nouvelles preuves III», pp. 121–123. La testatrice était originaire de Ferrare et possédait des biens dans la région. Son premier mari, Antoine de Bergame, avait été enterré à Cérines en 1393: B. Imhaus, *Lacrimae Cypriae*, 2 vols. (Nicosie, 2004), 1: p. 75.

²⁸ Richard, «Vénitiens blancs», p. 129.

étant passé « dans la loge de l'archevêque où l'on rend la justice », et cela en présence du chapitre et sur l'ordre du prélat. En 1465, Donato de Aprile, notaire impérial et notaire vénitien, sur l'ordre du bayle dont il est le chancelier, ajoute à son seing manuel le sceau de Saint-Marc.²⁹ Le cumul d'un notariat impérial et d'une fonction d'écrivain (et l'on dit parfois *scriba publicus*) est assez courant. Ainsi Jean Robert de Cosenza, clerc de Famagouste et habitant de cette ville (où il fonda et dota une chapelle dédiée à saint Pierre et saint Paul en l'église Saint-Antoine des Ermites de saint Augustin), se titre notaire impérial et écrivain de la cour épiscopale de Famagouste.³⁰ Ces hommes qui avaient bénéficié d'une formation scolaire et parfois d'une culture littéraire et juridique, comme nous allons en rencontrer un exemple, une fois implantés dans l'île où ils exercent leur profession, y ajoutent d'autres fonctions qui étoffent leur rémunération. Et certains d'entre eux renoncèrent sans doute au notariat pour embrasser une carrière ecclésiastique.³¹

On remarque surtout ceux de ces notaires qui se sont mis au service du roi et qui ajoutent à leur titre celui de *cancellarius regis Cypri* ou de *secretarius regis Cypri*, ces deux titres étant équivalents et s'étant sans doute substitués à celui d'« écrivain de l'auditeur » cité en 1310. Tel Eudes Benoît, clerc du diocèse de Laon, *habitor Nicosie*, cité comme tel le 2 novembre 1388,³² ou Manuel de *Valente*, lui aussi notaire impérial, qu'on dit « chancelier du roi de Chypre » et qui apposa le sceau royal au bas d'une procuration accordée en 1395 au sire de Beyrouth qu'il accompagna à Avignon où il fut emprisonné et où il serait mort de

²⁹ Mas Latrie, *Documents nouveaux*, p. 352; Richard, « Vénitiens blancs », p. 126.

³⁰ Jean Robert avait bénéficié d'une indulgence plénière accordée par Grégoire XI le 18 mai 1371; il obtenait l'approbation du pape à sa fondation le 17 juin; il devait témoigner dans l'enquête pour la canonisation de saint Pierre Thomas. Borchard Junge, *habitor Famagouste*, notaire et juge impérial, ajoute à ces titres *necnon scriba episcopalis curie Famagouste* en 1422 (Mas Latrie, *Documents nouveaux*, p. 354). Quant à Marc, fils de Roland de Padoue, lui aussi notaire impérial, en 1339, il précise qu'il est aussi « maintenant » *notarius et scriba publicus domini archiepiscopi* (*Cartulary*, no. 108b).

³¹ Du moins savons-nous qu'Arnaud Bregas était en 1332 diacre à Limassol quand il obtint du pape d'être transféré à Condom (*Jean XXII (1316-1334): lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, éd. G. Mollat, 2 vols. [Paris, 1904-1905], no. 57644). Baudouin de *Clavaro* se fait pourvoir d'un canonicat en 1333 (*ibid.*, no. 60672). On peut aussi citer le cas de Gérard de la Genèbre; celui de Raymond Seguin, archidiacre et chanoine de Paphos en 1373 ou d'Antoine Michel de Voiron, sous-chantre de Nicosie en 1377. Pierre de Sermaises était chanoine de Paphos quand il mourut, en 1375.

³² Il est encore cité en 1399 comme notaire apostolique et impérial: Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 2: p. 454, et 3: p. 418.

male mort.³³ Tel encore Donato de Aprile, qualifié de notaire impérial en même temps que de notaire de Venise, qui fut successivement chancelier du bayle vénitien de Chypre, en 1465, puis chancelier du roi Jacques II, qu'il incita à léguer son royaume à Venise.³⁴ En 1472, Simon *Baradellus* de Padoue, notaire impérial lui aussi, appose son seing manuel au bas d'un acte, puis le scelle du sceau du roi, sur l'ordre de celui-ci, «en tant que chancelier»,³⁵ tandis que Thomas Ficard, autre notaire impérial, *atque ejusdem sacre majestatis secretarius*, appose en 1471 «le seing de son tabellionage» à une procuration émanant du roi.³⁶ Il semble donc que pour ces notaires publics l'entrée au service du roi dans le cadre de la chancellerie ait constitué un couronnement de carrière, et qu'ils continuent à instrumenter en tant que tabellions, quitte à associer dans leurs actes les modes de validation propres aux deux fonctions, notamment quand ils rédigeaient un acte au nom du roi.

Nous avons la bonne fortune de connaître le cheminement qu'a suivi l'un d'eux, grâce à la conservation en Italie d'un registre tenu par Benedetto degli Ovetarii de Vicence. Issu d'une famille qui comptait déjà d'autres notaires, il se disait «notaire public et juge ordinaire du Saint Empire romain» et il était entré au service de l'évêque de Bologne comme son chancelier; c'est ainsi qu'il l'avait accompagné à Rome où il assista à l'abjuration du bogomilisme par le roi de Bosnie, en 1442. En 1448, il postulait la charge de chancelier de Crète du gouvernement vénitien et expliquait, dans une lettre adressée à Gregorio Cornaro, que cette nomination lui rendrait possible la réalisation d'un pèlerinage au Saint-Sépulcre et au Mont-Sinaï «en raison de la proximité

³³ Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, p. 135, no. 2; idem, «Le royaume de Chypre et le Grand Schisme d'Occident», *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1965 (réimprimé dans, idem, *Orient et Occident au Moyen Âge: contacts et relations (XII^e-XV^e s.)*, Variorum Collected Studies [Londres, 1976], no. XVIII), pp. 498-507.

³⁴ Richard, «Vénitiens blancs», p. 126. Cf. B. Arbel, «Au service de la Sérénissime: Donato de Aprile et la donation du royaume de Chypre à Venise par Jacques II», dans M. Balard, J. Riley-Smith et B. Kedar, édts., *Dei gesta per Francos. Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 425-433.

³⁵ C'est ce document qu'il dit n'avoir pu écrire lui-même en raison de ses multiples occupations (ci-dessus, n. 24).

³⁶ Se titrant notaire impérial et secrétaire du roi Jacques II, Thomas Ficard rédige *in publicam formam*, c'est-à-dire sous forme d'acte notarié, la procuration donnée par le roi à Juan Perez Fabregues qui va négocier son mariage à Venise et il y appose le seing de son tabellionage (*signoque mei tabellionatus*): Mas Latrie, *Documents nouveaux*, p. 410. Il devait recevoir en 1479 le testament du roi. Un moment éloigné du royaume après la mort de celui-ci (ibid., pp. 446 et 521, en note), il y revint et sa famille s'y perpétua: une de ses descendantes épousa Jean de Nores, fils du comte de Tripoli (Rey, *Les familles d'outremer*, p. 492).

du lieu et de la facilité du passage». Sans doute n'avait-il pas obtenu cette charge; mais nous le retrouvons à Famagouste d'où il écrivait à un sien compatriote, le 5 juin 1452, qu'il était alors auprès du roi de Chypre qui le regardait moins comme son chancelier que comme un confident.³⁷ Était-ce sa dévotion pour les Lieux-Saints qui l'avait conduit en Orient?

C'est dans ce même registre qu'il notait, en 1456, le passage d'une comète et, en 1459, une pluie de sang qui était tombée près de sa maison, à Nicosie, auprès de l'église des Carmes. Mais ce registre n'est pas un protocole. Benedetto y a transcrit des lettres personnelles, des pièces de caractère littéraire—et ceci lui a valu d'être compté parmi les écrivains du 15^e siècle italien—, quelques documents concernant Chypre (un éloge du cardinal Hugues de Lusignan, une lettre du roi Janus au doge de Gênes, datée de 1428, donc bien antérieure à sa propre venue dans le royaume), d'autres concernant le duché de Milan, mais aucune de ces minutes sur lesquelles on tirait les instruments authentiques.³⁸ Et le seul document qui émane de sa double activité professionnelle est un acte du 15 janvier 1455 (nouveau style)—un accord entre Jean II et Venise—qui fut passé devant la Haute Cour, *juxta consuetudinem regni sui*, rédigé en forme publique et revêtu de son seing, témoignant lui aussi de la compénétration des formes de l'instrument public et de celles des actes passés devant les cours, qui paraît caractéristique des usages chypriotes.³⁹

Ainsi les notaires publics s'étaient-ils taillé une place importante dans le royaume des Lusignan où ils apportaient leur compétence et parfois une culture littéraire indéniable, mais en dépassant les limites de leur activité professionnelle, en fournissant un personnel de choix aux

³⁷ «*Ego in presentiarum sum apud hunc serenissimum dominum regem Cipri qui... sua clementia non ut cancellarium sed, si fieri liceat, sue majestati deditissimum pertractati*» (Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 11886, fol. 26).

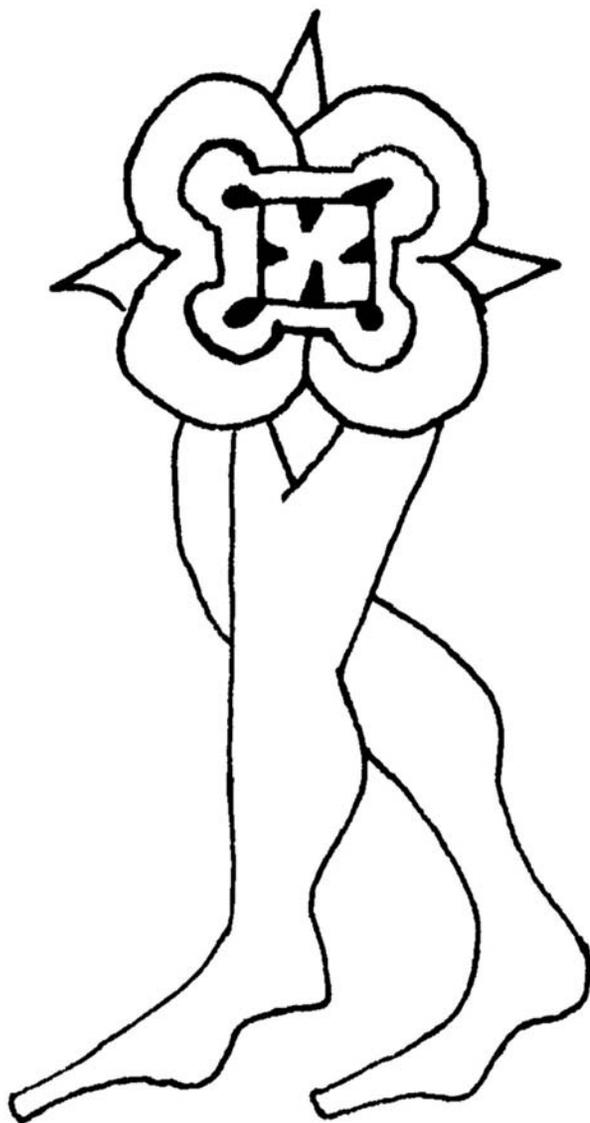
³⁸ Benedetto, qui écrivit des poèmes en latin et en italien, était aussi un helléniste: il possédait deux manuscrits grecs, dont un de Georges de Chypre, et il participa au concile de Florence; J. Darrouzès, «Autres manuscrits originaux de Chypre», *RÉB* 15 (1957), nos. 89 et 143. Son œuvre connue se réduit au recueil en question, analysé en détail par le P. Angiolgabrieolo di Santa Maria (Paolo Calvi), *Biblioteca e storia di quel scrittori così della città come del territorio di Vicenza*, t. 2 (Vicenza, 1772), pp. 85–102, d'après un manuscrit alors conservé chez les Dominicains réformés de Venise, tandis que les Bénédictins de Saint-Maur en faisaient exécuter une copie sur un manuscrit conservé chez les Bénédictins de Rome (aujourd'hui Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 11886, fols. 25–40).

³⁹ Mas Latrie, *Documents nouveaux*, p. 392. Cet évènement lui paraît devoir annoncer la mort de plusieurs personnages en vue dans le royaume.

institutions locales. La pauvreté des archives nous permet seulement d'entrevoir ce que fut leur part dans leur domaine propre, celui de la passation des contrats entre les particuliers, tout en constatant que la tradition de la réception des actes sous le sceau des cours n'avait pas disparu.

Mais l'institution notariale avait un caractère international; l'acte public fait autorité dans toute la Chrétienté. Un personnel formé essentiellement, surtout à l'origine, en Italie, et se réclamant d'autorités de caractère universel pouvait jouer son rôle dans les relations entre princes et seigneuries dans le monde méditerranéen. Des notaires sont associés à des missions diplomatiques,⁴⁰ ou passent des conventions entre les souverains et les communes en leur conférant un autre caractère que celui d'actes émanant d'une volonté royale. Et en passant du notariat public au service du roi ou des prélats, de celui d'un prince à un autre, ils contribuent à maintenir une communauté de coutumes et de droits qui est un des liens d'une culture commune.

⁴⁰ C'est ainsi que, lorsque l'évêque Géraud de Paphos s'emploie à fournir des secours au royaume d'Arménie, en 1325, c'est un notaire, maître Jean de Foligno, qui est envoyé à deux reprises en Arménie, et qu'on se réfère à *pluribus instrumentis et processibus per ipsum confectis in negotio Armenorum*: Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, p. 47.



Seing manuel du notaire Jacques Serbay de la Porte Serpenoise, de Metz, instrumentant à Nicosie en 1372.

THE STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THE
NOTARIAL DEEDS OF LAMBERTO DI SAMBUCETO AND
GIOVANNI DA ROCHA, 1296–1310

Nicholas Coureas

There are five volumes of Genoese notarial deeds concerning Cyprus to-date, containing well over one thousand five hundred documents for the period 1296 to 1310, not to mention the older publications of Cornelius Desimoni.¹ These documents yield valuable information not only on the commercial activity that characterized Cyprus in these years, but, more generally, on the social, religious, judicial, and economic features of the Lusignan regime. A proper appreciation of the structure and contents of these documents enables one to realize their potential to the full and appreciate the value, the diversity and, on occasion, even the uniqueness of the information they disclose.

In terms of structure most of these documents are divisible into three parts. The first is the invocation, the invariable formulaic phrase “in nomine Domini, Amen.” The second part, constituting the main business of the document, states the parties involved and the nature of their business. The parties themselves were usually merchants from Genoa, as one would expect from documents drawn up by a Genoese notary, but they also included Venetians, persons from other towns in Italy such as Pisans, Florentines and Anconitans, and persons originating from Catalonia, Provence, or Ragusa.² They could, moreover, also

¹ C. Desimoni, “Actes passés à Famagouste de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto,” *AOL* 2 (1884), pp. 5–120; idem, *ROL* 1 (1893), pp. 58–139, 275–312, 321–353; *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 luglio 1300–3 agosto 1301)*, ed. V. Polonio, CSFS 31 (Genoa, 1982); *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (6 luglio–27 ottobre 1301)*, ed. R. Pavoni, CSFS 32 (Genoa, 1982); *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 ottobre 1296–23 giugno 1299)*, ed. M. Balard, CSFS 39 (Genoa, 1983); *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (31 marzo 1304–19 luglio 1305, 4 gennaio–12 luglio 1307)*, *Giovanni da Rocha (3 agosto 1308–14 marzo 1310)*, ed. M. Balard, CSFS 43 (Genoa, 1984); *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (gennaio–agosto 1302)*, ed. R. Pavoni, CSFS 49 (Genoa, 1987), hereafter cited as CSFS volume plus document number.

² CSFS 31, no. 272; CSFS 32, nos. 4, 18, 23, 39, 174; CSFS 49, nos. 65, 157, 176,

include refugees from Latin Syria who had settled on Cyprus, either Latin Christians, Greeks, especially from Antioch, or Syrian Christians, who on occasion fell into the categories known as “White Genoese” or “White Venetians.”³

Turning to the business transacted, in many cases this is simply a sum of money lent by one party to another. Sometimes, however, the business may involve a *commenda*-type loan, otherwise known as a sea-loan. Under the terms of such a loan, one party provided the capital, either in the form of cash or even in kind, such as textiles or agricultural produce, while the other party undertook either to sell the merchandise entrusted to him, returning the proceeds but keeping a share of the profit, or else to purchase goods with the money entrusted to him, once again keeping a portion of these goods.⁴ Sometimes the destination that the borrower was to journey to and the nature of the goods that he was to purchase are specified, while at other times either or both of these matters are left to his discretion. Indeed, on occasion the destination is deliberately withheld or given in a very general manner, such as “a port of his own choosing,” no doubt so as to hide the fact that it was one of the Muslim ports forbidden to western merchants under the terms of the papal embargo on direct trade with the Muslims, promulgated in 1292, one year after the fall of Acre and Tyre to the Mamluks, and lasting until 1344.⁵ The share of the profits kept by the borrower was

204, 206, 227a, 265; C. Otten, “Les Pisans en Chypre au Moyen Age,” in *Πρακτικά του Δευτέρου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου*, 3 vols. (1986), 2: pp. 127–143; M. Balard, “Les Venitiens en Chypre dans les années 1300,” *BF* 12 (1987), pp. 589, 593–602; P. W. Edbury, “Famagusta Society ca. 1300 from the Registers of Lamberto di Sambuceto,” in H. E. Mayer and E. Müller-Luckner, eds., *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft. Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs 37 (Munich, 1997), pp. 87–95; N. Coureas, “Provençal Trade with Cyprus in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” *EKEE* 22 (1996), pp. 72–80; idem, “Profits and Piracy: Commercial Relations between Cyprus and Catalonia from 1291 to 1429,” *EKEE* 23 (1997), pp. 33 and 39–48; idem, “Commercial Relations between Cyprus and Florence in the Fourteenth Century,” *EKEE* 25 (1999), pp. 53–61; idem, “Commerce between Cyprus and Ancona in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century,” *Mésogeios* 6 (1999), pp. 47–57; idem, “Cyprus and Ragusa (Dubrovnik) 1280–1450,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 17/2 (2002), pp. 2–5.

³ D. Jacoby, “Citoyens, sujets et protégés de Venise et de Gênes en Chypre du XIII^e au XV^e siècle,” *BF* 5 (1977), pp. 159–165; Coureas, “Cyprus and Ancona,” pp. 49–56; idem, “Cyprus and Ragusa,” pp. 4–5; see, also, the contribution of M. Balard in this volume.

⁴ CSFS 31, nos. 211, 246–247, 413; CSFS 32, nos. 218–219; E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 40–43.

⁵ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, nos. 109, 143, 158, and *ROL* 1, nos. 391, 470, 474, 479, 487;

normally one half, but if he was journeying to areas considered risky on account of war or piracy this was normally reduced to one third in the Aegean area and one fourth for the eastern Mediterranean.⁶

Notarial deeds in which one party simply confirms a currency exchange or the repayment of a sum borrowed by the other party are common, and fall into the large category of deeds involving loans in either cash or kind.⁷ This category also includes notarial deeds listing valuable objects, merchandise, or sums handed over as security for loans given and deeds in which a third party undertakes before the creditor to act as the guarantor for the debtor.⁸ The appointment of procurators, mainly in order to recover unpaid debts for borrowers unable to stay *in situ* to do so themselves, also falls into this category of deeds involving loans.⁹

Other than loans, the contents of notarial deeds could involve money transfers, the establishment of a trading association or partnership, the drawing up of a will, the purchase or manumission of a slave, or even the transport of persons from one destination to another.¹⁰ In most cases the parties involved in such transactions were merchants, but other categories of persons included doctors, tavern-keepers, coopers, and caulkers.¹¹ Last but by no means least, the notarial deeds furnish information on the presence and activities of women within Cypriot society. Women appear not only as the wives, mothers, daughters, or sisters of the merchants trading in Famagusta but even as traders in their own right, while in other contexts they appear as nuns belonging to the various Roman Catholic religious orders or as slaves.¹² The diversity of both the types of business dealt with and of the parties

CSFS 31, nos. 116, 148, 246–247, 276, 307, 413; CSFS 32, no. 18; CSFS 39, no. 149; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, pp. 17–22, 66–69.

⁶ CSFS 43, no. 44; CSFS 43 (Rocha), no. 85; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, p. 43.

⁷ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, nos. 58 and 81; CSFS 31, nos. 57–58, 64, 337; CSFS 39, nos. 10, 36; CSFS 49, nos. 64, 185.

⁸ CSFS 31, nos. 313, 342; CSFS 39, no. 111; CSFS 49, no. 87.

⁹ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, no. 204; CSFS 31, nos. 121, 360; CSFS 32, nos. 2, 197.

¹⁰ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, no. 118; CSFS 31, nos. 145, 219, 258, 270, 272, 410; CSFS 32, no. 239; CSFS 43, nos. 29, 36.

¹¹ CSFS 31, nos. 2, 92, 195, 197, 246–247, 269, 274, 278, 285–86, 418; CSFS 32, nos. 18, 20–21, 84, 126, 136, 150–151, 168, 173; CSFS 39, no. 120; CSFS 43, no. 36, (Rocha), nos. 18, 20, 59, 74, 76; CSFS 49, nos. 12, 41, 81, 100, 121, 133, 140, 142, 164, 208, 231–232, 234, 276–278.

¹² Desimoni, *AOL* 2, no. 110; CSFS 31, nos. 145, 415; CSFS 32, no. 51; CSFS 39, no. 43; CSFS 43, no. 92.

involved is what makes these contracts a valuable source not simply for the commercial history of Cyprus and the Mediterranean in general but also for the social, religious and cultural history of the island, serving to underline not only its commercial importance during the period under discussion but also the multiethnic and multi-confessional nature of Cypriot society, as well as its social composition.

The third part of the documents in question consists of the place in which the contract was signed and the witnesses who were present, both of which form valuable sources of historical knowledge. Nearly all the documents were drawn up in Famagusta and the locations attested yield precious information on the topography of this coastal city, which by the end of the thirteenth century had developed into the main commercial port of the Lusignan kingdom.¹³ From an examination of the locations given one gleans references to hospitals, hostels of the military orders, churches, squares, shops or streets, the customs house, the law courts, and warehouses in Famagusta.¹⁴ From 1300 to 1307 the spice shop of the merchant Berthozius Latinus in Famagusta was an especially favoured meeting place and this in itself is indicative of the importance that the spice trade had in Cyprus, as throughout the Mediterranean and the Near East in general.¹⁵ There are references to the Templar house in Famagusta, the “street of the Temple,” and even to a preceptor “de volta Templi,” the word *volta* being a Genoese term signifying the shop of a trader at some level below that of his house.¹⁶ The deeds also mention the royal exchange, the royal, Venetian and Genoese *loggias*, merchants’ shops, shops of the Genoese commune, the Genoese commercial court, and the “*ruga coperta*,” the covered street perhaps running through the town’s covered market.¹⁷ Besides the

¹³ D. Jacoby, “The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century,” *Μελέται και Υπομνήματα* 1 (1984), pp. 145–179.

¹⁴ M. Balard, “Famagouste au début du XIV^e siècle,” in J. Heers, ed., *Fortifications, portes de villes, places publiques dans le monde méditerranéen* (Paris, 1985), esp. references to Sambuceto’s deeds on pp. 279–288; P. W. Edbury, “Famagusta in 1300,” in N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, eds., *Η Κύπρος και οι Σταυροφορίες/Cyprus and the Crusades. Papers Given at the International Conference “Cyprus and the Crusades” (Nicosia, 1994)* (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 337–353, esp. his references to Sambuceto’s notarial deeds.

¹⁵ CSFS 31, nos. 56, 65, 128, 211, 217, 281, 417; CSFS 32, nos. 44, 69, 151, 169, 174, 176, 211–212, 226, 231, 234, and passim; CSFS 43, nos. 90–92, 103, 105, 118, 122, 126, 131, 140, 148, 154, and passim; CSFS 49, nos. 11, 14–15, 64.

¹⁶ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, no. 74; CSFS 31, nos. 166, 171; CSFS 49, nos. 60, 150.

¹⁷ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, nos. 76, 114–115, 119, 121, 123, 126–127, 129, 132–133, 134–135, 137, 139–140, 143–144, 147, 162; CSFS 32, no. 42.

notarial deeds concerning Famagusta, there is also a group of forty-eight deeds drawn up in Nicosia between March and December 1297, which likewise furnishes valuable information on the topography of the capital, such as the law courts of the viscount and of the Syrians, the royal palace, the church dedicated to Saint Lawrence, almost certainly Genoese, the cemetery of Saint Michael *de foris*, or the baths originally granted to the commune of Genoa under the terms of the treaty of 1232.¹⁸

As regards the witnesses present at the signing of such documents, one observes that they illustrate the ethnic and social mix of the people residing in or passing through the capital or the main port city of Cyprus. As one would expect from documents drawn up by Genoese notaries, many witnesses were Genoese, but Venetians, Pisans, Florentines, Anconitans, Ragusans, Provençals, and Catalans are also attested, as are refugees from Latin Syria.¹⁹ Socially, most were merchants, but the others included doctors, court officers, artisans, coopers, barbers, candle-makers, cutlers, furriers, caulkers, carpenters, painters, drapers, skimmers, tailors, or tavern-keepers, but also members of military orders and prominent families from among the Genoese trading aristocracy.²⁰

The main contents of the notarial deeds merit a more detailed analysis in the context of both the short- to medium-distance local trade and the long distance international trade, and in particular the carrying trade, which were both features of the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and even beyond. Goods were imported to and exported from Cyprus, but many goods were simply transshipped via Cyprus from east to west or vice versa. The imported goods from the west consisted chiefly of textiles, such as cloths from Chalons in France or woolens from various parts of Western Europe, salted meat, wheat in times of drought and famine, and also olive oil from Spain, the latter used in the manufacture of soap.²¹ It should be noted here by way of a caution that the notarial

¹⁸ CSFS 39, nos. 46, 52–53, 60, 64–65, 73–74, 83.

¹⁹ CSFS 31, nos. 64, 75, 79, 84, 86, 89, 102, 139, 142, 148, 164, 166, 171, 178, 228, 262–263, 276, 280; CSFS 39, nos. 48–49, 56, 76, 83; CSFS 49, no. 13, 116, 187, 195. See, also, above, nn. 2–3.

²⁰ CSFS 31, nos. 140–141, 285–286; CSFS 39, nos. 94–95, 101–102; CSFS 43, nos. 17, 29; CSFS 49, nos. 20, 24, 32, 36, 49, 52–53, 55, 57, 62, 161, 180, 182, 185, 193, 196, 200, 204, 207a, 208, 225, 234, 236, 242, 245, 249, 250a, 251, 285–286.

²¹ CSFS 31, nos. 148, 226.

deeds of Sambuceto and Rocha do not give a complete picture of the goods imported to Cyprus. There is no mention of the unrefined silk, silken fabrics, alum, wool, and goatskins originating from the Seljuk sultanate based at Konya in Turkey, nor of the saffron, tin, enamel, lead, silks, rice, and kohl, a mineral extracted from the region of Tarragona, which the Catalans imported into the island, nor even of the all-important import of Catalan silver, or of paper from the Spanish town of Jativa.²² What are mentioned are the imports of cheese from Crete, of spices, especially pepper, from the East, and the traffic in slaves, who in the period under discussion were chiefly Muslims and Greeks from the Aegean area, although they occasionally included Slavs from the hinterland of Ragusa.²³ Furthermore, the import of iron from Cilician Armenia to Nicosia in November 1277 is mentioned in the notarial acts of another Genoese notary, Pietro di Bargone.²⁴

The documents are an important source for Cypriot exports, including transshipments. Goods transshipped included cotton from Syria and Armenia. A considerable quantity of such cotton was sent to Ancona, a centre for the distribution of cloth throughout Italy, and Latin Christian refugees from Laodicea and Antioch, including Greeks from Antioch, played a key role in its transport.²⁵ Other goods in transit included felt hats from Cilician Armenia and mastic from the island of Chios, which by the mid-fourteenth century came under Genoese control.²⁶ Of the Cypriot exports, sugar was arguably the most important, being exported throughout Western Europe and especially to Italy, and one notes here that the port of Limassol, although displaced by Famagusta as the chief port of the kingdom, continued to be important as an outlet for its export. In this respect, it is worth pointing out that although the over-

²² L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852–1861), 1: p. 315 and nn. 2, 4; M. D. Cabanes Pecourt, "Nota documental sobre el papel de Chipre," *Laperzas* 4 (1972), pp. 267–272; J. M. Madurell i Marimón and A. García i Sanz, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas de la baja Edad Media* (Barcelona, 1973), nos. 99, 102–103, 106; J. Plana i Borrás, "The Accounts of Joan Benet's Trading Venture from Barcelona to Famagusta, 1343," *EKEE* 19 (1992), pp. 112–114.

²³ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, no. 110; CSFS 31, nos. 102, 102a; CSFS 32, nos. 48, 95, 148; CSFS 39, nos. 159–160.

²⁴ *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti Rogati a Laiazzo da Federico di Piazzalunga (1274) e Pietro di Bargone (1277, 1279)*, ed. L. Balletto, CSFS 53 (Genoa, 1989), no. 46.

²⁵ Desimoni, *ROL* 1, no. 274; CSFS 31, nos. 48, 54, 59; CSFS 32, nos. 181–182, 185, 186, 188, 192–196, 198–200, 202–208, 220–222; CSFS 43, no. 153; Coureas, "Cyprus and Ancona," pp. 49–51, 54.

²⁶ CSFS 31, nos. 121, 299.

whelming majority of Sambuceto's acts were prepared in Famagusta, they also furnish important information on the goods exported and imported from the harbours of Limassol and Paphos. Limassol was also the main port for the export of carobs, which, like sugar, was destined for Western Europe and Italy in particular, but also for Constantinople and even Tunis, a rare instance of a Muslim land being specifically mentioned as an export destination, despite the aforementioned papal embargo.²⁷ Other goods exported from Limassol were wine, laudanum, soap, timber, and tin, although the last article was certainly sent in transit.²⁸ One deed mentions wheat and pulses to be loaded in Limassol on board a ship sailing from Famagusta to Cilician Armenia, while others allude to the same commodities being exported there from Famagusta and Paphos.²⁹ Other Cypriot exports to Cilician Armenia included salt from the salt lakes at Salines and Limassol, barley for the manufacture of beer, olive oil, and wine.³⁰ Camlets, a high value Cypriot export consisting of refined goat or camel hair threaded with gold and dyed in various colours, are first attested as being manufactured in Cyprus in 1300. They were exported throughout Europe and the Near East, even as far as the Black Sea region, but Sambuceto's acts are important in attesting the earliest exports of this significant article, from February 1307 if not earlier.³¹

The diverse national origins of the merchants trading in Cyprus are fully brought out by an examination of the deeds of Sambuceto and Rocha, and these deeds yield important information on them in another respect, their residential and legal status. Where parties to a contract are specifically designated as "habitatores" of Famagusta or Nicosia, one knows that the persons in question were permanent residents,³² not simply merchants visiting the island, while the term "burgenses" denotes persons with burgess status, that is urban residents with specific legal rights and obligations.³³ The notarial deeds also contain references to

²⁷ CSFS 31, nos. 29, 73; CSFS 49, no. 266.

²⁸ CSFS 31, nos. 29, 165; CSFS 43, nos. 148, 152 (Sambuceto).

²⁹ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, nos. 62, 106, 112, 155; idem, *ROL* 1, nos. 410, 414, 424, 440, 451, 455; CSFS 31, nos. 56, 127.

³⁰ Desimoni, *ROL* 1, no. 455; CSFS 43, nos. 34 (Sambuceto), 75 (Rocha).

³¹ CSFS 43, no. 70 (Sambuceto); D. Jacoby, "Το εμπόριο και η οικονομία της Κύπρου," in Th. Papadopoulos, ed., *Ιστορία της Κύπρου. 4. Μεσαιωνικόν Βασίλειον—Ενετοκρατία* (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 420–421.

³² CSFS 49, nos. 30, 41, 166, 169–173.

³³ CSFS 49, nos. 86, 116, 135, 159, 167.

those persons known as “White Genoese,” normally Eastern Christians from places formerly part of Latin Syria, such as Jubail or Marqab, who were subjects of Genoa and so entitled to Genoese legal and consular protection, although due to their Genoese bias they lack corresponding allusions to “White Venetians,” that is the Eastern Christians likewise subject to and protected by Venice.³⁴ The deeds inform us, furthermore, on when some of the other trading nations established consulates on Cyprus, and from them one learns that, by 1299, the Narbonnais, the Montpellerins, and the Marseillais all had consuls in Famagusta.³⁵ The Catalans, the Pisans, and the Anconitans also enjoyed consular representation, and a document of 1302 referring to Nicholas Zugno as the *consul Venetorum in Cipro* six years earlier shows that he had this appointment by 1296.³⁶

Furthermore, references to consuls, court officers, such as the *platearii* or the *bastonerii*, and key buildings in Nicosia, Famagusta, and Limassol, such as the *loggias*, the bishop’s palace, bathhouses, bonded warehouses, shops (*staciones*), and ovens of the Genoese, Venetian, Marseillais, and other trading communities enable one to understand better their institutional presence and organization in Cyprus, not simply their mercantile activities.³⁷ The forty-eight notarial deeds concerning Genoese activities in Nicosia in 1297 allude to the clerkships of Nicosia and Famagusta conferred by the captains of Genoa—responsible for administering overseas colonies on a yearly basis—to the scribes of Genoese overseas communes. Several deeds refer to a certain Nicolinus Binellus and his successor, Thomas de Fossato, as scribes of the Genoese commune in Famagusta. These deeds also mention the office of distrainer, whose duties were to seize the goods of debtors unable to repay, rather like the present-day bailiffs in the United Kingdom.³⁸

The deeds of Sambuceto also furnish information on an important activity ancillary to trade and forming its life-blood, international banking. They record the major banking operations of the Florentine banking houses of the Bardi, the Peruzzi, and the Mozzi, who practiced

³⁴ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, nos. 7, 10, 90; CSFS 39, nos. 46, 75–76; CSFS 49, nos. 41, 190, 257–258.

³⁵ CSFS 39, nos. 103–105, 146, 159–160.

³⁶ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, no. 169; CSFS 39, no. 149; Jacoby, “Famagusta,” p. 169 and esp. nn. 149–150; Otten, “Pisans,” p. 133 and esp. n. 67.

³⁷ CSFS 31, no. 22; CSFS 39, nos. 50, 55–56, 58–59, 74, 90, 104–105, 149; CSFS 49, nos. 23, 57, 259, 262; CSFS 43, nos. 2–3, 7 (Rocha).

³⁸ CSFS 31, nos. 12, 18, 72, 406; CSFS 32, nos. 23, 153; CSFS 39, nos. 56–57.

large-scale money lending on the island, arranged for the importation of grain from Apulia in the Angevin kingdom of Naples during a period of drought, and lent or borrowed money in deals involving Latin Christians, Sicilians, Anconitans and Majorcans, as well as Genoese. The Piacenzan banking house of Cavazoli was also active in Cyprus in the field of money transfers, while moneylenders in Nicosia advanced sums to representatives of the Peruzzi.³⁹

Sambuceto's deeds show how members of the Latin clergy, both the secular clergy and members of the Roman Catholic military orders of the Temple and the Hospital, were prominent in commercial money lending and in other business ventures. The Genoese cleric Andrea Tartaro, who had a canonical prebend drawn from the incomes of the Latin Church in Limassol and who became archdeacon of Paphos in around 1310, was active as an agent for moneylenders, as a witness to commercial transactions, including one involving the export of cotton from Famagusta, as a borrower of large sums for various commercial enterprises, and as an investor in a trading venture to the Aegean area.⁴⁰ The Templar physician Theodore lent the impressive sum of 16,350 *livres tournois* to the Catalan count of Emprenza, who repaid the money to Theodore's brother. The Hospitallers arranged currency exchanges with Montpellerins and in February 1301 a Catalan merchant undertook to transport Templars from Cyprus to Majorca. Armenian cotton was shipped to Marseilles via Cyprus on board of Hospitaller ships.⁴¹ Templar ships transported merchandise from Cyprus to Marseilles for merchants from Piacenza in Italy, as appears from a deed of 1301.⁴² Both Templars and Hospitallers had relations with prominent Genoese merchants. The Templars hired ships out to the Genoese and on occasion also from them, as when in 1300 the Templar preceptor Peter Vares hired a ship from Peter Rubeus, a member of one of the prominent Genoese trading families.⁴³ Furthermore, one could mention in this context that the testimony of Genoese merchants

³⁹ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, no. 109; CSFS 31, nos. 57, 64, 102, 142, 178, 248, 262–263, 343; CSFS 39, nos. 10, 36, 111; CSFS 43, no. 98 (Sambuceto), nos. 61, 80, 85 (Rocha); CSFS 49, no. 64.

⁴⁰ CSFS 32, nos. 137–138, 147, 238; CSFS 43, nos. 25–27 (Rocha); CSFS 49, no. 158.

⁴¹ CSFS 31, nos. 148, 166, 171, 219, 258; CSFS 32, no. 6; CSFS 49, nos. 109, 142, 163, 167.

⁴² CSFS 31, no. 246.

⁴³ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, no. 74.

at the trial of the Templars on Cyprus in 1310 was favourable to the Order.⁴⁴ As for the Hospitallers, they found Genoese purchasers for galleys initially bought from them to conquer Rhodes, as appears from deeds of March 1307.⁴⁵

The notarial deeds of Sambuceto shed important light on both legal and social aspects of the history of Lusignan Cyprus. The legal institutions of the crown of Cyprus are also referred to in Sambuceto's deeds. The court of burgesses in the city of Famagusta, the viscount presiding over the court of burgesses in Nicosia as well as the court itself and one of its jurors, the castellan and the court of the castellan in Famagusta, the jurors of this court and the jurors of the court of burgesses in Famagusta, all appear in the notarial deeds of Sambuceto, as does the marine court of Famagusta subject to the city's castellan.⁴⁶ The chain stretching across the harbour mouth of Famagusta is first mentioned in a document of 1296, an important reference to the defensive measures the Crown undertook for this key commercial port, and the Court of the Chain mentioned in the *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois* was probably the court of the castellan, named after the harbour chain on account of its proximity to it.⁴⁷

As regards social issues, those notarial deeds of Sambuceto constituting bequests furnish invaluable information on religious and valetudinarian orders such as the Order of Saint Anthony of Vienne (France) in Famagusta, the obscure ecclesiastical group known as the Flanci, who also possessed a hospital, and the lepers of Saint Lazarus and their house in Nicosia.⁴⁸ The existence of a royal hospital in Famagusta from the early fourteenth century onwards is likewise recorded only in these deeds.⁴⁹ Indeed they are the only extant historical source testifying to the existence of these groups and hospitals in Cyprus. Such bequests, and

⁴⁴ N. Coureas, "The Role of the Templars and the Hospitallers in the Movement of Commodities Involving Cyprus, 1191–1312," in P. W. Edbury and J. Phillips, eds., *The Experience of Crusading 2. Defining the Crusader Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 268–272.

⁴⁵ CSFS 43 (Sambuceto), nos. 110, 115.

⁴⁶ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, nos. 114–15, 118; CSFS 32, nos. 36, 89, 122; CSFS 39, nos. 13, 46, 155; CSFS 49, no. 278.

⁴⁷ CSFS 39, no. 21; Edbury, "Famagusta," p. 339; N. Coureas, *The Assises of the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2002), Codex One, §§ 41–43, 45–46, 274; Codex Two, §§ 42, 44, 46–47, 272.

⁴⁸ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, nos. 91, 101, 138; idem, *ROL* 1, no. 374; CSFS 31, nos. 61, 145, 415; CSFS 32, no. 51; CSFS 39, nos. 10, 150; CSFS 49, no. 253.

⁴⁹ CSFS 31, nos. 145, 420; CSFS 32, nos. 6, 22.

here the will of the Narbonnese merchant Bernard Faixit merits special mention, also shed light on persons and social groups in Cyprus benefiting from charity on account of their poverty. Sometimes they are simply referred to as “the poor of Christ,” but at other times specific groups such as poor damsels needing dowries to get married, widows, orphans, and the infirm are mentioned.⁵⁰ The social profile of the donors is also alluded to on occasion in these deeds. Most were merchants, but two were widows, and one a Genoese shoemaker, an indication that the donors themselves were not invariably wealthy.⁵¹ Even the form of the charitable bequests, whether cash, bread, clothing, or proceeds from the sale of goods, is often specified.⁵² The liberation of Christian captives in non-Christian lands, an important charitable enterprise, also figures in the notarial deeds, and the Genoese merchant Nicholas de Camezana left ten bezants in his will for their redemption.⁵³

The foregoing discussion on the types and nature of the information to be gleaned from the notarial deeds of Sambuceto and Rocha now invites us to examine the other side of the coin: what are the things that these deeds do not tell us about? Firstly, all these deeds were drawn up by Genoese notaries and so the information available on the activities of Venetians, Provençals, Catalans, Ragusans, and other groups of western merchants, or non-Genoese westerners in general, is less than it would be if groups of documents drawn up by notaries originating from the other trading nations had also survived the passage of time. Secondly, Greeks and members of the Eastern Christian confessions resident in Cyprus, Maronites, Jacobites, Nestorians, and Armenians, must have also participated in international trade, especially the short-to middle-distance trade involving Syria, Palestine, Cilician Armenia, and even Crete or Rhodes, but any written evidence they produced of their activities has not come down to us; the Genoese notarial deeds, prepared mainly for Genoese and other western merchants and in general involving large sums of money, shed hardly any light on their activities, which probably centred on small-scale trade between Cyprus, Syria, Cilician Armenia, and Egypt, except as regards their role in the transportation of cotton from or via Cyprus to the West. Thirdly, these

⁵⁰ CSFS 31, no. 145; CSFS 39, no. 116; CSFS 49, no. 33.

⁵¹ CSFS 31, nos. 8, 22, 26, 145, 165; CSFS 32, nos. 38, 51, 126; CSFS 39, nos. 13, 24, 29, 116; CSFS 49, nos. 33, 281.

⁵² CSFS 31, nos. 26, 145, 165; CSFS 39, no. 24; CSFS 49, no. 33.

⁵³ CSFS 32, no. 51.

documents provide some useful information on the middle-distance trade between Cyprus and the Venetian possession of Crete,⁵⁴ but are far less informative on trade between Cyprus and Euboea, or with Hospitaller Rhodes.⁵⁵ This is partly because of their Genoese bias, but also because of their date-range (from 1296 until 1310): Venice did not consolidate her hold over Euboea until the 1360s, while the Hospitallers only conquered Rhodes in 1309–1310, although, admittedly, the Genoese had relations with Byzantine Rhodes prior to this.⁵⁶ On trade with the Genoese colonies of Chios, Pera, and Caffa on the Black Sea these documents afford better information, not least on the role played by prominent Genoese trading families.⁵⁷ Lastly, the fifteen-year time-span of these documents means that Cyprus's role in international trade in the decades preceding and immediately following the period covered by these documents is practically unrecorded. In this particular respect it cannot be emphasized too strongly that, for the time before and after 1296 to 1310, the Genoese notarial deeds are as conspicuous by their absence as they are by their presence for those years, which they cover in such an extensive, diverse, and illuminating manner.

⁵⁴ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, nos. 113, 134, 158, 181, *idem*, *ROL* 1, no. 323; CSFS 31, nos. 8, 76, 82, 213; CSFS 32, nos. 29, 39, 48, 95, 148; CSFS 39, no. 13; CSFS 43, no. 151 (Sambuceto); CSFS 49, nos. 56, 105.

⁵⁵ Desimoni, *AOL* 2, nos. 127, 137; CSFS 31, no. 272; CSFS 32, no. 235; CSFS 39, no. 155; CSFS 43, nos. 29, 36, 64, 84, 103, 110, 115, 148, 152 (Sambuceto), nos. 23, 80 (Rocha); CSFS 49, no. 100.

⁵⁶ A. Luttrell, "The Genoese at Rhodes, 1306–1312," in L. Balletto, ed., *Oriente e Occidente tra medioevo ed età moderna. Studi in onore di Geo Pistarino* (Genoa, 1997), 2: pp. 737–761; N. Coureas, "Commercial Relations between Lusignan Cyprus and Hospitaller Rhodes in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Mésogeios* 4 (1999), pp. 103–107; *idem*, "Cyprus and Euboea in the Mid-Fourteenth Century," *Σύμμεικτα* 16 (2003–2004), pp. 87–89.

⁵⁷ N. Coureas, "Commercial Relations between Cyprus and Chios, 1300–1480," *EKEE* 29 (2003), pp. 37–51; *idem*, "Commercial Relations between Cyprus and the Genoese Colonies of Pera and Caffa, 1297–1459," *EKEE* 30 (2004), pp. 153–169.

LA MASSARIA GÉNOISE DE FAMAGOUSTE

Michel Balard

La préservation des documents est dans bien des cas le fruit du hasard. On le constate lorsque l'on s'intéresse à l'histoire de Famagouste. A la suite d'un incident de protocole survenu entre Génois et Vénitiens lors des fêtes du couronnement de Pierre II (octobre 1372), les Chypriotes prennent parti pour ces derniers. Des Génois sont tués, leurs biens pillés, sans que le roi consente des excuses et des dédommagements. Gênes organise alors une expédition sous la conduite de Pietro de Campofregoso. Victorieux des troupes chypriotes, l'amiral génois impose un traité léonin à Pierre II le 21 octobre 1374.¹ Famagouste est alors confiée aux Génois, en gage des lourdes indemnités dues par le roi: 40.000 florins par an en perpétuité, en dédommagement des frais occasionnés par l'expédition de Pietro de Campofregoso, 2.012.400 florins aux membres de la Mahone qui ont financé en partie l'armement de la flotte et 90.000 florins attribués à l'amiral victorieux. A la mort de Pierre II, son oncle, Jacques de Lusignan, otage à Gênes, lui succède, non sans que la Commune lui impose, avant son départ pour l'Orient, un nouveau traité le 19 février 1383.² La dette des Lusignan n'étant pas payée, la ville de Famagouste passe entièrement sous la souveraineté de Gênes, qui y exercera à l'avenir le *merum et mixtum imperium* et imposera les lois génoises dans cette enclave désormais soustraite à l'autorité royale. Jacques I^{er} s'engage par ailleurs à verser 852.000 florins en dix annuités payables exclusivement aux Mahonais.

On peut donc penser que dès 1374, l'administration génoise installée dans le principal port de l'île a tenu régulièrement ses registres de chancellerie et de comptes pour garder en mémoire sa gestion quotidienne et la justifier devant les autorités de la métropole. Le fait est confirmé par la liste des registres qui se trouvaient en 1448 dans

¹ *Liber Iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, vol. 2, ed. E. Ricotti, *Historiae Patriae Monumenta* 7 (Turin, 1857), cols. 806–815.

² Sur ces clauses financières, voir C. Otten-Froux, «Les relations politico-financières de Gênes avec le royaume des Lusignan (1374–1460)», dans M. Balard et A. Ducellier, éd., *Coloniser au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1995), pp. 61–75.

la maison des trésoriers génois. Le premier date de 1374. Manquent déjà les registres de 1375, de 1377 à 1379, de 1383, 1385, 1387, 1388, 1397, 1401, 1404, 1405, 1410 à 1412, 1418, 1423, 1428, 1430, 1432, 1434–1436 et 1438–1440, soit une perte de vingt-six registres sur soixante-quinze ans d'activité.³ Aujourd'hui, il faut attendre 1388 pour voir apparaître dans les archives de Gênes les premiers ordres transmis au capitaine de Famagouste,⁴ et trois ans plus tard seulement les premières délibérations conservées sur les affaires de Chypre, et qui ont été récemment publiées,⁵ ainsi que le premier livre de comptes de la Trésorerie (*Massaria*) de Famagouste. Dans cette série de registres, les solutions de continuité abondent, de manière incompréhensible. En effet, les deux trésoriers nommés par la métropole sont tenus, à leur sortie de charge, de rapporter à Gênes un exemplaire de leur registre, afin d'obtenir un quitus des autorités. La liste des volumes aujourd'hui conservés prouve qu'il n'en fut rien, ou bien que des pertes importantes ont pu se produire à l'occasion des vicissitudes qu'ont connues au cours des âges les Archives d'État de Gênes.

Soit au total vingt registres pour quatre-vingt dix ans d'administration génoise. Les lacunes sont difficilement explicables. Pourquoi une absence totale de comptes aussi bien que de délibérations au cours de la domination française à Gênes, sous la poigne méticuleuse et soucieuse de bon ordre du maréchal Boucicault? Pourquoi, à l'exception des deux registres de 1448, aucun document sur les premières années du gouvernement du Banco di San Giorgio, si soucieux d'une bonne administration, aucun aussi sur les dernières années de la domination génoise, puisque le dernier numéro de notre liste correspond en fait à un registre de l'«*Officium Famaguste*» de Gênes, chargé de percevoir une taxe instaurée pour subvenir à la défense de Famagouste, contrainte de capituler dès janvier 1464 devant les troupes de Jacques II? Il faut aussi évoquer le caractère incomplet de maint de ces registres et leur grand désordre interne, attribuable peut-être à l'incompétence des archivistes qui ont recomposé les registres en partie détruits lors du bombardement de Gênes par la flotte de Louis XIV en mai 1684.⁶

³ Archives d'État de Gênes (abrév. ASG), San Giorgio, Famagustae Massaria (abrév. FM), no. 590/1277, fol. 4v.

⁴ ASG, Famagustae Mandata capitanei 1388–1438 (no. 590/1288).

⁵ S. Bliznyuk, *Die Genuesen auf Zypern, Ende 14. und im 15. Jahrhundert*, Texte und Studien zur Byzantinistik 6 (Francfort, 2005).

⁶ Sur ce point, voir M. Moresco et G. P. Bognetti, *Per l'edizione dei notai liguri del secolo XVII* (Turin, 1938), qui donnent un aperçu de la constitution des fonds, et M. Chiaudano

Les registres de la *Massaria* de Famagouste
(ASG, San Giorgio, no. 590/1268 à 590/1287)

Date	No. du volume	Remarques
1391	590/1268	
1407	590/1269	
1408	590/1270	Officium Provisionis
1435	590/1271	
1437	590/1272	
1442	590/1273	
1442	590/1274	débris de cartulaires
1442–1443	590/1275	
1443	590/1276	
1448	590/1277	
1448	590/1278	
1456	590/1279	
1456	590/1280	
1456	590/1281	
1457	590/1282	détérioré
1458	590/1283	
1459	590/1284	
1459–1460	590/1285	
1460/1461	590/1286	
1464–1465	590/1287	

Deux exemples seulement: le registre de l'année 1408 s'ouvre au folio 49, selon la numération originelle du trésorier, soit à la lettre B, les comptes étant tenus selon l'ordre alphabétique des noms.⁷ Celui de l'année 1456 commence au folio 73 par une série de comptes des soldats-mercenaires répartis selon une liste incomplète des lieux de garnison où ils sont affectés.⁸

L'ensemble de ces registres a au moins une unité: le fait d'être tenus selon les règles de la comptabilité en partie double, adoptée par les autorités génoises au moins depuis 1340, puisque les registres antérieurs à cette date ont été détruits dans l'émeute qui a porté au pouvoir le doge Simone Boccanegra.⁹ A Famagouste, ils sont tenus par deux trésoriers

et G. Costamagna, «L'Archivio storico del Banco di San Giorgio di Genova (1385–1815)», dans *Archivi storici delle Aziende di Credito*, t. 1 (Rome, 1956), pp. 115–135.

⁷ ASG, San Giorgio, FM, no. 590/1269.

⁸ ASG, San Giorgio, FM, no. 590/1279.

⁹ V. Polonio, «L'amministrazione della *Res publica* genovese fra Tre e Quattrocento. L'Archivio 'Antico Comune'», *Atti della Società ligure di Storia patria*, n.s. 17/1 (1977), pp. 19–20.

(*massarii*), une institution qui remonte vraisemblablement au traité de 1374 conclu avec Pierre II. Ils sont choisis l'un parmi les nobles, l'autre parmi les *popolani*. Dans la hiérarchie des offices, ils viennent après les deux châtelains de Famagouste et précèdent de peu leur propre scribe, choisi dans le collège des notaires de Gênes.¹⁰ Les statuts de Famagouste élaborés par l'Office de Saint-Georges en 1447 et 1448 définissent les devoirs des trésoriers. Ils ne peuvent participer à la vente aux enchères des gabelles; ils doivent inspecter les approvisionnements, les munitions et armes de la Commune et pourvoir de pierres les murailles. Le statut leur enjoint de verser sans retard les soldes, selon l'argent disponible, de réviser chaque année leur livre de comptes, ainsi que les registres de tous les offices de Famagouste et d'envoyer tous ces écrits en métropole. Après la suppression de l'office de châtelain, ils assurent à tour de rôle la garde de nuit du *castrum*. Ils ne peuvent enfin être consuls d'une communauté étrangère. Leur rôle dépasse donc de loin la seule tenue des comptes et fait des *massarii* les adjoints du capitaine.¹¹

Leurs registres constituent une source fondamentale pour l'histoire de la domination génoise à Famagouste et complémentaire pour celle des communautés sujettes et des relations avec les autorités chypriotes. Ils sont tenus selon des critères analogues, mais avec des variations qui tiennent au soin plus ou moins grand apporté à la rédaction et au degré d'analyse des opérations effectuées. Le compte le plus important est celui qui est ouvert au nom de la Commune de Gênes à Famagouste, dans la mesure où il récapitule les principales opérations comptables. Il comporte deux sections, l'une appelée *exitus* (introduite par la date de l'écriture et son appellation: nom du créancier de la Commune, nature du compte etc.), l'autre *introitus*, c'est-à-dire les encaissements effectués au nom de la Commune; ces deux sections correspondent respectivement au *Debet* et au *Recepimus* des registres tenus en partie double. À gauche, dans le compte *exitus*, sont enregistrées les dépenses pour les salaires des officiers et pour la solde des mercenaires, les nolisements passifs, les acquisitions d'armes et d'approvisionnements, les charges diplomatiques, les dépenses pour la flotte et les travaux publics, les frais accessoires, les remboursements éventuels des emprunts, les déficits des exercices antérieurs, dont la liste est normalement donnée

¹⁰ D. Giofrè, *Liber institutionum cabellarum veterum* (Milan, 1967), pp. 194–195.

¹¹ N. Bănescu, *Le déclin de Famagouste. Fin du royaume de Chypre. Notes et documents* (Bucarest, 1946), p. 77.

à l'ouverture du registre, l'éventuel bénéfice de l'exercice en cours. A droite, sont enregistrées les recettes pour les gabelles et les emprunts, les condamnations à des amendes, les locations et nolisements actifs, les assignations en faveur de la Commune, les éventuels bénéfices des exercices antérieurs ou déficits de l'exercice en cours. Il s'agit donc d'un compte enregistrant à la fois les dépenses et les recettes effectives, ainsi que celles concernant les mouvements de capitaux. Les comptes traduisent des mouvements de caisse, mais se réfèrent aussi à des opérations regardant la compétence de la Commune (inscriptions de dettes ou échéances de créances durant l'exercice comptable). Mais les divers types d'écritures n'apparaissent pas également dans tous les registres. Parfois le bilan des exercices précédents, ou bien celui de l'exercice en cours, est omis. D'autres fois il arrive que les deux sections ne donnent pas le détail des divers mouvements, actifs et passifs, concernant une opération donnée, mais se contentent d'indiquer le solde de cette opération. Aussi importants sont les comptes ouverts au nom des deux trésoriers: ils enregistrent une grande partie des recettes et des dépenses de la caisse de la Commune. D'autres mouvements comptables ont lieu au nom des banquiers et des percepteurs des gabelles, qui, souvent, recouvrent et paient des sommes pour le compte de la Commune, en versant seulement aux trésoriers les éventuels excédents.¹² Naturellement une somme versée à un officier apparaît dans la partie *exitus* du compte «Commune», et dans la partie *introitus* du compte particulier de cet officier, de même qu'un achat de grain est enregistré dans la section gauche du compte «Commune», mais dans la section droite de l'éventuel compte «Granum». La régularité de ces opérations n'est pas toujours assurée: le solde, si important, du compte «Commune» est parfois omis, de sorte que l'on ignore si le contrôle comptable a été effectué et si le solde a été reporté sur l'exercice suivant.

Tels quels, les comptes de la *Massaria* apportent une riche moisson d'informations sur un grand nombre de sujets, mais tout d'abord sur la ville de Famagouste elle-même, ses monuments et ses remparts. La ville est en effet puissamment fortifiée. Les soldes versées aux membres de la garnison génoise énumèrent les lieux où ceux-ci sont en poste. On rencontre successivement: une petite tour (*turachus*) entre la tour du mastic et la tour de l'abattoir, la tour de l'abattoir, une petite tour de l'abattoir, la bretèche de la Cava, la tour de la Cava, la tour de

¹² Sur ces pratiques voir Polonio, «L'amministrazione», pp. 80–81.

Maruffus, la tour des Guarco, la bretèche du mastic, la tour du mastic, la bretèche de la *logia*, deux «échelles» proches de l'arsenal, la tour du grain, la bretèche de Morfou, la petite tour près du *castrum*, la tour du *comerc*, la tour Parmerio, la tour de la Juiverie, la bretèche de la Juiverie, l'«échelle» de l'arsenal, la tour de l'arsenal, la tour du Milieu, la tour Succi, la petite tour Succi, la bretèche de Saint-Antoine, l'«échelle» de Saint-Antoine, la tour de Limassol, l'«échelle» de Limassol, la bretèche de Limassol, la bretèche Rocha et la tour Rocha, soit au total quatorze tours, quatre petites tours, neuf bretèches et cinq échelles, défendues par 250 mercenaires, auxquels s'adjoignent 186 soldats non affectés à une tour particulière (*residuum* dans les comptes), 52 porteurs d'armes (*armigerii*) et trois officiers.¹³

Entrons dans la ville. Comme la métropole génoise, elle est divisée en *contrade*, le mot étant souvent synonyme de rue. Certaines portent le nom de l'église voisine, Sainte-Catherine, Saint-Côme, Sainte-Marie du Mont Carmel, Saint-Etienne, Saint-Dominique et Saint-Antoine. D'autres tirent leur appellation de la tour ou de la bretèche qui les jouxtent (*contrada* de Limassol, de la Juiverie, de la tour du Milieu). D'autres, enfin, rappellent la présence majoritaire d'un corps de métier particulier, comme la *contrada* des barbiers, celle des forgerons, celle des couteliers, celle des inspecteurs des poids et mesures. Jardins et vergers parsèment le paysage urbain près des portes et de l'arsenal.¹⁴ Les comptes d'aumônes faites par les autorités génoises donnent la liste des églises catholiques bénéficiant de la bienveillance officielle: Saint-François, Saint-Dominique, Saint-Augustin, Saint-Nicolas, Sainte-Marie du Mont Carmel, Sainte-Claire, couvent de moniales, Sainte-Anne, Sainte-Marie de Tyr, Sainte-Marie de Tortose, Sainte-Marie de Bethléem, ces trois édifices rappelant l'importance de l'immigration en provenance de Terre sainte dans les dernières décennies des États latins, Sainte-Marie-Madeleine, Saint-Jean, l'hôpital Saint-Étienne et Sainte-Catherine, décrite comme une église neuve, tandis que sont aussi citées les églises de Saint-Pantaleon, à l'extérieur de la porte de Limassol, et de Saint-Syméon, cette dernière étant dirigée par le pappate Nicolas Calogero.¹⁵ Quoique l'on ne puisse être assuré de l'exhaustivité de cette liste, elle indique que Famagouste est donc une ville bien sonnante où

¹³ ASG, San Giorgio, FM, no. 590/1279, fols. 69r–74v (année 1456).

¹⁴ ASG, San Giorgio, FM, no. 590/1268, fols. 142v, 143r–v, 144r–v (année 1391).

¹⁵ ASG, San Giorgio, Famagustae Diversorum Cancellarie, no. 590/1292, fol. 22v, et Famagustae Diversorum Negociorum, no. 590/1289, fol. 38v.

les cloches des églises et des tours sont l'objet de tout le soin des autorités.¹⁶ Bien que de dimensions réduites, Famagouste abrite ainsi une forte densité d'édifices religieux, peut-être une douzaine d'églises paroissiales pour une population qui ne devait pas dépasser quelques milliers d'habitants. Seconde ville du royaume des Lusignan, elle a accueilli les églises paroissiales, les monastères des ordres religieux traditionnels, les couvents des ordres mendiants et a servi aussi de position de repli pour les ordres militaires de Terre sainte. La domination génoise n'a pas suscité beaucoup de constructions nouvelles, en dehors de l'église de Sainte-Catherine, et peu d'argent est consenti pour l'entretien des églises existantes. A la fin du XIV^e siècle, le boom urbanistique est déjà un phénomène du passé. Des moulins sont installés à l'intérieur de la ville, dans les *contrade* des barbiers, de Saint-Côme, de Sainte-Marie du Mont Carmel et de Limassol.¹⁷

La population de Famagouste ne peut être connue que par l'étude de l'onomastique enregistrée dans les livres de la *Massaria*. Ceux-ci privilégient naturellement Génois et Ligures, partenaires habituels de l'administration, au détriment des autres strates ethniques sous-représentées. L'échantillon relevé dans le premier registre de la *Massaria* de 1391 met en évidence en effet la nette suprématie des Génois et des Ligures, qui représentent les trois quarts des noms identifiés, alors que les habitants originaires des autres régions de l'Italie ne constituent que 10% de l'échantillon et les non-Italiens 15%, en majorité des noms originaires de la Méditerranée orientale et de la mer Noire. Par rapport au début du XIV^e siècle, la proportion des Génois et des Ligures s'est accrue de plus de 50%, une hausse qui manifeste la domination politique de Gênes sur la ville et l'effacement des Vénitiens, des Florentins et des Placentins qui animaient la vie économique dans les années 1300. En 1391, on ne rencontre plus que trois Vénitiens, bien que subsiste à Famagouste un «consul et baile des Vénitiens», cinq Astesans, trois Placentins et trois Florentins. Les grandes compagnies toscanes, si actives au temps de Pegolotti, ont délaissé Famagouste, sans doute au profit de Beyrouth et d'Alexandrie, de même que les Provençaux, les Catalans et les Languedociens.¹⁸ Éliminées par la banqueroute des

¹⁶ ASG, San Giorgio, FM, no. 590/1272, fol. 69v (année 1437).

¹⁷ ASG, San Giorgio, FM, no. 590/1268, fol. 65v (année 1391).

¹⁸ M. Balard, «Οι Γενουάτες στο μεσαιωνικό βασίλειο της Κύπρου», dans Th. Papadopoulos, éd., *Ιστορία της Κύπρου. 4. Μεσαιωνικόν Βασίλειον—Ενετοκρατία* (Nicosie, 1995), pp. 288–290.

années 1343–1346, elles n'ont pas été remplacées par les nouvelles compagnies, Alberti, Strozzi ou Médicis.¹⁹

Les communautés orientales établies dans le comptoir génois sont constituées de trois groupes principaux, les Grecs, les Juifs et les Arméniens, sans compter les esclaves de diverses origines. Les Grecs sont assurément les plus nombreux: un texte génois de 1448 évoque la «*magna multitudo Grecorum*» qui a participé à une rixe avec des Génois et a mis en danger la sécurité de la ville.²⁰ L'on sait qu'ils occupaient la partie méridionale du comptoir, autour de l'église Saint-Georges des Grecs. Quelques-uns cependant ont loué des boutiques de la Commune sur la place de Saint-Nicolas ou sur celle du palais et dans la rue des barbiers, d'autres tiennent un moulin de la Commune.²¹ Parmi les 124 noms de mercenaires cités en 1456, une trentaine de Grecs comparaissent dans les comptes, soit un quart environ de l'effectif. Le Banc de Saint-Georges, en se résignant à un recrutement local, n'a plus les moyens de constituer une garnison d'origine exclusivement occidentale.²² Les Grecs ne bénéficient pas de la liberté de circulation entre la ville et le reste du royaume. Les entrées et sorties sont contrôlées et les autorités génoises n'hésitent pas à expulser les fauteurs de troubles et à confisquer leurs biens.²³

Les registres de la chancellerie génoise de Famagouste nous livrent plus d'une cinquantaine de noms de la communauté juive. Les membres proviennent surtout de Méditerranée orientale: de Chio, de Rhodes, de Candie, de Jérusalem et aussi de Caffa. Une famille de huit membres, originaire de Candie, reçoit un laissez-passer pour venir s'installer à Famagouste. L'Occident y envoie aussi quelques Juifs: un du Portugal, un d'Espagne, et surtout six d'Ancône, parmi lesquels Salomon et Abraam semblent tenir le haut du pavé. Deux de ces Juifs reçoivent des emplois publics: l'un Isaac entre comme «sonneur» dans la suite du podestat; l'autre Aaron est engagé comme crieur public lors des mises

¹⁹ Y. Renouard, *Les hommes d'affaires italiens au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1968), pp. 186–187.

²⁰ S. Fossati Raïteri, *Genova e Cipro. L'inchiesta su Pietro de Marco capitano di Genova in Famagosta (1448–1449)*, CSFS 41 (Gênes, 1984), p. 60.

²¹ ASG, FM, no. 590/1269, fols. 196v, 197r, 253v; no. 590/1272, fol. 540v; no. 590/1273, fols. 529v, 533r; no. 590/1279, fols. 84r–93r, et C. Enlart, *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1899), 1: pp. 311–319. A noter aussi que le métropolitain grec se livre à des prêts sur gages (ASG, Famagustae Diversorum Cancellarie, no. 590/1292, fol. 362).

²² ASG, FM, no. 590/1279, fols. 73v–96v.

²³ ASG, Mandata capitanei et potestatis Famagustae, no. 590/1288, fols. 33r, 89r.

aux enchères. Certains exercent des métiers artisanaux: forgeron, tailleur, boucher et fabricant de chausses. La plupart toutefois sont connus à l'occasion de prêts sur gages, que le capitaine génois ordonne aux débiteurs de rembourser dans les délais prévus, sous peine d'une mise en vente de l'objet aux enchères.²⁴ Protégés ainsi dans leurs activités, les Juifs n'en sont pas moins astreints à de lourdes contributions financières. En 1461, le capitaine podestat Jeronimus de Carmadino institue deux emprunts forcés; cinquante-cinq prêteurs avancent 218 ducats, dont 46 sont fournis par onze Juifs: leur contribution est légèrement supérieure à la moyenne. Un second emprunt porte sur 393 ducats, réunis par soixante-dix prêteurs. A nouveau onze Juifs sont taxés pour un montant de 84 ducats; parmi eux la Juive Regma et son coreligionnaire Rachelli doivent payer 16 et 20 ducats.²⁵ La communauté juive de Famagouste n'échappe pas au sort de ses semblables dans les comptoirs italiens d'Orient: jaloués pour leurs richesses, les Juifs sont aussi utiles aux personnes privées qu'aux autorités publiques; ils fournissent à toutes deux les instruments de crédit indispensables.

Les Arméniens, beaucoup moins nombreux, semble-t-il, occupent aussi des fonctions officielles, comme s'en plaint amèrement un citoyen génois privé de ses gages par le capitaine de Famagouste.²⁶ Le registre de la *Massaria* de 1391 livre six noms d'Arméniens. En 1439, l'un des crieurs publics appartient à cette communauté.²⁷ Le cas des Syriens est plus complexe. David Jacoby a montré qu'il fallait entendre par là des descendants d'émigrés de Syrie et de Terre Sainte, qui obtiennent de Gênes une protection particulière.²⁸ De fait, en 1391, figurent dans le registre de la *Massaria* dix individus originaires de Gibelet, trois qui descendent d'émigrés d'Acre et deux de Margat. Ces Syriens, de même que les Francs de Chypre, bénéficient d'une juridiction propre placée sous l'autorité d'un *vicecomes Surianorum*, parfois qualifié de «rais des Syriens», assisté de jurés et d'un scribe. Lorenzo de Neffino et l'un de ses jurés viennent en 1448 témoigner pour Thomas Bibi, membre

²⁴ Ibid., fols. 13r, 17v, 76r, 90r, 119r; Famagustae Diversorum Cancellarie, fols. 7r, 13r, 14r, 19r, 28r, 33r, etc. Liste des principaux membres de la communauté dans V. Polonio, «Famagosta genovese a metà del '400: assemblee, armamenti, gride», dans *Miscellanea di Storia ligure in memoria di Giorgio Falco* (Gênes, 1966), pp. 231–232.

²⁵ ASG, FM, no. 590/1286, fols. 310r et 312r.

²⁶ Fossati Raiteri, *Genova e Cipro*, pp. 33–34.

²⁷ ASG, Famagustae Mandata capitanei, fol. 90r.

²⁸ D. Jacoby, «Citoyens, sujets et protégés de Venise et de Gênes en Chypre du XIII^e au XV^e siècle», *BF* 5 (1977), pp. 168–169.

d'une famille d'origine syrienne; il déclare qu'à Famagouste les Syriens et les Chypriotes—entendons par là les sujets du roi de Chypre—ont toujours eu recours à la juridiction des Syriens pour leurs différends privés.²⁹ Le vicomte des Syriens est Niccolò Spinola en 1447 et Lorenzo de Neffino, l'année suivante.³⁰ La fonction ne figure pas dans la liste des charges officielles rétribuées par la *Massaria* de Famagouste. L'usage de la langue arabe s'est assez longtemps maintenu dans cette communauté syrienne: en 1361 une quittance de dot accordée par Andrea fils de feu Giovanni de Beyrouth, Vénitien habitant Famagouste, mentionne un contrat rédigé «*in lingua arabica per manum presbiteri Iacobi ecclesie S. Marie de Nazareth civitatis Famagouste*».³¹

Parmi ces Syriens protégés figurent les Génois blancs et les Génois noirs. La distinction entre ces deux catégories n'est pas chose aisée. Selon Amadi, qui utilise au XVI^e siècle une source commune avec la chronique de Machéras, il faudrait entendre par Génois blancs des Syriens auxquels la Commune de Gênes a accordé la nationalité génoise. Le terme apparaîtrait à l'occasion des événements de 1373, mais il ne figure pas dans la chronique de Machéras. La première mention effective date de 1403.³² En fait le statut des Génois blancs découle du traité conclu en 1365 entre Pierre I^{er} et la Commune. Ce texte reconnaît comme Génois non seulement les habitants de Gênes et de sa région, mais aussi ceux des territoires soumis à l'autorité de la métropole ligure, les esclaves et domestiques des Génois et leurs affranchis. La définition du statut des Génois, très large, est de la compétence exclusive du podestat.³³ Les actes de chancellerie le confirment: en 1439, les autorités génoises ordonnent à Iosif Zaa «*Ianuensis noster albus*», de comparaître dans les trois jours devant elles. L'année suivante, Lucas de Iohane Salamonis «*Ianuensis albus*» inscrit à la cour des Génois, se plaint du fait que les officiers du roi ne veulent pas le tenir pour Génois. Le podestat lui enjoint de se présenter devant les officiers du roi qui devront le considérer comme tel.³⁴ Il s'agit là soit de Syriens, soit de Juifs protégés par la Commune

²⁹ Fossati Raiteri, *Genova e Cipro*, pp. 123–124.

³⁰ Polonio, «Famagosta genovese», p. 231 et Fossati Raiteri, *Genova e Cipro*, p. 123.

³¹ Nicola de Boateris, *notario in Famagosta e Venezia (1355–1365)*, éd. A. Lombardo (Venise, 1973), no. 70, p. 74.

³² Jacoby, «Citoyens», pp. 163 et 168–169.

³³ L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852–1861), 2: p. 258, par. 2, et Jacoby, «Citoyens», p. 178.

³⁴ ASG, *Famagustae Mandata capitanei*, no. 590/1288, fols. 84v et 118v; *Famagustae Diversorum Cancellarie*, no. 590/1292, fol. 43v.

et qui ont acquis la citoyenneté génoise. Il en est de même des deux membres de la famille Bibi, de Guglielmo d'Acri et de Iosifus Oia de Nicosie, qualifiés de Génois blancs et qui viennent prêter en 1447 le serment de fidélité des habitants de Famagouste aux procureurs de l'Office de Saint-Georges.³⁵

Le cas des Génois noirs est plus incertain. Les actes de la pratique et les registres de trésorerie ou de chancellerie de Famagouste ne les mentionnent pas. Force est donc d'adopter le point de vue de David Jacoby, selon lequel il s'agirait d'esclaves affranchis appartenant aux domaines royaux, et ayant trouvé refuge auprès des autorités génoises. La seule mention connue de Génois noirs—un acte de 1403—n'autorise pas d'autre interprétation.

Enfin dans les strates inférieures de la société se retrouvent les esclaves. Dans les années 1300, ils représentent 1,7% de l'échantillon révélé par les actes notariés de Famagouste et proviennent du monde grec, sarrasin et turc. Au cours du XIV^e siècle, l'élément sarrasin s'efface et les Grecs demeurent prépondérants. En 1360–1362, sur les 41 esclaves connus par les actes de Nicola de Boateriis, il y a 27 Grecs, soit les deux tiers de l'effectif, 5 Bulgares, 1 Roumaine et 8 Tatars. Il est probable que comme dans les autres comptoirs occidentaux, la proportion des Tatars augmente constamment dans la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle, pour diminuer ensuite au profit des Circassiens, des Russes, des Maures et des esclaves balkaniques.³⁶ Mais dans le cas de Famagouste, les changements dans la composition du groupe servile ne peuvent être suivis, faute d'actes de la pratique.

Les métiers exercés se révèlent d'une grande diversité. L'échantillon offert par le registre de la *Massaria* de 1391 place au premier plan les meuniers (14) dont une liste est donnée.³⁷ Ils sont suivis par les épiciers (11), les fabricants de chausses (10), les barbiers et les forgerons (7), les artisans du textile—tailleurs, fileurs, lainiers, teinturiers—(15), les pelletiers, les boulangers et les fabricants de chandelles (4), les calfats et les maîtres de hache (4). En dehors des rues où se concentrent les membres d'un métier spécialisé, le cœur des affaires est constitué par la «*ruga mercatorum*», une rue couverte à arcades, qui partait de la grand-place et se dirigeait vers la porte de la mer.

³⁵ Polonio, «Famagosta genovese», p. 231.

³⁶ Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, t. 2: *Italie, Colonies italiennes du Levant, Levant latin, Empire Byzantin* (Gand, 1977), pp. 884–892.

³⁷ ASG, FM, no. 590/1268, fol. 65r.

Le tableau ainsi dressé de la population de Famagouste aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles serait insuffisant, s'il ne mentionnait pas les gros problèmes démographiques que doit affronter la colonie génoise. Celle-ci se dépeuple et est de moins en moins capable de résister aux menaces extérieures, qu'elles viennent des Catalans, des Mamlûks, ou des troupes royales de Chypre. La pression fiscale, les malversations des fonctionnaires, la langueur de l'activité économique font fuir les indigènes. Les autorités génoises s'en plaignent et rappellent aux gardiens des portes de Limassol et de la mer de contrôler les sorties. Les mécontents s'agitent, fomentent des troubles que les Génois répriment en infligeant aux meneurs des peines corporelles et financières.³⁸ Les autorités prennent aussi des mesures positives: elles accordent des laissez-passer et encouragent les étrangers à venir habiter Famagouste. En 1448, on décide même d'effectuer un recensement des maisons qui tombent en ruines et de les donner, moyennant engagement de réparation, à ceux qui viendraient habiter la ville.³⁹ Ce sont là des palliatifs qui ne peuvent porter remède aux maux structurels dont souffre la colonie génoise: une mauvaise administration, des ressources insuffisantes, une mise en défense précaire compromettent le sort de la ville.

L'administration génoise de Famagouste qui avait à sa tête un podestat, dès la fin du XIII^e siècle, passe après 1374 sous l'autorité d'un capitaine, une titulature qui insiste sur le rôle militaire du représentant de la Commune. Le personnage bénéficie d'un traitement élevé et d'un haut rang honorifique;⁴⁰ il se déplace en public, précédé de deux trompettes et d'un écuyer porte-épée. Son autorité s'étend à tous les Génois de l'île, qu'ils soient résidents ou marchands de passage. Lorsque la Commune cède Famagouste à l'Office de Saint-Georges en juin 1447, les lois et ordonnances du 23 juillet, du 21 novembre 1447 et du 22 janvier 1448 définissent le statut de la nouvelle administration

³⁸ V. Vitale, «Statuti e ordinamenti sul governo del Banco di San Giorgio a Famagosta», *Atti della Società ligure di Storia patria* 64 (1935), p. 415; ASG, FM, no. 590/1276, fol. 2v: lettre du doge chargeant le nouveau capitaine Baliano della Porta de rétablir l'ordre outragé par les troubles, la sédition et le mauvais comportement de nombreuses personnes dans la ville.

³⁹ Vitale, «Statuti e ordinamenti», p. 415.

⁴⁰ ASG, FM, no. 590/1268, fol. 55r et no. 590/1285, fol. 25r. D'après la hiérarchie des *stalie*, imposition sur les traitements des officiers de la Commune, le capitaine de Famagouste arrive en tête de la hiérarchie des fonctionnaires d'outre-mer; il précède le consul de Caffà, et, de très loin, le podestat de Péra en 1393: cf. Gioffrè, *Liber institutionum*, pp. 193–194. En 1427, en revanche, il est précédé par le consul de Caffà: *ibid.*, p. 204.

génoise, dont nous avons pu détailler le fonctionnement.⁴¹ Le capitaine est entouré d'une *familia* nombreuse: un comite, cinq sonneurs, un chantre, un architecte (*protomastor muratorum*), un interprète, un scribe en lettres arabes, un commissaire-priseur, un tambour et deux serviteurs.⁴² Les registres de la *Massaria* mentionnent les salaires, les dates de prise de fonction et de départ des divers officiers de Famagouste, sans insister sur les compétences du capitaine génois, qui apparaissent mieux dans les statuts, les actes de la pratique et les enquêtes menées par les syndics envoyés par la métropole.⁴³ Il suffit de rappeler les tâches considérables du capitaine dans le domaine judiciaire, où il est assisté par un vicaire pour rendre la justice et dans le domaine financier, où il est responsable du budget de la colonie, des approvisionnements, des travaux d'édilité, des armements et des mesures de défense, de l'arsenal et des constructions navales. Les dépenses, décidées avec l'accord des trésoriers apparaissent soit dans le compte «Commune», soit sous une rubrique de «Dépenses diverses». La détresse financière est telle en 1391 que le capitaine est contraint d'emprunter 2.000 besants au taux usuraire de 4% par mois pour payer la solde des mercenaires.⁴⁴ Enfin, il appartient au capitaine de diriger la politique générale de la colonie et d'en garantir la sécurité. Cela signifie assurer la bonne exécution des traités passés avec le roi de Chypre, éviter ou résoudre les conflits avec les fonctionnaires royaux, maintenir le contact avec la cour des Lusignan, par l'intermédiaire du consul génois à Nicosie, souvent cité dans nos registres: ainsi en 1408, Lodisio Doria, qui exerce cette fonction, est porté débiteur de la Commune pour 16.447 besants 14 carats.⁴⁵ En 1437, Andalo Gentile est consul à Nicosie, au salaire de 900 besants par mois, à comparer aux 2.000 besants que touche à la même date le capitaine Gregorio di Campofregoso.⁴⁶

Les registres de la Trésorerie permettent aussi d'évoquer le pouvoir exercé sur les communautés sujettes des Génois. A plusieurs occasions est mentionné le *rais* des Syriens, aussi qualifié de vicomte, qui tient une cour composée de jurés, et qui semble avoir compétence au civil

⁴¹ Balard, «Οι Γενουάτες», pp. 295–306.

⁴² ASG, FM, no. 590/1268, fol. 370r–v.

⁴³ Fossati-Raiteri, *Genova e Cipro*; C. Otten-Froux, *Une enquête à Chypre au XV^e siècle. Le sindicamentum de Napoleone Lomellini, capitaine de Famagouste*, Sources et études de l'histoire de Chypre 36 (Nicosie, 2000).

⁴⁴ ASG, FM, no. 590/1268, fol. 172v.

⁴⁵ ASG, FM, no. 590/1269, fol. 147r.

⁴⁶ ASG, FM, no. 590/1272, fols. 94v et 92r.

sur les affaires touchant aux émigrés de Terre sainte; en 1440, le capitaine génois lui ordonne d'extraire le testament d'un homme originaire de Gibelet.⁴⁷ La juridiction génoise s'étend naturellement aux Grecs habitant Famagouste. Mais un extrait de comptes nous révèle qu'un expert foncier (*extimator camporum*), Cosmas Sapona, s'est rendu au village de Liminia pour constater les dégâts effectués par le troupeau d'un Grec, Papa Acono, sur les terres ensemencées de Janini de Liminia. Le propriétaire du bétail est condamné à payer à la victime sept mesures de grain.⁴⁸

Que peuvent nous apprendre les registres de la *Massaria* sur les relations de la Commune avec l'administration royale des Lusignan? Le bilan est ici quelque peu décevant. En effet les sommes versées par le roi de Chypre, en vertu des traités, apparaissent rarement dans les comptes de la *Massaria*, dans la mesure où elles sont collectées par le trésorier de la *mahona vetus* de Chypre, qui est en même temps consul des Génois à Nicosie, et dont les comptes apparaissent dans les registres *Compere e Mutui* du Banc de Saint-Georges.⁴⁹ Pourtant en 1391, les trésoriers rappellent que la dette royale s'élève à 14.000 besants de Nicosie par an, soit 1.166 besants par mois, équivalant à 1.318 besants 8 carats de Famagouste; la somme est prélevée sur la gabelle de la porte de Nicosie.⁵⁰ En 1408, le roi Janus est cité parmi les débiteurs de la Commune; il a versé 7.979 besants 20 *carati* aux trésoriers qui rappellent que le roi est tenu de verser chaque année 14.000 besants de Nicosie, mais il n'est pas certain que ce chiffre représente l'intégralité de la dette royale.⁵¹ Les comptes de la *Massaria* enregistrent aussi les mouvements des envoyés et des ambassadeurs génois auprès de la cour royale, dans la mesure où les dépenses qu'ils entraînent sont prises en charge par la Commune. Celle-ci reçoit en août 1391 un émissaire venu annoncer la naissance d'un héritier mâle dans la famille royale.⁵² Parmi ces ambassades, celle d'Antonio de Franchis a un relief particulier. Qualifié d'orateur auprès du roi de Chypre, il est mandaté par

⁴⁷ ASG, Famagustae Mandata capitanei, no. 590/1288, fol. 24v, et Famagustae Diversorum Cancellarie, no. 590/1292, fol. 63v.

⁴⁸ ASG Famagustae Diversorum Cancellarie, no. 590/1292, fol. 35v.

⁴⁹ Otten-Froux, «Relations politico-financières», pp. 67–72.

⁵⁰ ASG, FM, no. 590/1268, fols. 74v–75v.

⁵¹ ASG, FM, no. 590/1269, fols. 75v, 77v–78r et 254v.

⁵² ASG, FM, no. 590/1268, fol. 172v. Sur les mouvements d'envoyés, cf. *ibid.*, fols. 96r, 130v, 150v, 172v; FM, no. 590/1272, fol. 67r; FM, no. 590/1274, fols. 53r, 57r–v (envoi d'une mission de protestation auprès du roi).

le doge de Gênes en juillet 1445 avec tout pouvoir sur les autorités génoises de Famagouste. Le 1er janvier 1446, en raison du déficit chronique des finances publiques, il prend toute une série de mesures d'économie, allant de l'annulation de la remise par la *Massaria* de deux jarres d'huile au capitaine et aux trésoriers, jusqu'à la suppression des gages de serviteurs de la cour et à la réduction des frais pour les fêtes de Noël et de la Saint-Jean. Il renouvelle l'interdit fait au podestat et aux trésoriers de se rendre acquéreurs aux enchères des gabelles de la Commune et leur fait obligation de solder les comptes de la *Massaria* et d'envoyer un exemplaire des registres à l'*Officium Romanie* de Gênes.⁵³ Il s'agit là d'une réforme qui dénonce la mauvaise administration de Famagouste et annonce la vente de la colonie l'année suivante au Banc de Saint-Georges.

Une lecture attentive des registres de la *Massaria* de Famagouste permet donc de réunir une riche moisson d'informations, certes plus nombreuses sur la gestion interne de la colonie, mais pas du tout insignifiantes sur ses relations avec l'extérieur et, en particulier, avec la cour royale des Lusignan.

⁵³ ASG, FM, no. 590/1276, fols. 2v et 597v–598v.

LE REGISTRE DE LA *CURIA* DU CAPITAINE GÉNOIS
DE FAMAGOUSTE AU MILIEU DU XV^E SIÈCLE:
UNE SOURCE POUR L'ÉTUDE D'UNE SOCIÉTÉ
MULTICULTURELLE

Catherine Otten-Froux

Iacobus tubeta retulit se hodie proclamasse sono tube et alta voce in linguis latina et greca...

«le trompette Giacomo rapporte avoir proclamé ce jour au son de la trompette et à haute voix dans les langues grecque et latine...».

Cette notice d'une proclamation faite le 15 janvier 1456 à Famagouste est contenue dans le registre émanant de la cour de justice, la *curia*, du capitaine génois de Famagouste, Bartolomeo de Levanto;¹ elle illustre parfaitement la question de la rédaction et de la publicité des décisions du gouvernement dans un contexte multiculturel et surtout multilingue tel qu'il existe à Famagouste au XV^e siècle. Le registre de la *curia* du capitaine génois de Famagouste fournit un excellent poste d'observation des problèmes que pose la vie d'une communauté multiculturelle et permet d'étudier comment se font les communications entre les différents groupes qui la composent. Comment vit-on ensemble? Quels sont les droits des uns et des autres, et comment sont-ils protégés? A Famagouste plus qu'ailleurs peut-être à Chypre, la mixité sociale est grande, car à côté des Francs et des Grecs présents les uns et les autres partout dans l'île, une importante population de marchands italiens s'est installée dès le XIII^e siècle, la présence ligure étant renforcée au XV^e siècle puisque la ville est possession génoise. Enfin la situation portuaire a attiré des marchands orientaux, de confession chrétienne mais non soumis à Rome, des nestoriens, jacobites, arméniens et aussi des musulmans. Au milieu du XV^e siècle cependant la population famagoustaine est en diminution et les autorités génoises prennent des mesures pour fixer cette population, par l'octroi d'un salaire pour 5 ans à ceux qui se marieront et s'installeront sur place, et font appel à une

¹ Archivio di Stato di Genova (ASG), San Giorgio (SG), no. 590/1291, p. 190. Le registre a été paginé par les archivistes récemment.

immigration d'Arméniens en provenance de la côte syro-palestinienne proche.² C'est donc une population d'origine, de langue, de religion diverses qui cohabite dans la Famagouste du XV^e siècle, et que l'étude du registre des actes de la *curia* permet de faire revivre.

Un rappel historique sera d'abord nécessaire pour mieux comprendre les caractéristiques du document, que nous présenterons dans sa composition et son contenu dans le but d'éclairer l'aspect multiculturel de la société famagoustaine.

La ville de Famagouste, le principal port de l'île dont la richesse et l'activité commerciale à la fin du XIII^e et jusqu'au troisième quart du XIV^e siècle sont attestées par les actes notariés et reconnues par les voyageurs,³ est aux mains des Génois depuis le traité d'octobre 1374 qui mit fin à la guerre opposant le roi Pierre II aux Génois. En effet, en 1372 une querelle entre Génois et Vénitiens survenue lors du couronnement de Pierre II comme roi de Jérusalem avait dégénéré en émeute, des Génois avaient été tués, et le podestat des Génois avait ordonné à ses compatriotes de quitter l'île. Une expédition militaire génoise, financée à la fois par des particuliers et par la commune de Gênes unis en une *maone*, l'«ancienne *maone* de Chypre»,⁴ avait débarqué dans l'île en 1373 sous la conduite de l'amiral Pietro di Campofregoso, le frère du doge de Gênes. La guerre entre les troupes royales et les forces génoises se termina par la défaite du roi Pierre II et la signature d'un traité très dur pour ce dernier en octobre 1374.⁵ Dans ce traité, le roi est

² Par exemple 6 personnes sont concernées par cette mesure salariale en 1456 (ASG, SG, no. 590/1280, fol. 82). Pour l'appel à des Arméniens: ASG, SG, no. 590/1290, p. 34, acte du 19 mars 1439.

³ Ce n'est pas le lieu de reprendre ici l'ensemble de la bibliographie ni d'énumérer toutes les sources pour la période antérieure à celle qui nous retient. Nous renvoyons à G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols., (Cambridge, 1940–1952), vols. 2 et 3, pour la période qui nous intéresse; P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991); Th. Papadopoulos, éd., *Ιστορία της Κύπρου. 4–5. Μεσαιωνικόν Βασίλειον—Ενετοκρατία*, 2 vols. (Nicosie, 1995–1996) (pour la période franque et vénitienne); A. Nicolaou-Konnari et C. Schabel, éd., *Cyprus. Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, *The Medieval Mediterranean* 58 (Leyde et Boston, 2005), avec dans chaque ouvrage une importante bibliographie.

⁴ Sur la *maone* de Chypre et son évolution voir G. Petti Balbi, «La Maona di Cipro del 1373», *Rassegna storica della Liguria* 1 (1974), pp. 269–285; C. Otten-Froux, «I Maonesi et la maona vecchia di Cipro», *La Storia dei Genovesi* 12/1 (1992), pp. 95–118.

⁵ Les événements sont racontés en grands détails par les chroniqueurs, notamment Leontios Makhairas, dernière édition diplomatique Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά, *Χρονικό της Κύπρου. Παράλληλη διπλωματική έκδοση των χειρογράφων*, éd. M. Pieris et A. Nicolaou-Konnari (Nicosie, 2003); nous avons utilisé l'édition et la traduction anglaise de R. M. Dawkins, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus, Entitled "Chronicle"*, 2 vols.

condamné à verser des sommes très importantes d'une part à l'amiral pour le rembourser des dépenses pour l'entretien de la flotte, d'autre part aux participants de la *maone*; des chevaliers parmi lesquels l'oncle du roi, le futur Jacques I, sont emmenés à Gênes comme garants et Famagouste est confiée à Gênes en gage des paiements dûs par le roi à la Superbe. Gênes a alors en charge l'administration et la défense de la ville mais le roi y conserve ses hommes pour lever les taxes. Mais à sa mort en automne 1382, Pierre II n'a pas acquitté tout ce qu'il aurait dû. En l'absence d'héritier direct, son oncle Jacques, frère de Pierre I, est désigné par la Haute Cour pour lui succéder. Mais Jacques est retenu comme otage à Gênes. Avant de le laisser repartir, les Génois concluent avec lui un nouveau traité en février 1383.⁶

Dans ce traité de nouvelles échéances financières sont établies, et Famagouste et un territoire de deux lieues alentours passent entièrement sous la domination génoise, qui durera jusqu'en 1464. D'autres mesures sont également décidées comme l'interdiction d'utiliser un autre port de l'île pour le grand commerce international. Le roi n'a plus aucune autorité, aucun contrôle sur ce territoire. A partir de ce moment, Famagouste est une possession génoise, dirigée par Gênes qui

(Oxford, 1932). Voir aussi, Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l'île de Chypre*, éd. R. de Mas Latrie, Collection de Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France, Mélanges Historiques 5 (Paris, 1886), réimpr. *Historia ovvero commentarii de Cipro*, Κυπρολογική Βιβλιοθήκη 8 (Nicosie, 1998); *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, éd. R. de Mas Latrie, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891–1893). Du côté génois, Giorgio Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, éd. G. Petti Balbi, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 2e édition (Bologne, 1975). On y ajoutera des documents diplomatiques publiés par L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852–1861). Voir aussi, Hill, *History of Cyprus*; Papadopoulos, éd. *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*; P. W. Edbury, «The Murder of King Peter I of Cyprus (1359–1369)», *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980), pp. 219–233; idem, «Cyprus and Genoa: The Origins of the War of 1373–1374», dans *Πρακτικά του Δευτέρου Διεθνούς Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου*, 3 vols. (Nicosie, 1986), 2: pp. 109–126; C. Otten-Froux, «Les relations politico-financières de Gênes avec le royaume des Lusignan (1374–1460)», dans M. Balard et A. Ducellier, éd., *Coloniser au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1995), pp. 61–75. Le parchemin original du traité est conservé à l'Archivio di Stato de Gênes, ainsi que des copies authentifiées plus tardives. Il a été publié dans *Liber Iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, ed. E. Ricotti, 2 vols., *Historiae Patriae Monumenta* 7, 9, (Turin, 1854), 9: cols. 806–815, et dans C. Sperone, *Real Grandezza della Serenissima Repubblica di Genova* (Gênes 1669) (traduction italienne de l'ouvrage espagnol de L. de Gongora, *Real Grandezza de la Serenissima Republica di Genova* [Madrid, 1665]), pp. 100–109.

⁶ Le traité est publié dans Sperone, *Real Grandezza*, pp. 116–137; Makhairas donne un résumé du traité au § 613. Voir Otten-Froux, «Les relations politico-financières». Sur le retour de Jacques I, voir eadem, «Le retour manqué de Jacques I en Chypre», dans C. Mutafian, éd., *Actes du colloque «Les Lusignans et l'Outre Mer»* (Poitiers et Lusignan, 1993), pp. 228–240.

y installe une administration du même type que celle existant à Péra, Chio ou Caffa, avec à sa tête un capitaine et podestat, *capitaneus et potestas civitatis Famaguste et omnium Ianuensium in regno Cipri*, qui a autorité sur tous les Génois résidant dans l'île. Le capitaine nommé à Gênes vient avec une *familia* composée d'un vicaire, spécialiste du droit, qui va l'assister pour toutes les questions juridiques, de deux cavaliers (*cavalerius*) et deux écuyers (*subcavalerius*) chargés de la police et de faire appliquer les décisions du capitaine, deux hérauts, d'un cuisinier, quatre serviteurs, un page. Il est assisté de différentes commissions; la plus importante, l'*officium monete*, dont les membres sont recrutés sur place, a en charge toutes les dépenses extraordinaires, tandis que les trésoriers, les *massarii*, s'occupent des dépenses ordinaires et tiennent les registres de comptes.⁷ L'administration génoise a ainsi succédé à l'administration royale qui fonctionnait selon des règles particulières à la monarchie franque, héritées de la situation du royaume de Jérusalem, avec dans le domaine judiciaire une cour des bourgeois, la cour du vicomte, et une cour des Syriens. Mais l'entretien de Famagouste coûte cher, beaucoup d'argent doit être dépensé pour la défense de la ville contre les attaques venues par terre (les troupes royales) et par mer (musulmans, pirates catalans). Le budget est presque toujours en déficit, les habitants se plaignent de la mauvaise situation et de fonctionnaires corrompus. C'est pourquoi en 1447, le gouvernement de Gênes décide de confier la ville pour une durée de 29 ans au Banco di San Giorgio, organisme privé fondé en 1407 par Boucicaut, alors gouverneur de Gênes, pour le compte du roi de France Charles VI, et regroupant un grand nombre de créanciers de l'état jusqu'alors répartis en de multiples *comperae*. L'ancienne *maone* de Chypre a été intégrée au Banco en 1408. L'Officio di San Giorgio, organe directeur du Banco, fait alors rédiger des statuts propres à Famagouste.⁸

⁷ Sur l'administration génoise à Famagouste, voir le chapitre 6 de M. Balard dans Papadopoulos, éd., *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, t. 4, dont une version française vient de paraître dans M. Balard, *La Méditerranée médiévale: Espaces, itinéraires, comptoirs* (Paris, 2006), ch. 9, «Les Génois dans le royaume médiéval de Chypre»; idem, «Note sull'amministrazione genovese di Cipro nel Quattrocento», *La Storia dei Genovesi*, 12/1 (1994), pp. 83–93; C. Otten-Froux, *Une enquête à Chypre au XV^e siècle. Le sindacamentum de Napoleone Lomellini capitaine génois de Famagouste (1459)*, Sources et études de l'histoire de Chypre 36 (Nicosie, 2000). Une vingtaine de registres de comptes sont conservés à l'Archivio di Stato de Gênes.

⁸ V. Vitale, «Statuti e ordinamenti sul governo del Banco di San Giorgio a Famagosta», *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 64 (1935), pp. 393–554.

Cette administration a laissé une documentation en grande partie inédite, conservée à l'Archivio di Stato de Gênes: des registres contenant des comptes, ou l'enregistrement de toutes sortes d'affaires privées, ou publiques, de décisions du capitaine, registres émanant de la chancellerie ou de la cour de justice. En effet, la cour de justice, la *curia*, n'est pas seulement un tribunal pour juger des crimes comme on le voit avec le procès de Gerolamo Doria,⁹ mais aussi une cour d'enregistrement. La *curia* du capitaine génois de Famagouste a remplacé la cour royale, cour du vicomte, ou cour des Francs comme elle est qualifiée dans deux actes de 1389.¹⁰ C'est devant cette cour qui fonctionne sur le modèle génois que se présente la population très bigarrée de Famagouste. On comprend donc l'intérêt historique des registres émanant de cette cour, témoin des affaires traitées devant elle.

Un registre clairement identifié comme *Diversorum negociorum publicorum curie Famaguste* a survécu aux archives d'état de Gênes. C'est un gros registre relié de 416 pages qui couvre la période du 14 avril 1455 au 10 janvier 1457 et contient l'enregistrement de plus de 650 affaires différentes. Il sert de base à mon étude que je compléterai avec quelques autres documents inédits, tirés des trois autres registres au contenu très similaire, pour les années 1438–1439, 1440–1441, 1448–1449, qualifiés pour l'un d'entre eux du moins, le dernier, de *Diversorum negociorum cancellarie*, pour les deux autres seulement de *Diversorum negociorum*.¹¹ Pour la même période, il existe un registre spécifique des dettes entre particuliers.¹² Enfin, il existait, parallèlement au registre conservé, un ensemble qualifié de *fogliazzo (foliaccio)* par le notaire, et auquel il renvoie de temps en temps, contenant probablement des documents épars, les requêtes originales et autres preuves, réunis dans une *filza*. Cette documentation permet de voir comment fonctionne dans un contexte multiculturel une administration de modèle italien, qui a hérité d'institutions franques. Je n'aborderai pas la transition entre la *curia* franque, la cour du vicomte, et la *curia* du capitaine de Famagouste

⁹ ASG, SG, *Primi cancellieri*, busta 88, docs. 531–569, 572–634, 647–674. Cf. C. Otten-Froux, «Quelques aspects de la justice à Famagouste pendant la période génoise», *Πρακτικά του Τρίτου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου*, 3 vols. (Nicosia, 2001), 2: pp. 333–351, ici pp. 343–351.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 338–339. Les documents se trouvent dans un registre qualifié de *mandata capitanei* (ASG, SG, no. 590/1288, pp. 7, 18), mais contenant des documents de nature semblable à ceux du registre de la *curia* qui nous occupe.

¹¹ ASG, SG, nos. 590/1289, 590/1290, 590/1292.

¹² ASG, *Antico Comune*, reg. 786.

ce qui a déjà été envisagé¹³ et n'est plus d'actualité en 1455, date du registre que nous étudions, car la transition est faite depuis longtemps, et l'autorité de Gênes dans la ville bien établie. A partir de cet unique registre de 1455–1456, clairement identifié comme registre de la *curia*, je m'attacherai à trois questions: Comment fonctionne la *curia*, dans un contexte multiculturel? Quels types d'actes sont enregistrés, c'est-à-dire pour quelles raisons la population se présente-t-elle, et qui se présente? Quels sont les rapports avec d'autres institutions judiciaires?

Qu'est-ce que le registre nous apprend du fonctionnement de la *curia*? Quelle forme prennent les actes qui y sont consignés, et qu'y voit-on de spécifique à une société multiculturelle?

La *curia* se compose de plusieurs personnes: le capitaine, *spectabilis dominus capitaneus*, représentant la commune de Gênes; en 1455–1456, il s'agit de Bartolomeo de Levanto.¹⁴ Il a un rôle judiciaire primordial; il représente la loi qu'il est chargé de faire respecter. Il est aidé par un vicaire, *egregius dominus vicarius*, qui siège le plus fréquemment au banc de justice selon un calendrier connu.¹⁵ Jamais nommé dans le registre, on sait par ailleurs que le vicaire de Bartolomeo de Levanto est Segurano de Buionis, mort avant le 21 juillet 1455, puis Giovanni Tarigo, notaire, fils de feu Donato, qui réclame du capitaine successeur de Bartolomeo, Napoleone Lomellini, 2,000 besants à prendre sur l'argent de la *massaria*; Napoleone Lomellini, après avoir pris conseil de l'*Officium Monete*, lui verse 1,200 besants, ce qui est reproché au capitaine lors de son *sindicamentum*; en effet le salaire du vicaire se monte à 2,000 besants dont 800 doivent être pris sur les biens du capitaine; or Giovanni n'était pas *iurisperitus* et n'aurait donc pas dû avoir d'argent de la *massaria*.¹⁶ Enfin un notaire, officiellement appelé *scriba curiae*, doit consigner dans le registre les décisions et les ordres, et établir des mandements qui seront portés à leur destinataire. Dans le cas de notre registre, deux notaires sont à l'œuvre, Francesco de Pastino et Antonio Foglietta;¹⁷ on reconnaît

¹³ Otten-Froux, «Quelques remarques sur la justice», pp. 337–339.

¹⁴ ASG, SG, s. 36, 1317 (*gabella stalianum*), p. XXXV.

¹⁵ Une liste avec les jours où la *curia* s'est tenue se trouve à la fin du registre. Voir plus loin.

¹⁶ Pour Segurano de Buionis: ASG, SG, no. 590/1291, p. 58; pour Giovanni Tarigo, ASG, *Notai antichi*, 843 (notaire Antonio Foglietta) acte 91 et 98 (il est chargé de porter une réclamation au roi); pour le salaire de Giovanni Tarigo, voir Otten-Froux, *Une enquête à Chypre*, p. 74.

¹⁷ ASG, SG, no. 590/1291, leur nom apparaît en première page du registre.

en effet plusieurs mains dans le registre. Un interprète est également présent, si besoin est, il s'agit de Lodisio de Amore en 1455–1456.¹⁸ De plus il y a un certain nombre de personnes chargées de porter les ordres et de faire les proclamations; les plus nombreux sont les huissiers, qualifiés de *servientes curiae*. Ils sont au nombre de onze dans le registre de la *curia*. Celui auquel on a recours le plus souvent est *Manoli Cataneus* qui intervient plus de 100 fois, loin devant le tailleur *Vassili (sartor)* 28 fois, *Vassili Spinola* 23 fois, *Giorgio Coihinus* 19 fois, *Nicola de Chio* 19 fois, *Carolus Caressa/Caretius* 17 fois, *Giorgio Iacharia* 10 fois, *Pasqualinus Caminari* 6 fois uniquement en 1456, *Nicola baptizatus* 4 fois, le meunier *Vassili (molinarius)* 4 fois, *Vassili Stravoschofi* deux fois, *Giorgio Sinchus* une seule fois en 1455, *Vassili* de Famagouste, qui se confond peut-être avec un des *Vassili* déjà cité, une fois. Il s'agit toujours de personnes d'origine assez humble, et, si l'on en juge par leur nom, qui ne sont pas tous des latins. D'autres personnes sont parfois désignées pour porter des décisions de justice; elles sont qualifiées d'envoyé (*nuncius*), ainsi *Iani de Tarento* pour porter un message à l'évêque des Grecs, ou *Vassili nuncius*.¹⁹ S'il s'agit de porter un ordre à Nicosie, on a recours à un homme d'arme (*armiger*), comme *Iacobus* de Sis, arménien,²⁰ *Nicolaus* de Castilliono.²¹ Un des cavaliers du capitaine, *Bon Iohannes de Vignana*, peut également être requis de porter un ordre.²² Enfin lorsqu'il s'agit de proclamer des décisions d'ordre général, on a recours à un héraut appelé *preco* ou *cintracus*; *Giustiniano Fatinanti cintracus*, fait des proclamations en langue vulgaire, *Giacomo tubeta* annonce sa proclamation au son de la trompette.²³ Enfin le notaire *Antonio Foglietta* porte parfois lui aussi des décisions ou fait des proclamations en latin et en langue vulgaire (10 cas).²⁴ On ne signale pas pour chaque acte la délivrance de l'ordre.

La *curia* se réunit le matin à tierce et l'après-midi, le plus souvent à vêpres. Elle ne se réunit pas tous les jours, et le rythme mensuel est variable. D'après les actes enregistrés, on constate que la *curia* ne se

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 70, 30 juillet 1455.

¹⁹ ASG, SG, no. 590/1291, respectivement pp. 317, 304.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 389.

²¹ Ibid., p. 333.

²² Ibid., p. 342.

²³ Ibid., pour *Giustiniano Fatinanti*, pp. 276, 279. Pour *Giacomo tubeta*, *ibid.*, pp. 223, 240, 262, 265, 269, 296, 345, 351.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 140, 149, 233, 236, 238, 241, 251, 255, 307, 394.

tient pas le dimanche, ainsi qu'un certain nombre de jours dont la liste a été dressée à la fin du registre.²⁵ La *curia* ne s'est pas tenue:

- Mercredi 26 novembre 1455, car on torture des coupables du vol de 780 ducats perdus par Hugues Podocataro.
- Jeudi 27 novembre ni le matin ni le soir, sauf que le vicaire y a siégé un tout petit moment pour une écriture close (*scriptura clausa*) déposée par *Iohannes Boiollus*.
- Mercredi 10 décembre, car c'est la fête *in berbecheria*.
- Samedi 20 décembre, car on donne la paie (*paga*).
- 5 janvier 1456 après déjeuner à cause de certaines occupations.
- Mercredi 7 janvier, pour Pâques grecques (*sic*).
- Jeudi 8 janvier, pour Pâques (*sic*).
- Mardi 27 janvier le matin, pour les litanies de la fête de Saint-Sébastien.
- Jeudi 29 janvier, pour le jeudi gras des Grecs (*iovis grase grecorum*).
- Mercredi 4 février, pas le matin.
- Samedi 7 février, pour les fêtes de carême (*festivitates Carnisprivi*).
- Lundi 9 février, pour une cause que le notaire ignore.
- Mercredi 11 février, toute la journée car c'est le mercredi des cendres.
- Jeudi 19 février, pour la paie au château.
- Lundi 23 février, pour la paie aux gardiens des murailles.
- Jeudi 26 février le matin, pour la paie du *residium* (il s'agit d'autres bénéficiaires d'un salaire versé par la commune, qui ne sont ni des officiers, ni des soldats).
- Mercredi 14 avril, pour la mort de 2 frères du capitaine dont il a eu la nouvelle.
- Jeudi 22 avril après-midi, pour la vigile de la fête de Saint-Georges des Grecs.
- Samedi 24 avril, pour la fête de Saint-Georges des Grecs.
- Lundi 26 avril, pour la paie.
- Mardi 27 avril, pour la paie au *residium*.
- Lundi 3 mai, mardi 4 et mercredi 5, pour les litanies le matin, mais tout fonctionne les après-midi.
- Jeudi 6 mai, pour la fête de l'Ascension du Seigneur.
- Mercredi 12 mai, pour la fête de Saint-Epiphanie.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 410–411.

- Jeudi 20 mai, pour la fête de Saint-Bernardin.
- Lundi 17 et mardi 18 mai, pour la fête de la Pentecôte.
- Mercredi 23 juin, pour la paie.
- Lundi 28 juin, car le notaire Antonio Foglietta était absent, parti à Nicosie pour protester pour le compte de la république de Gênes.
- Jeudi 1 juillet, pour la fête des Saints-Anargyres des Grecs.
- Samedi 17 juillet, pour la fête de Sainte-Marine des Grecs.

Plusieurs remarques se dégagent de l'étude de cette liste qui ne concerne que le fonctionnement de la *curia*. Les mois de février et de mai contiennent beaucoup de jours fériés. Dans la mesure où la *curia* se tient à deux moments de la journée bien dissociés, elle peut se tenir une demi-journée seulement. On constate également un respect des fêtes religieuses grecques et latines. Les jours où le salaire est versé, la *curia* ne se tient pas, dans la mesure où le notaire est probablement nécessaire, bien qu'il existe un notaire et scribe attaché à la trésorerie. On peut se demander pourquoi établir une telle liste. A côté du fait que de telles listes sont également établies à Gênes,²⁶ elles servent à éviter toute confusion dans les délais légaux accordés pour traiter telle ou telle affaire, notamment dans les délais pour produire des preuves, pour rendre des arbitrages ou pour récupérer des gages. La question des jours non ouvrables s'est ainsi posée dans le cas du procès de Gerolamo Doria.

Le registre de la *curia* est tenu soigneusement, les actes reportés chronologiquement; il n'y a pas de classement par type d'affaires, pourtant certaines allusions montrent qu'il y avait des cahiers ou registres spécialisés, comme le registre de dettes de 1455 encore existant.²⁷ On remarque cependant que le notaire a cherché à rapprocher les actes concernant différents moments d'une même affaire et utilise pour cela la marge, même si l'exécution d'une décision a lieu plusieurs semaines ou mois après la requête. La langue utilisée est le latin; seuls quelques documents ou citations de témoins ont été reportés en langue vernaculaire. L'acte commence toujours par la date, c'est-à-dire le jour et le mois, quelques fois l'heure.

²⁶ G. Petti Balbi, «Il catalogo festale genovese del 1437», dans eadem, *Documenti sul Quattrocento genovese* (Gênes, 1966), pp. 187–201.

²⁷ ASG, *Antico Comune*, reg. 786.

Le registre contient des actes de différentes formes diplomatiques, car la première apparition d'une affaire dans le registre s'est faite à différentes étapes de la procédure. La forme la plus courante est un ordre donné par le capitaine ou le vicaire; il s'adresse à l'exécutant soit à la troisième personne au style indirect, *precipiatur de mandato...*, soit directement à l'impératif, *vos detis et solvatis...* A la fin de l'acte le notaire indique que l'ordre a été donné par le capitaine ou par le vicaire à la demande de quelqu'un qu'il nomme; dans la marge gauche le nom du demandeur est reporté, *pro...*, ce qui permet d'utiliser ensuite plus rapidement le registre. Parfois, c'est la demande originelle qui est reportée dans le registre, X *constitutus...* demande au capitaine/vicaire de faire exécuter tel ordre. Le notaire enregistre ensuite la déclaration de l'huissier qui a transmis l'ordre, et qui déclare avoir présenté copie du mandement au destinataire en y ajoutant le nom du notaire. Quelques unes de ces copies ont été conservées et ajoutées comme feuilles volantes dans le registre. Il peut exister un décalage chronologique entre le moment où l'huissier a présenté le mandement et le moment de l'enregistrement, dans ce cas le notaire écrit la date de la déclaration en signalant que l'action fut faite la veille ou un autre jour. Si le destinataire n'est pas présent, on affiche à sa porte le mandement; ainsi Giorgio Barbasa, homme d'armes envoyé au casal Saint-Serge, a affiché copie de l'ordre à comparaître devant la *curia*, écrit en latin et en grec, à la porte de la maison de Thomasino et du *protopapas* son père, en présence du chevetaïn de Saint-Serge.²⁸

Selon le type d'actes il peut y avoir d'autres notices dépendant de l'acte principal, parfois jusqu'à 5 ou 6 documents, écrits soit l'un en dessous de l'autre si les actes sont faits le même jour, soit dans les marges. Si un prêteur sur gage demande à ce que l'emprunteur reprenne son gage, c'est-à-dire rembourse le prêt, il peut y avoir en plus d'abord la mention que l'avis a été porté au destinataire, puis un avis à comparaître pour voir vendre le gage, puis un avis de la vente et qui s'est porté acquéreur et pour quel montant. Lors d'une demande de remboursement d'un crédit il peut y avoir contestation du montant encore dû, demande d'un délai de paiement, ou bien serment de la part du créancier que l'on tient le débiteur pour suspect de non-paiement ou de fuite et demande de détention, ce qui peut amener à l'émission d'un ordre de détention, qui peut être suivi de la promesse du débiteur

²⁸ ASG, SG, no. 590/1292, p. 95v en date du 20 mars 1441.

de payer et de se présenter chaque fois qu'il sera requis.²⁹ Le créancier peut également demander le séquestre de marchandises. Si le débiteur est mort, le créancier devra prouver sa créance; le détail des preuves n'est pas donné, seulement la mention que preuve a été donnée est rajouté dans le registre à la suite de l'acte ou dans la marge, les documents fournis pouvant être dans une autre langue.³⁰ Par ailleurs l'acte principal contient la promesse du créancier de rembourser d'éventuels héritiers prioritaires, et de contribuer avec ceux qui auront les mêmes droits que lui sur l'argent du défunt; cette promesse s'accompagne de la mention d'un garant ou fidéjusseur qui est nommé. Ce dernier type de mention est particulièrement intéressant d'un point de vue social pour voir les relations entre les différentes personnes. Ainsi l'arménien Sadacha est garant de Baronus de Sis.³¹

Comme nous l'avons vu, la plupart des actes comportent dans la marge le nom du bénéficiaire ou plutôt de celui qui est à l'origine de l'acte, le demandeur, celui qui s'est constitué en justice pour obtenir quelque chose, sous la forme *Pro...* Certains actes concernant le bien public ou l'administration de la ville, portent dans la marge la mention *ex officio*, c'est-à-dire que le capitaine agit de lui-même. Ils se présentent

²⁹ Exemple d'une succession d'actes: ASG, SG, no. 590/1291, p. 48: mercredi 9 juillet 1455 à tierce. Sur ordre du capitaine, le notaire enjoint à Giorgio Bercassem, présent, de récupérer chez Nicolino Ercherio, dans le mois qui suit, trois livres grecs déposés en gage auprès du père de Nicolino Ercherio pour 130 besants dus au défunt père de Nicolino pour un prêt d'argent et pour du drap, autrement ils seront vendus aux enchères. Ceci à la demande de Nicolino.—1 octobre: Le vicaire donne autorisation à Giorgio Morati de mettre aux enchères les livres pendant trois jours.—7 octobre: Le vicaire donne l'autorisation à Nicolino d'attribuer ces trois livres au plus offrant en présence de Giorgio Berchasesem, étant entendu que Giorgio Morati, crieur public, a juré sur les saints évangiles avoir proposé aux enchères ces livres pendant 3 jours continus.—7 octobre: Les livres ont été vendus par Giorgio Morati crieur public à maître Barnabe Ternatio, le plus offrant, pour 68 besants. Giorgio ne consent pas à la vente car il n'a jamais fait d'accord sur le compte avec Nicolo. Il proteste que les livres furent vendus pour un prix inférieur à leur valeur. Giorgio estimait ses livres à 50 ducats.—Ce jour (7 octobre): Autorisation est donnée à Nicolo de détenir Giorgio pour 60 besants y compris les dépenses s'élevant à 1 besant 6 carats.

³⁰ Par exemple (ASG, SG, no. 590/1291, p. 272): samedi 29 mai à tierce au banc. Georgius produit en faveur de sa cause un instrument d'achat du champ suscrit, fait par lui à Pagano de Marinis et souscrit de la main d'Antonio de Gibeletto notarii. De même il montre cet instrument en lettre arabe.

+ *Die sabati XXVIII maii in terciis ad bancum iuris.*

Dictus Georgius constitutus etc., in favorem iurum suorum exhibet et producit instrumentum emptionis agri suprascripti facte eum a Pagano de Marinis subscriptum manu Antonii de Gibeletto notarii. Item exhibet dictum instrumentum, ut asserit, in littera arabica.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

bien souvent sous forme d'ordre donnés au héraut à l'impératif de faire une proclamation publique. Parfois c'est le héraut qui rapporte avoir proclamé un ordre.³²

Le registre contient également de simples copies de documents officiels ou de lettres reçues; ainsi le notaire a reporté la copie en langue vulgaire d'une lettre du 25 mai 1456 du capitaine du château de Sivori, Philippe Sincritico, au capitaine de Famagouste à propos de l'échange d'un homme et ses trois fils prisonniers au château de Sivori contre un couple de parèques de la reine de Chypre qui sont au casal Saint Serge. Le document précise que la lettre de Philippe Singlitico était en grec, a été traduite en latin par Giorgio Bercasem et enregistrée sur ordre du capitaine de Famagouste par le notaire Antonio Foglietta,³³ la langue du document dans le registre étant une forme d'italien on se demande si Giorgio Bercasem a traduit effectivement en latin ou dans la langue parlée alors à Famagouste. Les autres registres intitulés *Diversorum negociorum* contiennent aussi des sauf-conduits ou licences d'exportation.³⁴

Le registre de la *curia* et les autres registres *Diversorum negociorum* permettent aussi de se faire une idée du coût du recours à la justice. Si rien n'a été payé, la mention *Nil* se trouve dans la marge au dessus de la formule *Pro...* Sinon à la fin de l'acte, le notaire reporte *Pro expensis...*

³² Par exemple *ibid.*, p. 145: 21 novembre [1455]: le trompette Giacomo rapporte avoir proclamé au son de la trompette et à haute voix en grec que si quelqu'un entend avoir une action en justice ou devoir recevoir de l'argent de Giorgio de Limini pêcheur, qu'il compare dans les 6 jours pour le déclarer ou le faire inscrire à la *curia* du capitaine, sinon après ce délai, si personne ne comparait, aucune audition ne sera reçue par le capitaine.

+ *Die XXI novembris.*

Iacobus tubeta retulit se hodie mandato magnifici domini capitanei Famaguste sono tubete et alta voce in lingua greca proclamasse quod si est aliqua persona que intendat vel pretendat habere actionem seu recipere debere aliquam quantitatem pecunie vel haberit aliquid agere cum Georgio de Limini, piscatore, compareat infra dies sex ad illud dicendum et seu scribi faciendum in curia prefacti domini capitanei, aliter elapso dicto termine (sic) et nemine comparente per prefactum dominum capitaneum denegabitur audientiam uniuersique petenti vel molestanti dictum Georgium heredes vel bona eius.

³³ ASG, SG, no. 590/1291, p. 284: + *MCCCCLVI, die martis VIIIIa iunii.*

Extractum est ut supra de litteris grecis et translatis in latino per interpretationem Georgii Bercasem et hic penes acta curie registrata de mandato magnifici domini capitanei Famaguste per notarium infrascriptum ad instantiam Georgii de Stephani nil adito vel diminuto, nisi ad unguem ut mihi dicto notario relatum fuit. Communis Ianue Antonius Folieta notarius.

³⁴ Ces licences d'exportation ou sauf-conduits sont plus nombreux dans les registres de 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441 et concernent surtout des Catalans. Cf. D. Stöckly, «Commerce et rivalité à Chypre. Le transport du sucre par les Vénitiens dans les années 1440 d'après quelques documents génois», dans L. Balletto, éd., *Oriente e Occidente tra medioevo ed età moderna. Studi in onore di Geo Pitarino*, 2 vols. (Gênes, 1997), 2: pp. 1133-1144.

et une somme modique, le plus souvent 1 besant 6 carats. Du registre de 1439, on comprend que le besant est pour le notaire scribe officiel, les 6 carats pour le sous-scribe.³⁵ Mais les sommes dues sont aussi fonction du travail; elles sont plus importantes si un inventaire doit être rédigé, ou une évaluation faite.

Les types d'affaires enregistrées sont très variés. La majorité des actes tourne autour d'affaires d'argent et notamment de crédit. On trouve ainsi la liste des débiteurs de Benedetto de Vernacia,³⁶ de Giovanni Ciconia,³⁷ de Cristoforo de Vignana,³⁸ de Gerolamo Verdura,³⁹ de Cipriano de Vivaldis,⁴⁰ de Marco Gabriel,⁴¹ de Marmeto de Savoie.⁴² Les sommes en jeu sont souvent assez faibles de quelques besants à quelques dizaines de besants; ces documents sont intéressants pour la variété des débiteurs, des hommes et des femmes, des Génois, des Grecs ou des orientaux. Il y a aussi des actes où le vicaire sur requête du créancier ordonne au débiteur de racheter son gage dans les trois jours, le délai habituel; ainsi le capitaine ordonne à Giorgio Bercasem de reprendre 3 livres grecs en gage auprès du père de Nicolino Ercherio pour 130 besants dus au défunt père de Nicolino pour un prêt d'argent et pour du drap (on ne sait malheureusement pas le titre de ces livres).⁴³ Toutes sortes d'objets sont déposés en gage, des bijoux, de l'argenterie, des ceintures, des tissus, des vêtements. Il y a également des demandes de séquestre, parce qu'un plaignant prétend devoir recevoir de l'argent d'une personne.⁴⁴ Le demandeur doit prouver que cet argent lui

³⁵ *Item pro expensis presentis mandati accipit scriba bis. 1 et pro subscriba haratos VI* (ASG, SG, no. 590/1290, p. 44, 22 octobre 1439).

³⁶ ASG, SG, no. 590/1291, p. 213.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 224 et 235.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 234.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 301.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 184, 330.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 392.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴⁴ Par exemple, *ibid.*, p. 246: 9 avril 1456: le capitaine ordonne à *Iohannes Marinus de Neapoli* de garder sous séquestre dans le port intérieur de Famagouste à l'intérieur de la chaîne une barque qui appartenait au défunt *Colatius* de Kyrénia et qui est à présent pour moitié à Nicola de Kyrenia et pour l'autre moitié à *Ali Solumanus* de Tripoli. Cet ordre est donné à la demande Giorgio Manson qui dit devoir avoir de l'argent de *Ali Solumanus*.

+ *Die VIII aprilis*

Pro Georgio Manson]

De mandato magnifici domini capitanei Famaguste, vos Iohannes Marine de Neapoli teneatis et tenere debeatis in portu Famaguste intra cathenam sub interdicto, sequestro et saximento barcam unam

appartient. Les questions de gages et de crédit prennent un tour aigu si le créancier est décédé. Les affaires de succession occupent effectivement la *curia* qui s'adresse aux fidéicommissaires désignés par le défunt dans son testament ou bien aux administrateurs des biens du défunt, à charge pour eux de récupérer les créances et de payer les dettes du défunt. Apparaissent ainsi les affaires de succession concernant un évêque des Grecs mort (mais il nous reste anonyme),⁴⁵ un pape tué,⁴⁶ l'archevêque de Nicosie (probablement André Chrysobergès),⁴⁷ et bien d'autres personnes moins connues.

que fuit quondam Colatii de Iherinis et que ad presens esse dicitur Nicole de Iherinis pro medietate et alia medietate Ali Sulumani de Tripoli, nec dictam barcam exire permittatis extra portum, sub pena solvendi de vestro proprio. Et predicta fieri mandavit prefatus dominus capitaneus ad instanciam et requisicionem Georgii Manson dicentis se habere debere a suprascripto Ali Sulumano certam pecuniam prout liquidabitur in processu.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 219: 26 février [1456]. Sur mandement du capitaine et de son vicaire Filipono et son frère Focha, autrefois familial du défunt évêque des Grecs et possédant des biens de ce dernier, devront payer dans les trois jours à Andrea del Ferro, épicier, 22 besants pour des médicaments que l'évêque a pris durant sa maladie. Ceci à la demande d'Antonio.

+ *Die XXVI februarii*

Pro Andrea de lo Ferro] Nil]

Precipiatur de mandato magnifici domini capitanei Famaguste eiusque egregii domini vicarii Filipono et Focha eius fratri olim famulis quondam reverendissimi domini episcopi gregorum tamquam possidentibus de bonis dicti quondam domini episcopi, quatenus infra dies tres proxime venturos debeant dedisse et solvisse Andree del Ferro speciaro bisantios viginti duos et sunt pro medicinis habitis per dictum dominum episcopum in eius infirmitate a dicto Andree ut asseritur. Et si de predictis etc. Aliter etc. Et hoc ad instanciam dicti Andree.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 361: jeudi 14 octobre 1456 dans la salle située entre la chapelle et la chambre de parement. Le capitaine transmet à l'évêque de Famagouste 10 ducats de Venise qui proviennent des biens du défunt pape Machalufi Cofli qui a été tué. L'évêque remercie et donne quittance.

+ *MCCCCLVI, die iovis XIII octobris in sala sita in medio capele et camera paramenti*

Pro comune Ianue

Magnificus dominus capitaneus Famaguste, in mei notarii et testium infrascriptorum <presentia> dedit et numeravit reverendissimo domino episcopo Famaguste ducatos decem venetos et ex illis quos habebat penes se de bonis quondam papatis Machalufi Cofli qui fuit interfectus. Qui dominus episcopus se tacitum et contentum de eis, quitans, liberans et absolvens dictum dominum capitaneum et per eum comune Ianue pro heredita dicti papatis, cui expresse renuntiavit et renuntiat. Testes egregius dominus Iohannes Tarigus vicarius, dominus Bartholomeus de Marinis et Bartholomeus Ususmaris.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 267: 13 mai 1456 à tierce: il est ordonné sur mandement du capitaine de Famagouste et de son vicaire à Costa Cabibi habitant de Nicosie de comparaître dans les 8 jours suivant le précepte devant le capitaine et le vicaire pour déposer et faire le compte avec Antonio Cigala de tout les crédits et dépenses concernant la *fideicommissaria* de feu l'archevêque de Nicosie et de donner à Antonio ce à quoi il est tenu selon la promesse faite par Costa comme il apparaît dans les actes de la *curia*. Sinon il sera procédé contre lui en justice. Ceci à la demande d'Antonio.

Les actes de la *curia* comprennent aussi des affaires immobilières, récupération de maisons louées,⁴⁸ demandes d'expulsion,⁴⁹ de préemption.⁵⁰ Toute la population peut se trouver partie prenante dans ces actes, des Génois comme des Grecs et des Arméniens. On constate ainsi que les établissements ecclésiastiques ont des maisons comme l'église des

+ *Die XIII maii in terciis*
Pro domino Antonio Cigala]

Precipiatur de mandato magnifici domini capitanei Famaguste eiusque egregii domini vicarii Coste Cabibi habitatori Nicosie, quatenus infra dies octo proxime venturos secuturos a precepto compareat et comparere debeat coram prefatis dominis capitaneo et vicario ad deponendum et faciendum rationem cum domino Antonio Cigala de omnibus receptis et expensis rerum fideicommissarie quondam Reverendissimi domini archiepiscopi Nicosiensis et integre persolvendum et satisfaciendum quodcumque tenetur et debet dicto domino Antonio, iuxta obligationem seu promissionem factam per ipsum Costam prout ex actis curie apparet. Aliiter procedetur ad ulteriora contra eum iusticia mediante. Et hec ad instanciam dicti domini Antonii.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 227, acte du 4 mars [1456]: sur mandement du capitaine et de son vicaire Marium autrefois concubine de feu Pietro Babo devra rendre dans un délai de trois mois à Filipono de Marco la maison dans laquelle elle habite à présent. Ceci à la demande de Filipono, le capitaine et son vicaire ayant vu auparavant l'instrument de *livello* fait à Filipono par l'évêque des Grecs et par les procureurs de Saint-Georges [des Grecs] et écrit de la main de papas Costa, notaire.

+ *Die IIII martii*
Pro Filipono de Marco

Precipiatur de mandato magnifici domini capitanei Famaguste eiusque egregii domini vicarii Marium olim concubine quondam Petri Babo, quatenus infra menses tres proxime venturos debeat expedivisse et expeditam consignasse domum in qua ad presens habitat Filipono de Marco. Aliiter etc. Et hoc ad instanciam dicti Filipponi, viso prius per prefatos dominos capitaneum et vicarium instrumento liveli facto dicto Filipono per reverendissimum dominum episcopum grecorum ac per procuratores sancti Georgii et scripto manu papatis Coste notarii, ut dicitur.

⁴⁹ Par exemple un document du 16 avril 1455: les voisins Guglielmo de Arditis, Luca Balbo, Eliaxino boucher, Giorgio d'Acre, Giovanni Francesco de Biandrate, déclarent que dans leur quartier habite une certaine Loyxia, prostituée, qui mène une mauvaise vie et demandent qu'elle soit expulsée en vertu des lois disposant en cette matière. Le vicaire ayant vu le serment prêté et la dénonciation, suivant la forme des lois «de meretricibus», prend le précepte suivant: Ordre est donné à Loyxia, arménienne, de quitter dans les trois jours la maison qu'elle occupe et à abandonner le quartier, sinon elle sera fouettée (ASG, SG, no. 590/1291, p. 9).

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 309 acte du 19 juillet 1456: le juif Leon d'Ancône, habitant de Famagouste, constitué en présence du vicaire du capitaine déclare qu'il est parvenu à ses oreilles que Jacob de Rhodes, juif, fils de Benjamin de Chio, a acheté au juif David de Candie, fils de feu Leon, une maison contiguë et appuyée à la maison de Leo, cette année le 23 juin, pour 13 ducats de Venise. Il demande que la maison lui revienne comme voisine en s'appuyant sur le statut de Gênes «de la vente pour voisinage à faire avant les autres» (= droit de préemption) et dépose 15 ducats de Venise auprès du notaire à donner à Jacob, prix d'achat de la maison et les dépenses et les gabelles.

Nestoriens,⁵¹ l'église Saint-Simeon,⁵² Saint-Georges des Grecs,⁵³ etc., et ont des personnes chargées de s'occuper de ces biens. On y trouve aussi l'acte de naturalisation de Salomon fils de feu Elias de Giblet de Beyrouth qui veut s'installer à Famagouste en 1455.⁵⁴

Enfin il y a tous les ordres publics donnés par le capitaine qui seront proclamés publiquement sur la place et aux portes; ils concernent par exemple des mesures de quarantaine car il y a une épidémie à Rhodes.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 247, 10 avril 1456: sur mandement du vicaire, Antonio Cigala fidéicommissaire des biens de feu Gerolamo de Loreto devra payer dans les trois jours suivant le précepte au prêtre Ventura Misac qui gouverne l'église des Nestoriens de Famagouste 203 besants et 8 carats pour le reste du loyer d'une maison que Gerolamo de son vivant tenait de cette église, une fois fait les comptes à l'amiable avec le fidéicommissaire.

+ *Die X aprilis*

Pro presbitero Ventura et pro eo Antonio Cigalla] Nil]

Precipiatur de mandato egregii domini vicarii magnifici domini capitanei Famaguste domino Antonio Cigale tanquam fideicommissario bonorum quondam Ieronimi de Loreto quatenus infra dies tres proxime venturos secuturos a precepto debeat dedisse et solvisse domino presbitero Ventura Misac in hac parte gubernatore ecclesie Nestorionorum Famaguste, bisantios ducentos tres et karatos octo et sunt pro resto pensionis unius domus quam dictus quondam Ieronimus conduxit dum vixit a dicta ecclesia facta racione de acordio cum dicto fideicommissario. Aliter etc. Et hoc ad instanciam dicti domini presbiteri Ventura dicto nomine.

⁵² Ibid., p. 82: le 3 septembre 1455: le vicaire ordonne à Laurentia de feu Pietro Belogii d'évacuer dans l'intervalle d'un mois après l'injonction la maison dans laquelle elle habite et qui appartient à l'église Saint-Simeon, et de consigner les clés de la maison à Marco de Messana, procureur de ladite église. Et ceci à la demande de Marco.

+ *Die III septembris*

Precipiatur etc., de mandato egregii domini vicarii magnifici domini capitanei Famaguste etc. Laurentie quondam Petri Belogii quatenus infra mensem unum proxime venturum secuturum a precepto debeat expedivisse et evacuasse illam domum in qua ad presens habitat et que domus dicitur esse ecclesie Sancti Simeoni et sic expeditam et evachuatam claves dicte domus debeat consignasse Marcho de Messana procuratori dicte ecclesie ut dicitur. Et si de predictis etc., aliter etc. Et hoc ad instanciam dicti Marchi.

Et p. 283: 3 juillet 1456: il est ordonné sur mandement du capitaine de Famagouste et de son vicaire à Giovanni Duc d'évacuer avant le 6 juillet la maison dans laquelle il habite et qui est à l'église Saint-Simeon et de la consigner à Domenico de Ripa à qui elle a été louée par les procureurs de l'église. Sinon elle sera vidée manu militari. Ceci à la demande de Domenico et selon la promesse de Giovanni Duc faite oralement le 9 juin comme il apparaît dans les actes.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 282: mardi 8 juin à tierce au banc: Giovanni Duc constitué en présence du vicaire, promet d'évacuer et de consigner la maison dans laquelle il habite à Domenico de Ripa dans le mois suivant le précepte, ceci de la volonté de Marco de Messana et Nicola Ercherio procureurs de l'église Saint-Georges (des Grecs) qui ont loué la maison à Dominico pour une pension annuelle de 6 ducats de Venise.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 15-17.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 269: + *Die XVI maii*

Preconate vos preco et cintrace comunis per plateam fori Famaguste et ad ambas portas dicte civitatis.

Un des enjeux du maintien harmonieux d'une présence génoise à Famagouste est la possibilité pour tous d'avoir accès à la justice et que les décisions puissent être connues et comprises. Les actes du registre de la *curia* permettent de voir les réponses apportées à ces problèmes.

La *curia* du capitaine semble avoir une large compétence comme nous l'avons vu avec la grande variété des affaires évoquées. On ne s'étonnera pas de voir qu'il existe parallèlement, comme ailleurs, une cour ecclésiastique, la cour de l'évêque, mais le registre de la *curia* montre que c'est le capitaine qui lui désigne un scribe en la personne d'Andrea del Ferro, notaire.⁵⁶

Les actes de la *curia* font également référence à la cour des Syriens, *curia Syriorum*, institution héritée du royaume de Jérusalem, attestée sous les Lusignan, et qui se maintient sous la domination génoise.⁵⁷ Elle a à sa tête un vicomte, et comprend des jurés. On voit qu'elle est compétente pour des affaires impliquant des Grecs et des orientaux, mais les limites exactes de ses compétences ne nous sont connues par aucun texte législatif. Le capitaine lui donne des ordres, comme le 18 août 1456 lorsqu'il ordonne à Nicolo Ercherio vicomte de cette cour

De mandato magnifici domini capitanei Famaguste quod non sit aliqua persona Ianuensis vel extranea cuiusvis nationis sit vel cuiusvis status, gradus vel conditionis existat que veniens versus Rhodum audeat vel presumat venire ad civitatem istam Famagouste vel intra duas leugas Famaguste, sub pena furcharum. Item quod si est aliqua persona que veniat versus Rhodum et intraverit in presenti civitate a diebus octo citra, debeat infra horam unam expeditisse civitatem sub simili pena fu<r>charum. Quicumque vero accusaverit aliquem de predictis, qui venerit versus Rhodum et intraverit in Famaguste vel infra duas leugas, habeat a massaria bisantios L. Et predicta fieri mandavit prefatus dominus capitaneus pro bono publico et pro sanitate urbis quia ex veris informationibus percepit quod in Rhodo moriuntur de epidimia.

Ea die Iacobus tubeta et socii retulerunt proclamasse in foro Famaguste ad portas Nimosii et Comerchii in omnibus et per omnia prout sibi continetur.

⁵⁶ Andrea del Ferro, épicier et notaire, apparaît fréquemment dans les actes du notaire Antonio Foglietta que nous éditons (ASG, *Notai antichi* 843); ici ASG, SG, no. 590/1291, p. 238 18 mars [1456]: sur mandement du capitaine le notaire souscrit averti Andrea del Ferro qu'il écrive comme les notaires doivent le faire tout acte de toute personne ayant un litige devant un magistrat ecclésiastique à Famagouste chaque fois qu'Andreas en sera requis comme scribe de cette *curia* ayant reçu auparavant ses émoluments. Ceci sous peine de 500 besants d'amende.

+ *Die XVIII martii*

Admonitus fuit personaliter de mandato magnifici domini capitanei per me notarium infrascriptum Andreas de Lo Ferro presens, audiens et intelgens quatenus decetero scribat ordinate prout notarios decet quecumque acta quarumcumque personarum litigantium coram magistratu ecclastico (sic) Famaguste semper et quandocumque dictus Andreas tamquam scriba dicta curie fuerit requisitus, sua semper debita mercede precedente. Et hoc sub pena bisantiorum quingentorum.

Et hoc ex officio prefacti domini capitanei.

⁵⁷ J. Richard, «La cour des Syriens de Famagouste d'après un texte de 1448», *BF* 12 (1987), pp. 382–398; Otten-Froux, «Quelques aspects de la justice», pp. 339–341.

et à Pasqualino de Giblet, Giovanni Duc, Giacomo Mittera, Pietro Faber, Pietro de Carmadino, Pietro Duc, Marco de Messana, Andrea Cazolli, Antonio de Giblet et certains autres jurés de cette *curia* s'ils existent, de produire dans les huit jours devant le capitaine tous les décrets établis par le gouvernement de Gênes et par les Protecteurs des *comperae* de San Giorgio existant auprès de cette cour des Syriens sous peine de 1,000 ducats d'amende, car on dit qu'ils gardent secrets d'autres décrets que ceux qu'ils ont montrés au capitaine, décrets qui touchent à la chose publique.⁵⁸ Parfois il y a simple référence à des affaires en cours devant elle.⁵⁹

Comme dans les communes d'Italie, le notaire est un personnage important. A coté des notaires latins, génois ou italiens, il existe des notaires grecs, généralement des prêtres grecs qui rédigent des documents.⁶⁰ Aucun n'est transcrit dans le registre mais des références y

⁵⁸ ASG, SG, no. 590/1291, p. 314: + *Die XVIII augusti*

Ex officio/ Nil]

Mandatur parte magnifici domini Bartolomei de Levanto capitanei et potestatis civitatis Famaguste etc. Nicolo Ercherio vicecomitti curie Siriorum, Pasqualino de Gibeletto, Iohanni Duc, Iacobo Mittera, Petro fabro, Petro de Carmadino, Petro Duc, Marco de Messana, Andrea Cazolli, Antonio de Gibeletto et ceteris aliis iuratis dicte curie si existant, quatenus infra dies octo proxime venturos secuturos a precepto debeant presentasse coram prefato magnifico domino capitaneo omnia et singula decreta conducta per dominacionem Ianue nec non per magnificos dominos protectores comperarum Sancti Georgii penes dictam curiam Sirianorum existentia sive penes aliquem ipsorum iuratorum vel aliquam quamvis aliam personam, sub pena ducatorum mille auri aplicandorum camere Sancti Georgii ab eis auferendorum si secus fecerint, inter eos dividendorum pro possibilitate ipsorum, advisantes quod de predictis fiet in Ianua coram officio Sancti Georgii et in Famagusta diligens inquisitione de dictis decretis.

Et hoc ex officio prefati magnifici domini capitanei attento quod dicitur quod in dicta curia Sirianorum vel in aliquo ipsorum iuratorum sunt certa alia decreta quam illa que dictus vicecomes et iurati dicte curie exhibuerunt coram prefato magnifico domino capitaneo, que tenent secreta et actento maxime quod dicta decreta spectant et pertinent rei publice.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 378 par exemple, acte du 13 novembre 1456, où le capitaine ordonne au vicomte de la cour des Syriens Nicolo *Ercherius* de garder sous séquestre les revenus de 3,000 besants confiés à la *curia* par feu Marino de Neapoli (Naples ou Nauplie?), car cet argent doit être versé à deux frères pour dire des messes à l'église Sainte-Marie de Tyr.

Precipiatur de mandato magnifici domini capitanei Famaguste vobis Nicolino Ercherio, vicecomiti curie Siriorum vestrisque iuratis quatenus decetero non respondeatis nec respondere debeatis de proventibus bisantiorum trium milium, quos dimisit in dictam vestram curiam quondam Marinus de Neapoli, alicui persone sine expressa in scriptis licencia prefati domini capitanei, sub pena solvendi de vestro proprio. Aliter. Et hoc ex officio prefati domini capitanei intenditis quod dicti proventus solvatis duobus fratribus pro offitianda ecclesia Sancte Marie de Sur prout dispositum et ordinatum est per supradictum quondam Marinum ut apparet in eius testamento.

⁶⁰ Par comparaison, on consultera Ch. A. Maltezou, «Portrait of the Notary in the Latin-ruled Greek Regions of the Fourteenth Century», dans W. Seibt, éd., *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit, Referate des Internationalen Symposions zu Ehren von H. Hunger (Wien 30. November bis 3. Dezember 1994)* (Vienne, 1996), pp. 121–131.

sont faites, par exemple un *instrumentum livelli*, contrat de location rédigé par un certain papas Costa, notaire grec sur l'ordre de l'évêque des Grecs.⁶¹ Il existe d'autres notaires grecs: papa Iani,⁶² Antonio de Giblet,⁶³ Costino/Agostino Diacho notaire procureur de l'église Saint-Georges des Grecs en novembre 1438.⁶⁴

Un autre élément des difficultés de cette société multiculturelle est la nécessité de faire connaître les décisions d'ordre général prises par le capitaine. Les actes de la *curia* sont assez précis pour indiquer où se font les proclamations dans la ville; si la formule «aux lieux habituels» est souvent employée dans les autres registres, on sait que ces lieux sont la place principale de la ville entre la cathédrale Saint-Nicolas et le palais royal, là où se tient un marché, la *platea fori* de Famagouste, ainsi que les deux portes de la ville, la porte de Limassol qui ouvre sur la route menant à l'intérieur de l'île, et la Porte de Mer dite aussi porte du Commerce (*porta maris* ou *porta comerchi*).⁶⁵

Les proclamations se font en différentes langues selon les cas, latin et grec,⁶⁶ grec seul,⁶⁷ latin et langue vulgaire⁶⁸ ou langue vulgaire⁶⁹ seulement. La proclamation est ensuite affichée à l'angle du palais et porte la signature du notaire (qui n'est pas présente dans le registre car inutile) qui lui donne sa valeur légale. On a ainsi l'exemple de Giustiniano Fatinanti, cintracus, qui le 31 mai 1456 rapporte avoir proclamé au son de la trompette et à haute voix en langue vulgaire sur la place du palais «qu'aucun officier de San Giorgio n'ose lui-même ou par personne interposée faire commerce ou vendre des choses ou des marchandises à des personnes interdites, en application des règles

⁶¹ Cf. ci-dessus, n. 44 pour le texte de l'acte.

⁶² ASG, SG, no. 590/1291, p. 282.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 272: le 29 mai 1456, Antonio de Giblet notaire a souscrit un instrument. On sait par ailleurs qu'il fait partie de la cour des Syriens (ibid., p. 314, doc. du 18 août).

⁶⁴ ASG, SG, no. 590/1290, pp. III et 45 (il y a deux types successifs de numérotation dans ce registre).

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 268: en date du 16 mai 1456: *Preconate vos preco et cintrace comunis per plateam fori Famaguste et ad ambos portas dicte civitatis...Iacobus tubeta et socii retulerunt proclamasse in foro Famaguste ad portas Nimosii et Comerchi in omnibus et per omnia prout sibi continetur.*

⁶⁶ Cf. par exemple n. 1.

⁶⁷ Par exemple ASG, SG, no. 590/1291, pp. 223 (acte du 1 mars 1456), 262 (4 mai 1456), 296 (1 juillet 1456).

⁶⁸ *Ego Antonio Folieta notarius et curie Famaguste scriba superscriptum proclama legi in vulgali sermone et lingua latina ac alta voce...*, ibid., p. 241.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 276, ou fol. 279 acte du 2 juin 1456: Gustiniano Fatinanti cintracus rapporte avoir proclamé ce jour au son de la trompette et à haute voix en langue vulgaire sur la place du palais.

de l'Officio sous peine contenue dans les règles». Il a ensuite affiché copie de la proclamation à l'angle du palais.⁷⁰

Nous avons vu que les types d'affaires enregistrées sont très variés. Quant aux personnes qui ont recours à la justice du capitaine ou sont amenées à se présenter devant la cour ou tout simplement qui sont citées dans les documents, elles montrent bien la mixité sociale de la ville. On trouve des juifs comme Salomon Cabibi.⁷¹ Des hommes comme des femmes, initiant la procédure ou la subissant, d'origine latine, grecque ou orientale, bref une grande partie de la population de la ville est nommée dans les registres des *Diversorum negociorum*, les différents exemples cités le prouvent. On pourra encore y ajouter comme exemple la liste des débiteurs de Cristoforo de Vignana, le 12 janvier 1456: Limbiti Grillo pour 5 besants, Bertolino Gallati 7 besants, Ianino d'Ancône 37 besants 12 carats, Thomas de Gibelet 7 besants 12 carats, *Baronus* de Sis 10 besants, *Menyhonus murator* 18 besants 12 carats, *Abramus censarius* 71 besants 6 carats, Vane de Sis arménien 20 besants 20 carats, Paolo Tortorino 11 besants 16 carats, Michali Mancel 10 besants 20 carats, Giovanni Marino de *Neapoli* 15 besants 18 carats, Thedorino Pitero 8 besants 12 carats, Giorgio de Riparolio 16 besants, Francesco de Péra 37 besants 8 carats, Giorgio *Diachus* 72 besants 3 carats, Antonio de Mondevilli 10 besants.⁷²

Les débiteurs de Marco Gabriel pour du drap acheté à crédit accroissent l'échantillon et montrent la variété des sommes dues; voici la liste: *Antonius ferrarius bis. 25*, *Michael de Lazaro bis. 79 har[at]os 2*, *Petrus Taihavacha bis. 50*, *Iacobus Batizatus bis. 61 har. 2*, *Pasqualinus de Vaxilli bis. 42 har. 6*, *Michalli de Neffino bis. 69*, *Savorinus de Gibeletto bis. 15 har. 8*, *Salamonus Berchasesem bis. 12 har. 4*, *Vassilli Structo sartor bis. 12 har. 12*, *Simon Malatesta bis 44 har. 6*, *Azar de Caffa bis. 30 har. 9*, *Iohannes Casseveloni bis. 50*, *Thomaxinus iardinerius bis. 57*, *Ihoxiffi Monsafir bis. 19*, *Dominicus Grillus*

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 276: *Iustinianus Fatinanti cintracus retullit se hodie mandato etc. proclamasse sono tubete et alta voce in vulgari sermone in platea palacii in omnibus et per omnia prout supra continetur (ce qui est contenu dans l'acte précédent) et post modo copiam suprascripti proclamatus afixisse ad angulum palacii adiecto in ea nomine notarii.*

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 189: jeudi 15 janvier 1456, à vêpres au banc: le vicaire siégeant au tribunal, ayant entendu la demande de Salomon de Cabibi juif de condamner Levantina, fripière, à lui donner 4 ducats et 8 besants pour le reste du prix d'un manteau de camelot de Salomon vendu par Levantina au pope Cana de Saint-Benoit de Famagouste (*papa Cana de Sancto Benedicto de Famagusta*) pour 8 ducats. Levantina répond de réclamer cet argent au pope. Le vicaire décide d'un délai d'un mois pour que Levantina exige du pope Cana cet argent, ce délai passé elle sera condamnée à payer de son argent.

⁷² Ibid., p. 183.

bis. 69 har. 10, Foti de Gibeletto bis. 20 har. 11, Varentinus (sic) de Petrucio bis. 10, Abrainus censarius bis. 14 har. 20, Salamonus Negibo bis. 50, Georgius de Riparolio bis. 13, Iani Chara bis. 50, Nicolinus de Vernatia bis. 20, Clera reventrice bis. 12 har. 12, Giriforte de Arenzano bis 135, Menyhonus murator bis. 10, Georgius Malatesta bis. 32,⁷³ ainsi que ceux de Cipriano de Vivaldis le 21 janvier 1456 pour du grain acheté; voici le texte:⁷⁴

+ Die XXI ianuarii

Pro Cipriano de Vivaldis

Precipiatur de mandato egregii domini vicarii magnifici domini capitanei Famaguste infrascriptis debitoribus Cipriani de Vivaldis quatenus infra dies tres proxime venturos secuturos a precepto terminis et peremptorie debeant dedisse et solvisse Lodisio Spinule factori dicti domini Cipriani infrascriptas peccuniarum quantitates et sunt pro precio grani eisdem venditi per dictum Ciprianum ut asseritur. Et si de predictis etc.

Quorum nomina et quantitates peccuniarum sunt hec:

<i>Georgius Diermo</i>	<i>bis. V</i>	
<i>Chali de sancto Serchio</i>	<i>bis. IIII</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Nasar carraterius</i>		<i>har. XVIII</i>
<i>Georgius de Derines</i>	<i>bis. IIII</i>	<i>har. XII // [195]</i>
<i>Georgius Iherula</i>	<i>bis. IIII</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Vassilli Bissara</i>	<i>bis. II</i>	
<i>Cana Semeas faiholatus</i>	<i>bis. VIII</i>	
<i>Vassilli molinarus</i>	<i>bis. IIII</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Bemut de Paradizi</i>	<i>bis. IIII</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Marium Timires</i>	<i>bis. IIII</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Ihana de Paralimini</i>	<i>bis. IIII</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Pasqualinus Caminari</i>	<i>bis. V</i>	
<i>Ihana de Levantino</i>	<i>bis. VI</i>	<i>har. VI</i>
<i>Cina? de Triandafolo</i>	<i>bis. IIII</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Vassilli Spinula</i>	<i>bis. VIII</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Michael de Lazaro</i>	<i>bis. XVII</i>	
<i>Vassilli sartor</i>	<i>bis. VIII</i>	
<i>Vassilli Stravoscoffi</i>	<i>bis. VIII</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Lengomitti Mormora</i>	<i>bis. V</i>	
<i>Marium ermenam</i>	<i>bis. IIII</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Georgius de Iherines</i>	<i>bis. VIII</i>	
<i>Brachini piscator</i>	<i>bis. XIII</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Sayte de Nigrus</i>	<i>bis. I</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Georgius de Alexio</i>	<i>bis. VII</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Abeit pastelario</i>	<i>bis. X</i>	

⁷³ Ibid., p. 184.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 194–195.

<i>Savorinus de Gibeletto</i>	<i>bis. III</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Azar de Caffa</i>	<i>bis. XIII</i>	
<i>Dominicus Grillus</i>	<i>bis. V</i>	
<i>Andrea de Bardis</i>	<i>bis. XVI</i>	
<i>Nicola de Chio</i>	<i>bis. V</i>	
<i>Thomaximus iardinerius</i>	<i>bis. II</i>	
<i>Nicolaus de Auria</i>	<i>bis. XXIII</i>	
<i>Georgius Coihinus</i>	<i>bis. VI</i>	
<i>Georgius Carcolli</i>	<i>bis. VIII</i>	
<i>Frater Domenicus de Sancto Domenico</i>	<i>bis. VI</i>	<i>har. XVI</i>
<i>Vassilli Cacha</i>	<i>bis. V</i>	
<i>Georgius Meliasiano</i>	<i>bis. XIII</i>	
<i>Costa de Meteleno</i>	<i>bis. III</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Botros faiholatus</i>	<i>bis. XXII</i>	<i>har. XII</i>
<i>Michali Mettera</i>	<i>bis. V</i>	
<i>Paulinus Milla</i>	<i>bis. V</i>	
<i>Monsafir de Pera</i>	<i>bis. V</i>	
<i>Leo Mermilli</i>	<i>bis. 0</i>	<i>har. XVI</i>

On voit bien la richesse documentaire que représente le registre de la *curia* du capitaine de Famagouste. Il constitue un excellent point d'observation non seulement des affaires judiciaires, mais surtout de la vie économique de la ville et de sa société. Il permet d'apprécier les liens entre les habitants, et de toucher du doigt les problèmes de convivialité qui peuvent se poser pour faire vivre en harmonie une population si variée et les difficultés auxquelles doit faire face l'administration génoise, qui se doit d'être impartiale et de protéger juridiquement tous les habitants. Tous peuvent comparaître devant la *curia* du capitaine: hommes et femmes, gens de toute origine et langue, un interprète est là si besoin est. Il est difficile de dire si tout le monde y trouve son compte, même si le capitaine et son vicaire semblent agir pour faciliter à tous l'accès à la justice.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Ainsi, le 19 janvier 1456, le capitaine ordonne à maître Antonio de Tragestis de conseiller en justice Iacob, arménien de Caffa, dans la cause soulevée contre lui par Marco Gabriel devant le capitaine. Ceci à la demande de Iacob (ibid., p. 192).

+ *Die XVIII ianuarii*

Pro Iacobi armeno]

Precipiatur de mandato magnifici domini capitanei Famaguste magistro Antonio de Tragestris quatenus viso presenti precepto debeat consulere et patrocinium dare Iacobi armeno de Caffa in causa contra eum mota per Marcum Gabrielem coram prefato domino capitaneo et hoc non obstante devoto. Aliter etc. Et hoc ad instanciam dicti Iacobi.

La *curia* du capitaine a remplacé une institution franque, la cour du vicomte, et a introduit les lois de Gênes, mais a conservé ce qui existait de spécifique pour la population autochtone, la cour des Syriens. Dans ce document, la forme des actes et les termes employés sont latins, mais la communication interculturelle existe, et le capitaine accepte un serment *more iudaico*⁷⁶ ou la production de document en arabe comme preuve. Enfin je voudrais souligner combien le document écrit est la preuve de l'ouverture de cette société chypriote où toutes les langues se côtoient, en évoquant un document écrit sur une feuille volante ajoutée au registre de 1440–1441. C'est la déclaration sous serment de Cosmas Masacaro de Naplouse, familier de Jacques Prévost, habitant de Nicosie, requis par le capitaine de Famagouste de dire la vérité à propos d'une dette que Jacques Prévost avait envers le juif Joseph de Candie, fidéicommissaire de feu Samaria, juif, comme il apparaît dans un billet écrit en grec de la main de Jacques Prévost. Il raconte qu'il y a environ 10 ans, Sava Cascari avait mis en gage une couverture de Jacques Prévost auprès du juif Samaria pour 250 besants anciens de Nicosie, sur lesquels, selon Cosmas, 100 besants avaient été remboursés à Samaria dans les 5 ou 6 mois après le dépôt du gage. Après une année environ Jacques Prévost avait reçu en prêt 150 autres besants anciens de Nicosie, comme il apparaît dans un billet en grec confirmé ensuite en latin par Jacques et scellé de son sceau le 5 novembre 1432. Quand Cosmas sut que les jours de Samaria touchaient à leur fin, il est allé le voir pour examiner avec lui la situation de Jacques Prévost à propos de la couverture et du billet de reconnaissance. Cosmas ayant fait les comptes avec le fils de Samaria et Ioseph de Candie, trouva que Jacques devait, avec les intérêts, 600 besants, dont il restait encore à payer 400 besants, que Cosmas au nom de Jacques dit avoir versé entre les mains du juif Azaria, fils de Samoli, au nom de Samaria dans les 15 jours après la mort de Samaria, ce paiement à Azaria étant fait de la volonté du fils de Samaria et de Ioseph, comme pourront le prouver si nécessaire Azaria et Simeon juifs; une fois le paiement des 400 besants effectué, il reçut la couverture et réclama au nom de Jacques le billet en présence de maître Luca autrefois juif, et d'un certain Iuda, billet qu'il ne put avoir car, comme l'assurent le fils et Ioseph, le coffre de

⁷⁶ ASG, SG, no. 590/1290, p. 46.

Samaria et tous ses biens sont sous scellés à la demande des créanciers.⁷⁷
On voit ainsi un membre d'une famille franque importante signer une reconnaissance de dette à un juif en grec. C'est bien la preuve de multiculturalité de la société chypriote.

⁷⁷ ASG, SG, no. 590/1292, feuille volante.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN CYPRUS AND
GENOA IN THE LIGHT OF THE GENOESE JURIDICAL
DOCUMENTS: ASG, DIVERSORUM COMMUNIS IANUE,
1375–1480

Svetlana V. Bliznyuk

The history of the relations among Cyprus, Genoa and Venice as well as that of Italian commercial activity on the island have drawn the attention of scholars for many years now.¹ Their study is possible

¹ S. V. Bliznyuk, *Мир торговли политики в королевстве крестоносцев на Кипре* (Moscow, 1994); eadem, “Городской пейзаж Фамагусты в XIII–XIV вв.,” *Город в средневековой цивилизации Западной Европы. Феномен средневекового урбанизма I*, под ред. А. А. Сванидзе (Moscow, 1999), pp. 363–368; eadem, “Генуэзская Фамгуста в XV в.,” *Причерноморье в средние века 4* (Saint Petersburg, 2000), pp. 219–275; L. Balletto, “Note sull’isola di Cipro nella seconda metà del XIV secolo,” *Atti dell’Accademia Ligure di Scienze e Lettere*, ser. IV, 3 (2001), pp. 161–175; eadem, “Tra Genova e l’isola di Cipro nel 1373–1374,” *EKEE* 22 (1996), pp. 57–67; eadem, “Tra Genova e l’isola di Cipro nel 1426–1427,” *EKEE* 27 (2001), pp. 57–94; eadem, “L’isola di Cipro nell’anno della caduta di Costantinopoli,” *Annuario de studios medievales* 22 (1992), pp. 205–231; eadem, “Cipro nel ‘Manuale di Mercatura’ di Francesco Balducci Pegolotti,” *Miscellanea di Studi Storici* 2 (1983), pp. 137–148; eadem, “Ethnic Groups, Cross-Social and Cross-Cultural Contacts on Fifteenth-Century Cyprus,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10 (1995), pp. 35–48; eadem, “Les Génois dans l’île de Chypre au Bas Moyen Age,” in C. Mutafian, ed., *Actes du colloque “Les Lusignans et l’Outre Mer”* (Poitiers and Lusignan, 1993), pp. 28–46; M. Balard, *La Romanie génois. XII^e–début du XV^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Rome and Genoa, 1978); idem, “La popolazione di Famagosta negli anni 1300,” *Storia dei Genovesi* 4 (1984), pp. 27–39; idem, “Il paesaggio urbano di Famagosta negli anni 1300,” *Storia dei Genovesi* 5 (1985), pp. 277–291; idem, “Les Génois à Famagouste (XIII^e–XV^e siècle),” *Sources. Travaux Historiques* 43–44 (1997), pp. 85–93; idem, “Famagouste au début du XIV^e siècle,” in J. Heers, ed., *Fortifications, portes de villes, places publiques dans le monde méditerranéen* (Paris, 1987), pp. 279–300; D. Jacoby, “The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Later Thirteenth Century,” *Μελέται και Υπομνήματα* 1 (1984), pp. 145–179; C. Otten-Froux, “Les institutions génoises et les affaires de Chypre,” in M. Balard, ed., *Etat et colonisation au Moyen Age* (Lyon, 1989), pp. 167–178; eadem, “Les relations politico-financières de Gênes avec le royaume des Lusignan (1374–1460),” in M. Balard and A. Ducellier, eds., *Coloniser au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1995), pp. 61–75; eadem, “Maonesi e la Maona Vecchia di Cipro,” *Storia dei Genovesi* 12 (1994), pp. 96–117; eadem, “Riches et pauvres en ville. Le cas de Famagouste (XIII^e–XV^e siècle),” in Ch. Maltezos, ed., *Πλούσιοι και πτωχοί στην κοινωνία της ελληνολατινικής Ανατολής* (Venice, 1998), pp. 331–349; eadem, “Quelques aspects de la justice à Famagouste pendant la période génoise,” in *Πρακτικά του Τρίτου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου*, 3 vols. (Nicosia, 2001), 2: pp. 333–351; J. Richard, “La situation juridique de Famagouste dans le royaume des Lusignans,” in

due to the great number of published documents from the archives of Genoa and Venice.² This Italian archival material provides valuable information on the multifarious interests of the Italians on Cyprus, economic, political, and diplomatic. The wealth of the Genoese and Venetian archives has led to a proliferation of relevant secondary bibliography. Nevertheless, the collection *Diversorum Communis Ianue*,³ which is preserved in the Archivio di Stato of Genoa (ASG) and which contains numerous documents on the history of Cyprus, has not been studied systematically as yet. Here I will attempt a brief presentation of these documents, which I published in 2005.⁴

The documents in this collection are contained in different *filze*, which were assembled using the method of the medieval loose-leaf binder. First, the sheets, covered with notarial handwriting of the fifteenth century, were folded once or twice. All of them were then pierced with a needle and cord, the same cord being used to bind the documents into a pack, called “filza” in Italian. Earlier readers or scholars pulled out the cord from the sheets and now the documents in the *filze* are no longer bound. All the documents were partially damaged by the perforation, but their general state is, as a rule, satisfactory. The only exception is *filza* 3021, containing hundreds of documents torn in half- and quarter-sheets, dispersed and shuffled. Reassembling the pieces is a very time-consuming process, but this *filza* is quite interesting and provides a wealth of information, including twenty documents concerning the history of

Πρακτικά του Πρώτου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου, 3 vols. (Nicosia, 1972), 2: pp. 221–229; idem, “La cour des Syriens de Famagouste d’après un texte de 1448,” *BF* 12 (1987), pp. 383–398.

² S. V. Bliznyuk, *Die Genuesen auf Zypern. Ende 14. und im 15. Jahrhundert. Publikation von Dokumenten aus dem Archivio Segreto in Genua*, Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik 6 (Frankfurt am Main, 2005); *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto*, ed. M. Balard, V. Polonio and R. Pavoni, CSFS 31, 32, 39, 49 (Genoa, 1981–1987); *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto e Giovanni de Rocha*, ed. M. Balard, CSFS 43 (Genoa, 1984); S. Fossati Raiteri, *Genova e Cipro. L’inchiesta su Pietro de Marco capitano di Genova in Famagosta (1448–1449)*, CSFS 41 (Genoa, 1984); L. Balletto, *Piemontesi del Quattrocento nel Vicino Oriente* (Alessandria, 1992); eadem, *Liber Officii Provisionis Romaniae. Genova, 1424–1428* (Genoa, 2000); C. Otten-Froux, *Une enquête à Chypre au XV^e siècle. Le sindacamentum de Napoleone Lomellini, capitaine génois de Famagouste (1459)*, Sources et études de l’histoire de Chypre 36 (Nicosia, 2000); eadem, “Un notaire vénitien à Famagouste au XIV^e siècle. Les actes de San Giacomo dell’Orto (1362–1371),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 33 (2003), pp. 15–159.

³ Archivio di Stato di Genova, Archivio Segreto, *Diversorum Communis Ianue*, *filze* 3021–3060 (hereafter cited as ASG, AS, *Diversorum Communis Ianue*).

⁴ Bliznyuk, *Genuesen*.

Cyprus.⁵ Most of these are dated to 1391–1398, but they also contain references to the events of 1373–1390, since these documents repeat acts of the earlier period that are no longer extant in the original. This is very significant, since the documentation contemporary to the Cypriot-Genoese war has not survived. Another *filza* worth mentioning here is *filza* 3060, also containing damaged and fragmented documents mixed with acts that have no relation to Cypriot history. The bulk of this file is a compact collection describing a quarrel in the Podocataro family, thanks to which we have a rare opportunity to trace the interests that private persons from Cyprus had in Europe.

The rest of the *filze* from the collection *Diversorum Communis Ianue* cover the period from 1420 to 1480. The collection, sad to say, preserves no documents from the beginning of the fifteenth century, nor any documents from the last years of Lusignan rule on Cyprus (1481–1489).⁶ This last fact is quite understandable, since in that period Cyprus was already outside Genoese influence. Only a few documents of the hundreds that every *filza* contains have a connection to Cypriot history and Genoese-Cypriot relations. My initial task was to search through the *filze*, while their transcription and publication constituted the second and the third stages. As a result the collection *Diversorum Communis Ianue* has supplied us with 94 new documents pertaining to the period of the Lusignan dynasty in Cyprus.

Most of these documents are judicial acts concerning lawsuits. As a rule a court case took years or even decades to reach a settlement. If the case was complicated and unclear a special commission would be appointed in Genoa. The commission had to study the problem and gather information, evidence, and depositions. At the conclusion of the investigation a report was submitted to the doge and the Council of Elders (*Consilium Antianorum*). This practice and the procedure are reflected in “multilevel” documents. A document contained in a *filza* is not simply a judicial act of a specific point in time; it may combine and reproduce the primary petitions, the results of the investigation, reports of the officials, intervening resolutions of the Council and the

⁵ G. Musso worked with some material from this *filza*; see G. G. Musso, *Navigazione e commercio genovese con il Levante nei documenti dell'Archivio di Stato di Genova (secc. XIV–XV)* (Rome, 1975), pp. 83–84 (AS 3021, no. 87); pp. 87–88 (AS 3021, no. 138); p. 91 (AS 3021, no. 139). However, he did not publish the actual documents.

⁶ ASG, AS, *Diversorum Communis Ianue*, *filze* 3061–3066.

doge, and so on—all the correspondence accumulated during the years of the lawsuit.

The documents found in the *Diversorum* collection, besides judicial practice, describe the day-to-day life of the Genoese on Cyprus, which, of course, was not confined to trade or the relations of Genoese citizens with the Genoese officials stationed on the island. Rather this life was full of problems and disappointments, crimes, punishments, and misfortunes. We can follow clearly the development and functioning of the Genoese colony in Famagusta, the way the city was supplied with food, or how the taxes were collected, fortifications were maintained, defense was assured, and finally, which type of contacts Famagusta had with the metropolis. The documents also reflect the political and economic interests that Genoa and its citizens had on the island. They depict diplomatic relations and military conflicts between the Republic and the Lusignans, concentrated around the financial problems of the kingdom and the “internal” relations between the Genoese administration and the Latin Church in Famagusta.

Some rare documents give us the extraordinary opportunity to trace the activity of certain Genoese who were in the service of the Cypriot kings as private persons and had aspirations to acquire fiefs on Cyprus. And vice-versa, the *Diversorum* collection reveals that on their part Cypriots were eager to obtain full Genoese citizenship and privileges in Genoa. Other documents refer to public order and to criminal cases concerning Genoese citizens who lived in the kingdom. The relations between the Genoese and the Cypriots were subject to the judicial procedures of the Genoese Republic.

The private correspondence of Genoese citizens with the doge and the Council of Elders makes up 90% of the collection *Diversorum Communis Ianue*. As a rule the documents are complaints of the citizens concerning the actions of the Genoese administration in Famagusta or those of the king of Cyprus, as well as the responses of the government to these complaints. Sometimes the major Genoese institutions, the *Maona* of Cyprus or the Banco di San Giorgio, issued these petitions. In practice one sees in these documents a dialogue between the citizen of Genoa and the government. The intermediary in this communication is the notary, who presents the essence of the appeal in an official form, converting it into the third person. One has to strip off this notarial mask to see the real events and the fates of the human actors. Then the officialese disappears and we read the emotional narration of the plaintiff with his personal resentments and anxieties.

The private nature of the documentation is not maintained in the aforementioned *filza* 3021. There instead we find the treaties between the Genoese government and the citizens hired to defend Famagusta. The documents also preserve trade contracts concerning the freight of vessels, trade with Syria, and newly imposed “kommerkia” in Famagusta. The variety in this *filza* is demonstrative of the fact that the Archivio Segreto di Genova was designated to preserve those unusual cases that the local Genoese administration on Cyprus was unable to solve and which required the involvement of the doge or the Council. In the period following the war of 1373–1374 the infrastructure of Genoese power on Cyprus was still under construction. No one had a clear idea of how relations with the king should be conducted or how the new Genoese city of Famagusta would develop. Even in cases involving routine tasks, the Council had to be assembled and the doge had to pronounce judgment in order to maintain trade in Famagusta or to supply the city with food. This transitional situation explains the composition of the documents surviving in *filza* 3021. In the following decades, however, different officials took over the responsibilities of regulating various aspects of everyday life in Famagusta. By 1420 the local administration performed its duties in a well-established state of affairs, and the decision of the captain of Famagusta and his vice-chancellor usually constituted the last word on a given case. The absence of routine cases in the subsequent *filze* of *Diversorum Communis Ianue* is indicative of this new situation.

The course of Genoese-Cypriot relations was determined by the war of 1373–1374. The war itself, its circumstances and results have been described in detail by Cypriot chroniclers and modern historians.⁷ We are well aware of the general consequences of the war for

⁷ Leontios Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitled “Chronicle”*, ed. R. M. Dawkins, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), §§ 362–481; Francesco Amadi, *Chronique*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie, *Chroniques d’Amadi et de Strambaldi*, part 1 (Paris, 1891; reprinted Nicosia, 1999), pp. 440–481; Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l’île de Chypre*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie, Collection de Documents inédits sur l’Histoire de France, Mélanges Historiques 5 (Paris, 1886), reprinted as *Historia ovvero commentarii de Cipro*, Κυπρολογική Βιβλιοθήκη 8 (Nicosia, 1998), pp. 295–341; Diomede Strambaldi, *Cronica del Regno di Cipro*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie, *Chroniques d’Amadi et de Strambaldi*, part 2 (Paris, 1893), pp. 146–198; G. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1940–1952), 2: pp. 386–416; P. W. Edbury, “Cyprus and Genoa: The Origins of the War,” *Πρακτικά Δευτέρου Διεθνούς Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου*, 3 vols. (Nicosia, 1986), 2: pp. 109–126; idem, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 197–211; Balletto, “Tra Genova e Cipro nel 1373–1374,” pp. 57–67; eadem, “Tra Genova e l’isola di Cipro

the Lusignans: the annexation of Famagusta, immense crown debts, and the perpetual financial bondage of the kingdom to other states. The documents from the *Diversorum Communis Ianue* bring to light other consequences as well. The war did not bypass ordinary people—citizens of Genoa, participants in the war, subjects of the king, as well as the king himself. The documents tell us that the war was a disaster and damaging not just for the king of Cyprus. It ruined the hopes of many men who sailed to Cyprus in 1373 seeking glory, wealth, and estates, but earned instead material losses, endless legal proceedings, and perpetual moral torments.

This was the case of Damiano Cattaneo, the hero of the war. He was the man who led a small squadron of seven galleys that began the siege of Famagusta already in April 1373, before Admiral Pietro Campofregoso arrived with the main Genoese forces in August. Thus August is accepted as the official beginning of the war, since the squadron of Cattaneo was not a real task force. Its activity was simply a demonstration of power undertaken to make clear that Genoa was serious about its demands, thus obliging the king to satisfy them.⁸ For Damiano himself, however, his mission was of paramount importance. For the rest of his life he believed that Cypriots trembled just seeing him. “The enemies, seeing Damiano invade and deploy his galleys in the port of Famagusta, which they believed to be impossible, for this reason surrendered the castle of Famagusta to him...” wrote Cattaneo about himself in his petition to the doge and the Council of Elders in 1393.⁹ Of course, the story told by Makhairas is more reliable: the castle was seized by treachery in November 1373.¹⁰ But Damiano was not worried about glory. He had been a member of the Council of the Admiral Pietro Campofregoso for 23 months and claimed that he had not received his salary for his service on Cyprus, though he had

nel 1426–1427,” pp. 57–94; eadem, “Note sull’isola di Cipro,” pp. 161–175; K. M. Setton, ed., *History of the Crusades*, 6 vols. (Philadelphia and Madison, 1955–1989), 3: pp. 361–367; S. V. Bliznyuk, “Цена королевских войн на Кипре в XIV–XV вв.,” *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 59 (84) (2000), pp. 86–96; eadem, “Il prezzo delle guerre dei re di Cipro (XIV–XV secc.),” *Südost-Forschungen* 59–60 (2000–2001), pp. 99–124.

⁸ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, §§ 362–481; Amadi, *Chronique*, pp. 440–481; Bustron, *Chronique*, pp. 295–341; Strambaldi, *Chronique*, pp. 146–198; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 2: pp. 386–416; Edbury, “Cyprus and Genoa,” pp. 109–126; idem, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 204–205; Setton, ed., *Crusades*, 3: pp. 361–367; Musso, *Navigazione e commercio genovese*, pp. 83–84.

⁹ Bliznyuk, *Genuesen*, no. 5, p. 30.

¹⁰ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, §§ 408–415.

been awarded 2000 gold ducats. Extracts from the account book of the *Maona* of Cyprus included in his petition confirm that the reimbursement of Damiano's salary and the expenses for the expedition as well as his award had been paid. He seems to have received money when he was back in Genoa in 1375, but in 1378 the new doge, Antoniotto Adorno, deprived the hero of the award, stating that by law "rectors and officials cannot accept awards or gifts." Damiano continued to fight, although only in 1385, when Adorno lost his post, did his chances really improve. He finally won his own Cypriot war twenty years after the real war was over and eight years after the Archivio Segreto had begun binding his documents into the present *filza* 3021. It had taken years for the courts to realize that Damiano was just a captain of a vessel and that, unlike rectors, he had the right to accept a premium.

After the war the king of Cyprus granted money fiefs to some citizens of Genoa. These fiefs and the compensation for the damage that the Genoese suffered as the result of the war were specified in the treaty of 1374.¹¹ Money fiefs were an innovation in the economic activity of the Genoese on Cyprus and they caused unfamiliar problems in Genoese legislation and diplomacy. Of course, the government of the Republic welcomed such grants, considering them as a variant of compensation. And it may appear that, for those who received fiefs, the results of the war were advantageous.

As usual the reality was different. Money fiefs common in the Lusignan kingdom were rare in Europe in this time and the attempts to make use of them caused constant discontent. The king, who was bound by the tremendous debt to the Republic, was himself bankrupt. By granting a fief the king, as it were, accepted a citizen of Genoa into his service, but the lord was incapable of carrying out his financial obligations. The citizens accepted for "service" and granted fiefs demanded payment and impelled their government to push their demands through. The Genoese envoys and ambassadors did their best and in signing new treaties they did not forget to remind the king about the unpaid fiefs.

¹¹ *Liber Iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, ed. E. Ricotti, 2 vols., *Historiae Patriae Monumenta* 7, 9 (Turin, 1854–1857), 2: cols. 806–815; P. Lisciandrelli, "Trattati e negoziazioni politiche della Repubblica di Genova," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* n.s. 1 (1960), pp. 125–126, n. 639; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 2: pp. 414–415; Bliznyuk, "Prezzo," pp. 99–124; eadem, "Цена королевских войн на Кипре," pp. 86–96.

The treaty of 1383 ratifying the annexation of Famagusta includes a separate paragraph stating that the king had to reimburse the Genoese citizens for all of their fiefs. A 5% annual fine was to guarantee the interests of the liegemen.¹² It must be stressed, however, that the debts for the money fiefs remained unpaid for a long time. For decades ordinary citizens awaited payments, as did the Republic itself, although their position was more favourable than that of the government. Citizens had a forum in which to make complaints. And they sued and went to court, spending decades in litigation against the king. This situation is quite evident in the documents under discussion.

The earliest of the *Diversorum Communis* documents dealing with the Genoese fiefs on the island that were granted after the war was composed in 1395, the last in 1438. Despite this chronology, the documents are actually concerned with the aftermath of the war—with the private contracts and grants of fiefs that Peter II Lusignan made in those times. One of them was executed in Famagusta by the king's vice-chancellor Giacomo de San Michele, on 29 May 1374,¹³ long before the end of the war and the final treaty. It deals with the money fief of 1,000 white bezants of Cyprus that the Genoese citizen Clemento de Prementorio obtained. He had to collect this tidy sum from the profits of a certain dye-house and of a camlet weaver's house in Famagusta.¹⁴ It is significant to note that Clemento was not granted the fief, but rather he bought it for 6,000 white bezants from a Cypriot aristocrat, the king's liegeman Simon de Montolif. It looks as though the most far-sighted and prescient persons began acquiring property on Cyprus, since it was not hard to foresee the result of the conflict. In those circumstances the king did not oppose the change of his liegeman, and Clemento received the royal charter of privilege with the king's seal attached. The case is explicit and unambiguous, so the Genoese who, like Prementorio, had to appeal to the treaties demanded their rights in full accordance with the Cypriot-Genoese pacts. But obtaining a privilege is not the same as enjoying its benefits. Over 21 years, from 1374 to 1395, Clemento de Prementorio, who invested 6,000 white bezants, was supposed to receive over 21,000 bezants. Taking into consideration the 5% fine, the total sum must have been about 30,000 bezants. The only money he actually received was

¹² Hill, *History of Cyprus*, p. 434.

¹³ Bliznyuk, *Genuesen*, no. 9, pp. 55–64.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 9; Balletto, "Les Génois dans l'île de Chypre," pp. 31–32.

100 bezants, which were paid to him thanks to his persistent demands and the intercession of the Genoese ambassadors.

During the twenty years that Clemento de Premontorio was addressing petitions to the king of Cyprus he also wrote to the Doge Francesco Giustiniani. The Genoese government ordered the captain of Famagusta and ambassadors to assist in the matter, but all the petitions were ignored and the king categorically refused to fulfill the demands of the treaty. The plaintiff, who lost his temper, had one final means of getting satisfaction: he demanded from the government the right to execute “repressalia” against the king and his subjects. The Trade Council of Genoa granted him this right in August 1395, but in March 1396 the doge and the Council of Elders reversed the decision. This cassation is the last fragment in the Premontorio case in the *filza*.¹⁵

There is no reason to suppose that Premontorio’s problems constitute a unique case, to assume that the doge or the king disliked Clemento, or, finally, that the king had good reason to ignore a fief that was situated in the lost city. Rather the situation was quite ordinary and the phenomenon of unpaid fiefs was not confined to King Peter II’s reign. His successors, James I, Janus, and John II, followed suit. Even the noble family of the Genoese doges, Campofregoso, suffered from this practice. The former admiral who had won the war, Pietro Campofregoso, was granted a money fief on the island in 1377. But in 1397 we see his descendants going to court and demanding 14,800 unpaid bezants from the king.¹⁶ In 1438 another citizen of Genoa, namely the acting Doge Tommaso Campofregoso, ordered his plenipotentiaries to address the king in order to demand the fief’s income for eighteen years. The fief, equal to 2,000 bezants, had been granted to Tommaso by King Janus, but in those years he did not receive a single bezant and the crown’s debt had reached 36,000 bezants by 1438.¹⁷ The doge’s opinion was that the king could guarantee his fief by the exploitation of some of the island’s *casalia*,¹⁸ an interesting suggestion, marking a new trend in Genoese policy. Earlier they had been content with operations in the most profitable sector of the Cypriot economy—international trade; now the doge was ready to enter the agrarian sector.

¹⁵ Bliznyuk, *Genuesen*, no. 9, pp. 60–63.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 19.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 44.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

The unpaid fiefs were not the only debt question. The king had a habit of not repaying credits received. As one can see from the *Diversorum Communis*, the Genoese gave credits to the king quite frequently.¹⁹ And one finds that they had to appeal to their government in the hope of getting it back, although the creditors did understand that the abilities of the doge or the Council were limited. The central government could not and had little desire to use extreme arguments of coercive diplomacy. However, “force” sounded very promising to private persons. They could resort to a “limited use of force” or, simply speaking, they could, at their own risk, attempt to rob one of the Lusignan subjects to compensate for their credit. The legislation stated the provisions; the creditor merely had to obtain the right of *repressalia* and, of course, to be self-reliant.

The right of *repressalia* was in reality the formal agreement of the doge and the Council with the planned piracy of their subjects. The government relieved itself of the responsibility of solving the difficulties of the citizens and made them entirely responsible for their own problems. The administration, of course, was aware that this method of compensation could provoke undesirable aftereffects in foreign relations. Therefore, the government would grant this right unwillingly if it considered negative consequences to be possible. *Repressalia* indeed was the “*ultima ratio*” to be used if all other means had failed and if the Genoese thought that they could get away with it.

The government restricted the implementation of *repressalia* to the amount of the declared damages. The Genoese administration on Cyprus and in Romania was informed about and controlled the amount of the booty.²⁰ The officials continued to stress that the *repressalia* were an extreme measure, which should be used cautiously. It took at least a year to resort to *repressalia*, and the government terminated the right as soon as possible.

¹⁹ Ibid., nos. 55, 63, 65, 68.

²⁰ Ibid., nos. 60, 61; S. V. Bliznyuk, “La dolce vita’ dei Genovesi a Cipro nel XV sec.,” in G. Airdi, ed., *Le vie del Mediterraneo: idee, uomini, oggetti (secoli XI–XVI)* (Genoa, 1997), p. 121; eadem, “Сладкая жизнь геновцев на Кипре в XIV–XV вв.,” Причерноморье в средние века 2, под ред. С. П. Карпова (Moscow, 1995), pp. 42–43; eadem, “Кошелек и жизнь геновцев в Константинополе и Адрианополе в середине XV в.,” Причерноморье в средние века 3, под ред. С. П. Карпова (Saint Petersburg, 1998), pp. 126–144; eadem, “Genovesi a Costantinopoli ed Adrianopoli alla metà del XV secolo in base a documenti dell’Archivio di Stato di Genova,” *BZ* 90 (1997), pp. 13–23.

But a license to rob is not yet robbery. A Genoese who obtained the right of *repressalia* could not be sure that he would be able to make use of it, considering that, when the government notified the Levantine officials and the king that the right had been granted, *repressalia* was turned into the ultimate weapon of diplomacy.

Reading the documents from *Diversorum Communis*, one gets a shocking impression of the extremely irresponsible, negligent, even cynical treatment of Genoese at the hands of the kings of Cyprus. It looks as if the Lusignans granted fiefs and privileges but never even considered paying anything. Did the grantees or the king's creditors understand this behaviour? What hope did they have if non-payment became a common practice and what could the consequences of this attitude be for Cyprus in its relations with Genoa? Should we consider that the misbehaviour of the kings was not a private matter but was a case of international relations? Finally, where were the limits of Genoa's patience and what measures could the Republic take besides endless persuasion and ambassadorial idle talk about the necessity of paying private debts? Indeed the Republic was not worried about private debts alone, but first and foremost about the debts of the kingdom to the Genoese state. The kings of Cyprus reneged or were not at all punctual in paying installments.²¹ The government, the *Maona* of Cyprus, and the Banco di San Giorgio wasted more time and effort than the ordinary citizens did in seeking payment.

One has to emphasize that psychological pressure was the main instrument of Genoese diplomacy, avoiding real and harsh measures to recover debts. The Republic would demand payments at the proper time, sending its commissioners to the king, engaging in endless negotiations, compromising, intimidating mildly. More often, however, the Genoese appealed to friendly feelings. This assertion can be proven and illustrated by the prolonged talks concerning the debt of King Janus that took place on Cyprus and in Genoa in 1424–1430.²²

In 1424 a representative of the government, the New *Maona* of Cyprus, and the Banco di San Giorgio informed the king that according to three "instrumenta" he was a debtor. The representative suspected that Janus had more debts to the Old *Maona* and demanded that the

²¹ Bliznyuk, "Prezzo," pp. 99–124; eadem, "Цена королевских войн на Кипре," pp. 86–96.

²² Bliznyuk, *Genuesen*, nos. 22, 27.

king supply the documents that could confirm his payments. The total debt was estimated in 1424 as 150,000 gold ducats and, according to the earlier treaty of 1403 concluded between the governor, Marshal Boucicaut, and King Janus, the latter was obliged to pay 15,000 ducats annually from this debt.²³ As a result of the negotiations the Republic, “for the sake of charity, philanthropy and kindness,” agreed that the king would pay only 5,000 ducats every year, thus increasing the term of payment from ten to thirty years. Later the term was extended to sixty years and the annual payment decreased to 2,500 ducats.²⁴ None of the compromising persons expected to see this debt repaid, but the compromise made it possible for Genoa to use the debt in diplomacy. It became a perennial demand, reminding Cyprus of its financial dependence on Genoa, and a potential excuse for intervening in the internal affairs of the Lusignan kingdom.

During this psychological warfare Genoa never tired of reminding King Janus that he was born in Genoa and thus his attitudes to Genoa should be friendly and peaceful. So it is a miracle, they said, that not only does the king pay no debts, but he intends to plunder the Republic and the New *Maona* of Cyprus. It seems that Janus no longer respects himself, that he lost his royal virtue when he broke his word and the treaty signed by his father, James I, a treaty confirmed many times and ratified by Janus himself. Genoa emphasized that it was not its duty to investigate lawsuits and to make the king respect the treaties—the truth was, they said, that if the treaties were broken the kingdom faced the prospect of devastation and catastrophe. “Janus must consider”—Genoa warned the king—“in what perils he has already placed his kingdom because of the improper and inhumane treatment of the Genoese.”

The Republic also urged the king to think that “because of petty reasons great disputes have arisen when not only were private houses destroyed, but also large areas, rich kingdoms and powerful empires fell into decay.” They invited him to consider “how growing dissensions cramped these states, and how they were destroyed by the resultant feebleness before they could sprout fresh shoots.” The Genoese constantly stressed how the *Communa* had given credits to the king because

²³ L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852–1861), 2: pp. 466–471.

²⁴ Bliznyuk, *Genuesen*, no. 22.

it felt sympathy for him and trusted his word of honour, in spite of the strong resentment felt in Famagusta and although any other state in its place, if it felt similar hostility, having conquered Famagusta, would raze the walls of the city, disembark the army, and establish law and order by force.²⁵

Why did the Ligurian state put up (or maybe, have to put up) with such circumstances? Was Genoa worried that Cyprus could appeal to Venice or Rhodes for help? This was possible only in theory. The Adriatic Republic as well as the Order preferred to mediate; they both wished to avoid meddling in military conflicts, as became evident during the 1374 war. Genoese patience was a payment for the possession of Famagusta. The exceptional status that this harbour received according to the treaty of 1383 was another great concern for Genoa. Even the slightest violation of this status made the Genoese anxious. No one could use any other harbour on Cyprus except Famagusta for loading and unloading vessels. Only the goods designated for the use of the king and his family were not subject to this regulation. However, when in 1424 King Janus tried to take advantage of this right, the Genoese reacted vigorously. They could hardly believe that the king wanted to use Episcopi (a possession of the Venetian noble family of Cornaro) exclusively for unloading things belonging to him.²⁶

This concern was a matter of money and was an inevitable consequence of the crucial decision taken during the war: the decision not to destroy the kingdom, but to drain it. The Genoese had more than sufficient reserves to conquer the island and they did it “de facto.” After Famagusta and the capital city of Nicosia were captured and the southern regions with the important harbours of Limassol and Paphos were devastated, it would have taken little effort simply to annex the island, given that the king, his mother, and his uncle John of Lusignan, Prince of Antioch, were in the hands of the Genoese. The “independent” kingdom was reduced to the fortress of Kyrenia, where James of Lusignan took shelter.

According to Peter Edbury, the resistance of Kyrenia and the mountaintop stronghold of Saint Hilarion, to which Prince John escaped, put an end “to any Genoese hopes that they could simply dictate

²⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 22, p. 131; no. 27, p. 152.

²⁶ Bliznyuk, *Genuesen*, no. 22.

terms.²⁷ However, Campofregoso never considered a general attack on Kyrenia from land and sea; he merely sent part of the garrison²⁸ and some foot soldiers from Nicosia,²⁹ apparently the escort of Queen Eleanor, carrying the king's order to surrender the fortress.³⁰ The queen escaped on the way³¹ to join John of Lusignan at Saint Hilarion in his desperate resistance, prolonging military actions. The Genoese secured their future on Cyprus with a casual siege of Kyrenia, which was sufficient to prevent the transition of sovereignty and power from the ungifted Peter, a pliable prisoner, to his uncles, experienced statesmen and skilled warriors.

Genoa had no need of the island's resources, so there was no urgency to conquer the kingdom. Moreover, the Genoese hurried to conclude the war as soon as Famagusta was captured, having signed a treaty containing impracticable provisions, turning the king into a financial hostage. Cyprus was obliged to pay 4,022,400 gold ducats in twelve years, a sum comparable to the ransom of King John the Good, which exhausted the French finances after the battle of Poitiers. We should add annual fiefs paid (or supposed to be paid) to Genoese citizens and the compensation of private persons. The Genoese pretended that they would hold Famagusta as insurance for the king's fulfilling his treaty obligations.³² The conquest of the whole island, once again, was beyond the wishes of the trading nation. Notarial contracts drawn up in captured Famagusta demonstrate perfectly that all the thoughts of the Genoese were focused on the city itself. The main function of the city ceased at its gates, which were thus the termini of the Genoese expedition. They required the market of Famagusta, good connections with Levantine centres, and stable and high profits. Thus already in 1374, as we see from the acts of the notary Lazzarino de Erzenis, Genoese warriors began to make contracts of *cambium*, *mutuum* and *commenda*, aiming at

²⁷ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 206.

²⁸ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, § 437.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, § 432.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, § 459.

³¹ *Ibid.*, §§ 432–460, 464–499.

³² *Liber Iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, 2: cols. 806–815; Lisciandrelli, "Trattati," pp. 125–126, no. 639; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 2: pp. 414–415; R. Lefevre, "Le basi giuridiche dell'organizzazione genovese in Cipro (XIII–XV secc.)," *Rivista di Storia del Diritto Italiano* 11/2 (1938), pp. 399–403; Bliznyuk, "Prezzo," p. 104; eadem, "Цена королевских войн на Кипре," p. 90.

profit.³³ A long, drawn-out war was not the intention of the Genoese government or of the citizens. Moreover, the annexation of the island would have necessitated the crucial reconstruction of the economy of the metropolis; it would have required maintaining a complicated governmental system and making heavy financial investments, and to what purpose? The questionable income of agriculture, latent opposition of the natives, predicted papal discontent, tension with other trading nations interested in Cyprus, and, of course, the problematic annexation were incompatible with their economic interests.

The Republic avoided needless troubles by seizing a large and most lucrative sector of the island's economy—the international trade market, which had already been concentrated in and supported by the infrastructure of Famagusta. The geographical position of the city, victory in the war, and the provisions of the treaty gave Genoa almost total control of the European trade together with revenues resulting from the trade with the Middle East. The possession of Famagusta guaranteed Genoa the dominant position in the Eastern Mediterranean economy and it was more important for the Republic to keep Famagusta than to force the king to pay his debts. The Genoese indulged and connived at the financial dependence of the Lusignans because it neutralized any official claims of the kings on Famagusta. The kings' debts became an excellent tool of diplomacy, but Genoa (as the kings before) received its real income from Famagusta. The efficient port was worth more than these debts, and thus it was a vital necessity to maintain stable relations with the Cypriots so that nothing would disrupt the tranquil course of life and trade in Famagusta.

The Lusignans were not able to ignore the terms of the treaty completely, although they made attempts to avoid or to postpone payments. The account books of the *massaria* of Famagusta leave no doubt that the king paid something every year,³⁴ although it was not sufficient to decrease the debt. Indeed, the unpaid debt only increased,³⁵ because according to the treaty interest was charged at a rate of 5%. The king

³³ Balletto, "Tra Genova e Cipro nel 1373–1374," pp. 60–67; eadem, "Note sull'isola di Cipro," pp. 167–168, 170–173.

³⁴ In 1389, 206,709 white bezants; in 1390, 217,989 white bezants. ASG, San Giorgio, Sala 34, no. 590/1268. fols. 71v, 188v, 211r.

³⁵ The increase of the king's debts is evident in the registri "Officii Sancti Georgii Introitus et Exitus." Musso, *Navigazione e commercio genovese*, pp. 81–82.

could never escape this dependence, while the *massarii* of Famagusta carried forward the balance from one account book to another.³⁶

The Cypriots for their part demonstrated little desire to exacerbate their relations with Genoa. In the course of time the subjects of the king discovered the contiguity of interests and began to achieve appreciable benefits from collaboration with Genoa. This is not a reference to the so-called “white Genoese,” who possessed a privileged status of limited citizenship.³⁷ Rather, I have in mind a tendency toward cooperation that can be traced among the Cypriot aristocracy from the beginning of the fifteenth century. The nobles looked forward to depositing money in the Genoese Banco di San Giorgio, tried to invest in its different “comperi,”³⁸ and dreamt of obtaining citizenship in Genoa itself.³⁹ An important reason for this change was the growing Turkish threat. Fear and rumours increased, and the general public was apprehensive about coming disasters and imminent collapse. The Cypriots had to make provisions not only for the defense of the island, but also for an eventual emigration to the West. Thus, in addition to the search for profit, these fears and expectations could explain why so often in the fifteenth century we observe the attempts of Cypriots to establish their business and status in Genoa. Their interests coincided with the interests of the Genoese government and bankers. The affirmed status of Famagusta highlighted the only way of effective investment for the Cypriot nobles. The financial institutions and the administration of Genoa could not neglect attracting the investments of Cypriots and making them devoted “quasi-Genoese.”

A Cypriot could obtain privileges in Genoa, but this was neither easy nor simple. The privilege was granted by the doge, the Council of Elders, the *Officium Monete*, and the protectors of the Banco di San Giorgio. Every appeal was a separate case, requiring a particular commission and a special legislative verdict. In order to secure a positive

³⁶ In 1390 the residual debt of 1387 was 23,000 white bezants. ASG, San Giorgio, Sala 34, no. 590/1268. fol. 163v.

³⁷ Bliznyuk, *Мир торговли и политики*, pp. 148–150.

³⁸ “ad loca usque ducenta comperarum...” On the “comperi,” see J. Heers, *Gènes au XV^e siècle. Activité économique et problèmes sociaux* (Paris, 1961), p. 142; R. Lopez, *Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo* (Bologna, 1938), p. 417; A. Pertusi, ed., *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, 2 vols. (Verona, 1976), 1: p. 375.

³⁹ Bliznyuk, *Genuesen*, nos. 33, 34, 84–91, 93, 94; ASG, AS, *Diversorum Registri*, 513, fols. 21r–v, docs. 60, 61; ASG, AS, *Diversorum Registri*, 555, fols. 33r–35v, 46v–49v, 49v–52v, 58v–61r, 61v–64r, 64v–67r.

verdict the applicants tried to convince those making the decision that they had “a profound respect and adoration for the city” and insisted that they were “devoted to everything that is Genoese.”⁴⁰

It becomes apparent that Genoese diplomacy was full of rhetoric and psychological pressure. Complaints and claims were put into polite forms, however, and their nature was that of “friendly” advice to the king. They were filled with protestations of good feelings and goals, declared an unwillingness to confront or fight with Cyprus, and called for forgiveness and conciliation. Of course, Genoese diplomats, as though as an afterthought, would not forget to mention that there was always room for violence. This hypocritical style of diplomatic relations was convenient for Cyprus as well. By word of mouth the king would always be ready to meet the demands of his opponents. He made a show of collaboration to pacify Genoa and to postpone the actual meeting of his obligations. Hypocrisy and rhetoric turned into normal diplomatic procedures. However, this manner of interaction appeared to serve the goals of both sides: Cypriots were eager to access the Genoese banking and financial system, while the Genoese needed the harbour and market of Famagusta. Thus, both nations were willing to tolerate each other in order to advance their interests.

⁴⁰ Bliznyuk, *Genuesen*, no. 86.

DIPLOMATICS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY:
THE USE OF DOCUMENTS IN THE *CHRONICLE* OF
LEONTIOS MAKHAIRAS

Angel Nicolaou-Konnari

The amazing continuity of Cypriot historiography, which may be extended to encompass a corpus of writers stretching from Neophytos the Recluse and Latin Eastern chroniclers in the late twelfth-thirteenth century to Archimandrite Kyprianos in the eighteenth century, and the change in the languages used for the composition of these histories of Cyprus, some of which may be described as *national*, reflect cultural relations and linguistic evolution in medieval and early modern Cyprus as well as the process of the formation of ethnic identity(ies). Fifteenth-century historiographical production includes the important chronicles attributed to Leontios Makhairas and George Boustronios, dynastic histories of the reigns of Peter I and Peter II and of James II respectively, that are composed in the Greek Cypriot dialect, express uncompromising loyalty to the Lusignan regime, and reveal a *Cypriot* and not a *Latin Eastern crusader* ideology.¹ The chronicle of Leontios Makhairas, in particular, has attracted the attention of many scholars thanks to its multifaceted character, which opens vistas on an important range of topics worthy of research, from purely historical to philological,

¹ See A. P. Ilieva, "Crusading Images in Cypriot History Writing," in N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, eds., *Η Κύπρος και οι Σταυροφορίες/Cyprus and the Crusades, Papers Given at the International Conference "Cyprus and the Crusades" (Nicosia, 1994)* (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 295–309, and, especially, A. Nicolaou-Konnari, "La *Chronique* de Léontios Machéras: Historicité et identité nationale," in P. Odorico, ed., *Matériaux pour une histoire de Chypre (IV^e–XX^e s.), Études Balkaniques, Cahiers Pierre Belon 5* (Paris, 1998), pp. 55–80, and eadem, "Literary Languages in the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus in the Thirteenth Century," *Μολυβδοκονδυλοπελεκητής* 7 (2000), pp. 7–27. On the necessity to study medieval Cypriot literature in a global way to include works in Greek, French, and Italian and on literary exchanges, see generally G. Grivaud, "Ο πνευματικός βίος και η γραμματολογία κατά την περίοδο της Φραγκοκρατίας," in Th. Papadopoulos, ed., *Ιστορία της Κύπρου. 5. Μεσαιωνικόν Βασίλειον—Ενετοκρατία*, part 2 (Nicosia, 1996), pp. 866–868, 960–961, 947–949, and idem, "Literature," in A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel, eds., *Cyprus, Society and Culture 1191–1374, The Medieval Mediterranean* 58 (Leiden and Boston, 2005), pp. 219–284, *passim*.

literary, linguistic, or narratological studies; recently, the text has even witnessed a successful dramatic adaptation for the stage.²

The chronicle survives in three manuscripts that were copied in the sixteenth century and preserve two recensions: the codex of the Marciana Library in Venice, datable to after 1523, contains the oldest and longest text and the only one that includes first-person references to Makhairas and his family; the manuscripts of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, dated to the year 1555, and the Classense Library in Ravenna, datable to ca. 1600, preserve a very similar shorter version.³ The paternity of the original text is a complex issue that involves questions concerning the parts or the version with which Makhairas may be credited, the person(s) responsible for later additions, and the authorship of and relationship between the recensions.

Leontios Makhairas was probably born in ca. 1360 (or, for some scholars, in ca. 1380) and died sometime after 1432; to the extent he may be considered to be responsible for the original text or, more likely, the V version, the composition of the chronicle may be placed in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, more precisely between 1426 (after the battle of Khirokitia in July 1426 in which it is mentioned in

² For a useful annotated bibliography of the chronicle and its manuscripts, see M. Pieris and A. Nicolaou-Konnari, "Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά, Εξήγησις της γλυκείας χώρας Κύπρου η ποία λέγεται κρόνικα τουτέστιν χρονικόν. Βιβλιογραφικός Οδηγός," *EKEE* 23 (1997), pp. 75–114. The chronicle has inspired many theatrical events, but in 1998 Michalis Pieris actually adapted the text itself for the stage and directed it for the University of Cyprus Theatre Workshop; see M. Pieris, ed., *Λεόντιος Μαχαιράς, Χρονικό της Κύπρου, programme*, TH.E.P.A.K. (Nicosia, 1998).

³ The manuscripts that contain the chronicle of Leontios Makhairas are hereafter abbreviated as follows: V (= Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS *Ven. Marc. gr.* VII, 16, 1080), O (= Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS *Oxon. Bodl. Selden*, supra 14), R (= Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense, MS *Raven. gr. Class.* 187). For each case examined in the present study, generally only the most characteristic examples are given and not a full list; the spelling is sometimes slightly improved. For the dating of the manuscripts and the chronicle, see Leontios Makhairas, *Χρονικό της Κύπρου. Παράλληλη διπλωματική έκδοση των χειρογράφων*, ed. M. Pieris and A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus* 48 (Nicosia, 2003), pp. 26, 29, 33–34, 37 (hereafter cited as Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*), M. Pieris, "Γύρω από τη χρονολόγηση του Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά," *Αφιέρωμα στον Στυλιανό Αλεξίου, Αριάδνη. Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής Πανεπιστημίου Κρήτης* 5 (1989), pp. 229–254, reprinted in idem, *Από το μερτικό της Κύπρου* (Athens, 1991), pp. 301–348, and A. Nicolaou-Konnari, "Η διασκευή του χειρογράφου της Ραβέννας της Εξήγησις του Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά και η *Narratione* του Διομήδη Strambali," in P. Agapetos and M. Pieris, eds., "Τ' ἄδδόνιν κείνον πού γλυκὰ θλιβᾶται," *Εκδοτικά και ερμηνευτικά ζητήματα της δημόδους ελληνικής λογοτεχνίας στο πέρασμα από τον Μεσαίωνα στην Αναγέννηση (1400–1600), Acts of the Fourth International Conference Neograeca Medii Aevi* (Nicosia, November 1997) (Herakleion, 2002), pp. 287–315.

the V version that he participated) and ca. 1432 (the last known mention of his name in the sources), with later additions (probably by someone else) that take the text up to 1458. However, since Makhairas's involvement in an early phase of the process of the creation of the chronicle is undeniable, for reasons of convenience and understanding he will be referred to as the author in the present study.⁴

The reconstruction of Makhairas's life and career from the sparse evidence provided mostly by the V version as well as the study of his cultural and ethnic awareness as revealed in the chronicle suggest that these were factors that had a great impact on the literary nature and ideological identity of the text. Leontios came from a family milieu with an apparently long tradition of serving the Frankish royal and seignorial administration, in particular the important Nores family.⁵ Leontios's father, the learned Greek priest Stavrinou Makhairas, participated in March 1383 in the discussions concerning the proclamation of a new king after the death of Peter II on 3 October 1382 that were held in the house of John or Janot de Nores, son of James the Turcopolier. Leontios's brother Paul was in the service of several noblemen in the 1360s and of the Constable James of Lusignan during the siege of Kyrenia in 1374, and he is mentioned as the secretary of the Viscount John of Neuville in 1385. His brother Nicholas also participated in the siege of Kyrenia in 1374 in the service of the king and was the secretary of the aforementioned John de Nores in 1402. His third brother Perrin (or Peter) was in the service of the king in 1402 and participated in the suppression of the riots of the peasants in 1427 under the Marshal of Jerusalem Badin de Nores. His cousin George Bili was also a member of the royal administration, described

⁴ On the authorship problems, see generally Grivaud, "Πνευματικός βίος," pp. 1067–1069. For the person of Leontios Makhairas and his family, see n. 6 below.

⁵ For the Nores family, see: W. H. Rudt de Collenberg, "Recherches sur quelques familles chypriotes apparentées au pape Clément VIII Aldobrandini (1592–1605): Flatro, Davila, Sozomenoi, Lusignan, Bustron et Nores (selon les fonds de l'Archivio Segreto Vaticano de la Biblioteca Vaticana et de l'Archivio Doria-Pamphili)," *EKEE* 12 (1983), pp. 5–7, 17, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 34, 35, 39–40, 44–45, 46–57, and table VII; idem, "Études de prosopographie généalogique des Chypriotes mentionnés dans les Registres du Vatican 1378–1471," *Μελέται και Υπομνήματα* 1 (1984), pp. 544, 569–571; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, "L'identité dans la diaspora: travaux et jours de Pierre (avant 1570 (?)–après 1646) et Georges de Nores (1619–1638)," in S. Fourrier and G. Grivaud, eds., *Identités croisées en un milieu méditerranéen: le cas de Chypre (Antiquité – Moyen Âge)* (Rouen, 2006), pp. 329–353; eadem, *Works and Days of Pietro and Giorgio de Nores*, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus (Nicosia forthcoming).

as “κουβερνούρης τῆς κύπρου” (= “governor of Cyprus” or *bailli*) in the chronicle and attested as King Janus’s envoy to Marshal Boucicaut in Genoa in three documents dated October 1403. Leontios himself was a secretary of John de Nores in 1402, participated in the battle of Khirokitia during the Mamluk invasion in 1426, and was appointed by Badin de Nores as the person in charge of the wine distribution to the army; Leontios also seems to have served the Lusignans on diplomatic missions, as attested by the French traveller Bertrand de La Broquière, who met the chronicler in 1432 on one of his trips to Asia Minor and who says that Makhairas spoke “assés bon françois.”⁶

We may thus legitimately consider Leontios to have been a member of that group of bi- or multilingual bureaucrats and civil servants who belonged to the Greek burgesses or, perhaps, were the descendants of old Greek noble families, had access to both the Greek and the Latin worlds, participating in both cultures, and acquired social and economic prominence in virtue of their education and linguistic abilities. It seems that by the end of the fourteenth century, feelings of ethnic identity with relation to Cyprus as a geographical and political entity had emerged amongst the particular milieu to which Makhairas belonged and the

⁶ References to Makhairas and his family are to be found in V39v, 195r, 195v, 203r, 213v, 216r, 248r, 249r, 252v (?), 264v, 266v, 281v (?), 282r, 282v, 283r, 296r, 303r, 303v, O218v, 221v, 269v, 285r, 288r, 295v, 296v, 317v, 324v, 325r, R137v, 138v, 158v, 165v, 167r, 170r, 170v, 178v, 182r; see Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 121–122, 324–325, 335, 348–349, 351–352, 393, 394, 398–399, 414, 423, 424, 425, 448, 456–457, and in Bertrand de La Broquière, *Le Voyage d’Outremer de Bertrand de la Broquière*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris, 1892), p. 106; extract also in L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852–1861), 3: pp. 3–4. See generally, Leontios Makhairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled “Chronicle”*, ed. R. M. Dawkins, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), 2: pp. 16–17, 20–21 (hereafter cited as Makhairas, *Chronicle*); Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, p. 26; N. Anaxagorou, *Narrative and Stylistic Structures in the Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas* (Nicosia, 1998), pp. 12–17, 193–194, with many assumptions; Grivaud, “Πνευματικός βίος,” pp. 1069–1070; Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, “Λεοντίου Μαχαίρα, Χρονικόν. Βιβλιογραφικός Οδηγός,” pp. 83–85; and Nicolaou-Konnari, “Chronique,” pp. 66–67. For Bili, also see J. Darrouzès, “Manuscrits originaux de Chypre à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris,” *RÉB* 8 (1950), p. 187; Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre*, 2: pp. 472, 475, where he is described as “consiliarius;” Francesco Amadi, *Chronique*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie, *Chroniques d’Amadi et de Strambaldi*, part 1 (Paris, 1891), p. 497; Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l’île de Chypre*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie, Collection de documents inédits sur l’histoire de France, Mélanges historiques 5 (Paris, 1886), p. 354, where he is said to be “proveditor;” R. de Mas Latrie in Diomedes Strambaldi, *Cronica del Regno di Cypro*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie, *Chroniques d’Amadi et de Strambaldi*, part 2 (Paris, 1893), p. 263, n. 7, followed by Dawkins in Makhairas, *Chronicle*, 2: p. 211, thinks that Bili was a *bailli* of the secrète, an office exclusively granted to the noble Franks, see A. Nicolaou-Konnari, “Greeks,” in eadem and Schabel, eds., *Cyprus*, p. 30; P. W. Edbury, “Franks,” in Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, eds., *Cyprus*, p. 76.

circles in which he moved, the wealthy educated Greek burgesses and the Frankish ruling class. This common group consciousness was expressed by the ethnic name *Kypriotis*, used extensively in the chronicle to denote the entire population of the island, regardless of rite, origin, or social status, while language in the form of the Greek Cypriot dialect seems to have been a condition of ethnic affiliation associated with it.⁷

It is, therefore, not surprising that Makhairas's chronicle does not fit well into any of the conventional history-writing categories of the Western or Byzantine traditions, embodying the fusion of the Byzantine and Latin Eastern worlds and transforming the crusader tradition of the Continuators, Philip of Novara, and "Gérard de Monréal" into a Greco-Frankish tradition proper to the socio-cultural reality of Lusignan Cyprus; in other words, Makhairas invents a *Kypriotike* tradition of history writing. His narrative borrows from many literary genres but it may be considered to be primarily a kind of memoirs (the history of a period that is contemporary or almost to the time he lived and of which he is not a simple compiler but a witness and sometimes an essential participant) and a dynastic history (in which historical time is organized according to genealogical time).⁸ Accordingly, wherever he does not draw on personal recollection, Makhairas makes a point of specifying his written (historiographical, documentary, or hagiographical) and oral sources (information provided by eyewitnesses, only in V).⁹ In this respect, it is interesting to note the discrepancy between Makhairas's historical subjectivity, not hesitating to take sides openly, and the

⁷ See G. Grivaud, "Éveil de la nation chypriote (XII^e–XV^e siècles)," in *Kyprios character: quelle identité chypriote? Particularismes insulaires et utopie pluri-culturelle* [Sources. Travaux historiques 43–44] (1995), pp. 105–116, esp. pp. 111, 112–113; Nicolaou-Konnari, "Chronique," pp. 62–66, 75–77; eadem, "Literary Languages," pp. 9–10, 16; eadem, "Ethnic Names and the Construction of Group Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Cyprus: The Case of Κυπριώτης," *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί* 64–65 (2000–2001), pp. 260–265; eadem, "Η ονοματολογία στα χειρόγραφα του Χρονικού του Λεοντίου Μαχαίρα," in E. Jeffreys and M. Jeffreys, eds., *Αναδρομικά και Προδρομικά. Approaches to Texts in Early Modern Greek. Papers from the Conference Neograeca Medii Aevi V (Exeter College, University of Oxford, September, 2000)* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 333–336, 351–352, 357–358; Nicolaou-Konnari, "Greeks," pp. 53–57, esp. p. 54; A. Beihhammer, "Gruppenidentität und Selbstwahrnehmung im zyprischen Griechentum der frühen Frankenzeit. Ein Interpretationsversuch anhand von zeitgenössischen Briefen und Urkunden," *JÖB* 56 (2006), p. 205–237.

⁸ See Anaxagorou, *Narrative and Stylistic Structures*, chapter 5, who surprisingly compares Makhairas's text with Byzantine and Western but not with Latin Eastern or other Cypriot chronicles in Old French or Italian; Grivaud, "Πνευματικός βίος," pp. 1066–1084; Nicolaou-Konnari, "Chronique," pp. 69–71 and passim.

⁹ See Makhairas, *Chronicle*, 2: pp. 11–15, and Anaxagorou, *Narrative and Stylistic Structures*, p. 193.

consistency with which he meticulously marks the day of the week, month, and year of an event and specifies the way he collected his information, often supplying the name of his informant (ἤβρατο γραμμένον/“I have found it recorded;”¹⁰ ἀθθυμούμε/“I remember;”¹¹ εἶπεν μούτο/“I was told of this” or ἔμαθααπο/“I learned [it] from”).¹²

This *notarial* precision with which Makhairas makes a point of providing detailed information about his sources betrays his background as a secretary and a diplomat; in fact, on one occasion Leontios indulges in describing the qualities that characterise the wise envoy on a mission, that is to say, secrecy, diplomacy and gentleness of speech.¹³ Indeed, there can be little doubt that Makhairas’s career influenced his conception of history writing, the style of his narrative, and, most importantly, the nature of the sources he used, namely, material and documents from the Lusignan state archives. The extensive use of archival sources endows his history with accuracy, credibility, and documentary realism and, together with the use of prose and the Greek vernacular spoken on the island, also serving as marks of authenticity and reflecting his professional background, furnishes the narrative with vividness and rhythm. Chronologically, the use of documents is significantly more intense during the reigns of Peter I and especially Peter II, decreasing for the reigns of James I and Janus, and dropping dramatically in the last part which most probably represents a later addition. Of course we cannot tell how far the choice of the documents used or inserted in the text was biased by ideological considerations, although they do serve the chronicle’s goal of relating the glory and fall of the Lusignan dynasty caused by the “evil” Genoese and the “infidel” Muslims. And we can only speculate about the degree of fidelity of the reported documents, based on parallel texts or the few original documents that survive, as we are going to see later on.¹⁴

Using documents from the state archives to compose a historical work is by no means original to Makhairas and it is attested in both

¹⁰ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 111, 112, 122 (V33v, 34r, 40r; O46v; R30r).

¹¹ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, p. 112 (V34r).

¹² Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 88, 194, 198–199, 451 (V18v, 87r, 90r, 298v–299r).

¹³ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 342–343 (V208r–209r, O212r–213v, R134v–135r).

¹⁴ For the *Other* in the chronicle, see Nicolaou-Konnari, “Ονοματολογία,” pp. 354–357.

the Byzantine and the Western historiographical traditions, the extent of incorporating or interpolating documents varying from one work to another.¹⁵ What is original is that Makhairas makes absolutely no effort to conceal his reliance on documents and the notarial culture. The frequency with which letters or other documents (generally described in Greek as *χαρτίν/χαρτία*, literally “papers,” and *γραφή γραφές*, literally “writings”) are cited, reported, or mentioned in the text is impressive: roughly 163 cases for *χαρτία* and 42 for *γραφές* as well as 20 explicit mentions of a notary in V alone. The statistics are equally impressive for the great number of cases where the day of the week, month, and year are specified, either as information in the text or at the beginning or end of a document (with the indication *ἐγράπη τῆ/“written on”*): roughly 150 cases in V, which is more precise but not always more correct, O and R sometimes omitting the day of the week.¹⁶ The high occurrence of various lists also indicates that written

¹⁵ From Byzantine historiography, one could cite indicatively the following: in the second half of the 10th century Leo the Deacon, who inserts speeches and letters in direct speech in his narrative; in the 11th century Michael Psellos, who inserts imperial letters; in the 12th century Anna Comnena, who makes extensive use of documents of the imperial administration; also in the 12th century John Kinnamos and in the 13th century George Akropolites, who had easy access to the state archives in their capacity as imperial *grammatikoi* and/or diplomats, although in the late 12th–early 13th century Niketas Choniates does not seem to have used original documents extensively despite the fact that he held various administrative offices; and in the 14th century John VI Kantakouzenos, who often constructs his narrative on interpolated speeches and reported proceedings of political or military councils. See H. Hunger, *Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία. Η λόγια κοσμική γραμματεία των Βυζαντινών*, Greek trans. T. Kolias et al., 3 vols. (Athens, 1991–1994), 2: pp. 183, 196, 233, 240, 286, 267–268, 322. History writing in England yields many examples of authors using and citing documents *in extenso*, from Bede in the 7th–8th century to Anglo-Norman historians in the 12th century (e.g. the Worcester chronicle and Orderic Vitalis) and Matthew Paris in the 13th century; the so-called “administrative” historians of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, in particular (namely, the chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough and the chronicles of Roger of Howden and Ralph Diceto), share a common, strong interest in the country’s administration and thus include such a great number of official documents that “Benedict of Peterborough,” for example, towards the end reads like a register. See A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550–c. 1307* (London and New York, 1996), *passim*, esp. pp. 25–26, 146, 154, 219–236, 361. Also, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Innocentii III* included a large number of letters to and from the pope in his narrative; see *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III by an Anonymous Author*, trans. with an introduction and notes by J. M. Powell (Washington D.C., 2004), esp. pp. 131–228 *passim*.

¹⁶ It is interesting to note, however, that in about one third of these cases the day of the month and the day of the week do not agree; see Makhairas, *Chronicle*, 2: p. 14, and Grivaud, “Πνευματικός βίος,” p. 1073; while there are also discrepancies amongst

records were used for the composition of the chronicle; these include annalistic lists of kings with dates of coronation and death,¹⁷ lists of officers of the crown,¹⁸ information about taxes,¹⁹ and 23 long lists and several shorter ones with the names of nobles participating in military expeditions and those of imprisoned or killed knights (τα νομάτωλογία τῶν ἀρχόντων... χορὶς τοὺς ἀνονίμους).²⁰

The study of the chronicle's narrative and stylistic structure renders its dependence on documents even more striking. The documents form an indispensable part of the interlaced structure of the text, and the extent of their use and the complex way they interweave with the discourse, without any shift of the linguistic register, suggest that their use and interpolation belong to a first phase of the creation of the chronicle and imply authorial intention and research. The narrative is largely constructed on documents that ensure the sequence of the events as connecting material, whether reported in narrative form or cited without any apparent effort to incorporate them in the text in a uniform way. This is not just a type of discourse or a mode of orality or textuality: it is the conscientious effort of a person who belongs to a notarial milieu to organize a historical work on the basis of a collection of authentic documents mined from a rich variety of archives.²¹ In fact, more than once the chronicle creates the impression that it is a first draft, a work

the three manuscript texts; see Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, p. 41; cf. A. Nicolaou-Konnari, "Ἡ Κύπρος στις απαρχές της Τουρκοκρατίας: τα ιστορικά σημειώματα στα φ. 239v–240r του κώδικα Ven. Marc. gr. VII, 16, 1080," *EKEE* 31 (2005), pp. 212–214.

¹⁷ See for example Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 74–76, 88–89 (V8v–9v, R5v–6v; V18v–19r, O13v–14v, R14r–v).

¹⁸ See for example Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 111–112, 116–117, 191, 119, 154, 247–248 (V33v–34v, O37r–38v, R25r–v; V36r–v, O116v–117r, R27r–v; V38r, O43v–44r, R28v; V61v, O81v–82r, R49r; V126v, R89r–v).

¹⁹ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 69, 147–148, 180–181, 421–422 (V4v–5r, R3r; V56r–v, O73v–74v, R45r–v; V78v, O106v–107r, R61v; V280r–v, O292v–293v, R168v–169r).

²⁰ See for example Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 150, 98, 125–126, 150–151, 164–165 (V58v; V24v–25r, O23v–24r, R18v–19r; V43r, O50r–51r, R32r–v; V58v–59r, O77v–78r, R47r; V69r–v, O91v–92v, R54r–v); for lists of names and officers of the crown, also see Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, p. 41, and Nicolaou-Konnari, "Όνοματολογία," pp. 337, 340–348 passim, esp. 346.

²¹ Amongst the first to underline the importance of documents and generally of the notarial culture in the chronicle was C. S. Κυπριανού, "Λεόντιος Μαχαίρας—ὁ χρονογράφος τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας ἐν Κύπρῳ," *Κυπριακὰ Γράμματα* 21 (1956), p. 219, and later Grivaud, "Πνευματικός βίος," pp. 1083–1084. It is interesting to note that, although Anaxagorou, *Narrative and Stylistic Structures*, studies several types of discourse in the chronicle, she does not single out the use of documents either as a source or as a mode of expression.

in process that needs reworking so that all the archival material used can be smoothly and coherently incorporated in the text.

Stylistically, the documents are thus used in a variety of ways that may be roughly categorised as follows. In a great number of cases, the contents of the documents are reported in indirect speech, functionally incorporated in the narrative (e.g. correspondence and the exchange of embassies between the first Lusignans and the pope for the establishment of a Latin Church in Cyprus and Peter I and the pope concerning the king's succession to the throne and the claims of Hugh of Lusignan, Prince of Galilee;²² exchange of letters between Peter II, his mother Eleanor of Aragon, royal officials, and the Genoese during the Genoese invasion;²³ exchange of letters between the pope, the Genoese, Eleanor of Aragon, her father, and Western rulers).²⁴ Sometimes, information drawn from documents is presented in the form of a dialogue between the interested parties (e.g. the events surrounding the stay of the Constable James of Lusignan in Rhodes).²⁵ On several other occasions, the chronicle specifically says that a letter was drafted and parts of its contents are reported in the first person (e.g. papal letter for the suppression of the Templars; Peter I's letter to the captain of the Cypriot fleet; Peter I's letter to Eleanor of Aragon; Peter II's letter of recommendation for Thibald Belfarage;²⁶ exchange of letters between the Constable James of Lusignan, Peter II, and the Genoese during the Genoese invasion of Cyprus).²⁷ Similarly, the reports of envoys on a mission are usually reported in direct speech but only in a summarised or fragmentary form, introduced with the expressions "[he] sent word [to him]" or "[he] brought the news" (ἐμήνισεν/ἔφερον μαντάτα); they concern the exchange of embassies between the Lusignans and the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt,²⁸ the Italian

²² Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 80, 119–121, 131 (V13r–v, O5v–6v, R9v; V38v–39r, O44r–45v, R28v–29r; V45v–46r, O56v, R35v).

²³ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 305–309, 313–315, 353–357 (V180r–183r, O176r–180r, R116r–118r; V186v–187r, O184r–185r, R120r–v; V218r–220r, O224r–226r, R139v–140v).

²⁴ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 260–265 (V146r–149v, R95r–97v).

²⁵ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 374ff. (V232v ff., O245r ff., R148r ff.).

²⁶ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 73–74, 158, 193, 389 (V7v–8r, R5r; V64v–65r, O86r, R51v; V86r–v, O118v, R66r; V244v–245r, O259v, R154v).

²⁷ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 286–287, 288–289, 304–305 (V166r, O158r, R107v; V167r–168r, O159r–160r, R108v; V179v, O175r, R116r).

²⁸ See for example Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 77–78, 235ff. (V10v–11v, O2r–4r, R7r–8r; V117r ff., R84r ff.).

maritime cities and the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt,²⁹ the Italian maritime cities and the Lusignans,³⁰ the Lusignans and the pope,³¹ the pope, the Genoese, Eleanor of Aragon, her father, and Western rulers,³² Peter II and the Genoese,³³ and the events surrounding the capture of Adalia and the surrender of Alaya to Peter I in 1361–1362.³⁴ It is difficult to give numbers for these cases because the documents appear or are implied on practically every other page.

There are, however, approximately 26 letters, mainly emanating from or received by the royal Chancery, and roughly seven cases concerning exchanges of embassies or reports of envoys that are inserted verbatim or seemingly verbatim in the text. The letters are usually introduced with expressions such as εἰ πῖα γραφί ἔλαλεν οὕτως/“and this letter was as follows” or καὶ ἐδῖλοπίαν/“and [the letter] stated/declared” (a verb used mainly in O and R) and the words of the envoys are reported with introductory phrases such as εἶπαν οὗτος/“they spoke as follows,” ἐσυντύχαν μεσόν μας ηστιούτην τάξην or λογήν/“they spoke to us as follows,” αναφερὰν του τὴν μαντατοφοριὰν τους με τιούτην τάξην/“they presented their message as follows,” ἄρχεσεν τὴν μαντατοφοριὰν εἰσιτιὰν λογήν/“he began his message as follows.” The insertion in the narrative of these documents is even indicated by the manuscript layout with a change of line or paragraph. In almost all cases only an extract is cited (usually from the beginning including the opening formulaic greetings) and, apparently, Makhairas both quotes and adapts the contents of the document in a free translation. The majority of the letters that belong to this last category concern the Genoese invasion of Cyprus (20 letters between Peter II, Eleanor of Aragon, the Constable James of Lusignan, the Prince of Antioch

²⁹ See for example Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 156–157, 185–187ff., 232ff. (V63v–64r, O83v–85r, R50r–51r; V82r–v ff., O112r–113r ff., R63v–64r ff.; V115r ff., R83r ff.).

³⁰ See for example Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 157–158, 185–187ff. (V64r–v, O84r–v, R50v–51r; V82r–v ff., O112r–113r ff., R63v–64r ff.).

³¹ See for example Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 119–121 (V38v–39r, O44r–45v, R28v–29r).

³² See for example Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 260–265 (V146r–149v, R95r–97v).

³³ See for example Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 391–392 (V246v–247r, O262r–263r, R155v–156r).

³⁴ See for example Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 128–131 (V44r–45v, O53r–56r, R33v–35r).

John of Lusignan, the captain of Kyrenia, and the Genoese);³⁵ the rest of the letters in this category include three letters exchanged between the Sultan of Egypt and Peter I and Peter II,³⁶ the long letter of the sheikh of Damascus to Janus, a letter sent by the Egyptian authorities to Janus during the 1426 invasion of Cyprus as well as the letter John Viscounti sent to Peter I about the queen's affair whilst the king was in Europe in 1368.³⁷ The embassies include Genoese envoys to the Sultan and to Peter II of Lusignan, Byzantine envoys to Peter II, and the exchange of envoys between the Constable James of Lusignan in Kyrenia, on the one hand, and the Genoese admiral and Peter II in Famagusta, on the other.³⁸ A series of eleven letters, in particular, exchanged during the siege of Kyrenia by the Genoese, illustrates very clearly Makhairas's narrative technique; for several pages the narrative actually consists of one letter cited after another with no other text than a few introductory or connecting phrases.³⁹

Whether Makhairas or someone else, there can be little doubt that the author of the chronicle had access to the archives of the Lusignan administration, the Chancery, the High Court, and the *Secrète* (the central financial office of the kingdom); in fact, on one occasion the text explicitly says in the first person that information from the registers of the king's court was used (ἡ ἀύλη ἢ ρυγάτικη, probably referring to the High Court). Furthermore, although there is no evidence that private records were used, one cannot exclude the possibility that Makhairas may have used copies of documents members of his family or he himself possessed by virtue of their professional capacity. Most importantly, in a number of cases attested in all three manuscripts the

³⁵ See for example Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 284–285, 288–292, 371, 386 (V164r–165r, O155v–156v, R106r–107r; V167v–170v, O160r–162v, R108v–110r; V230r, O242r, R147r; V242v, O256v, R153r).

³⁶ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 190–191, 228–230 (V84v–85r, O115v–116r, R65r–v; V112r–113r, R81r–v).

³⁷ See respectively Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 438–440, 446, 195 (V287v (bis)-289r (bis), O307r–309r, R174v–175v; V294v–295r, O315v–316r, R178r; V87v–88r, O120r, R67r). The authenticity of the letter of the sheikh is discussed by C. P. Kyrris, "Some Aspects of Leontios Makhairas' Ethnoreligious Ideology, Cultural Identity and Historiographic Method," *Στοισίος* 10 (1989–1993), pp. 239–245, esp. p. 241.

³⁸ See respectively Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 233, 270–273, 258–260, 342–348, 352–353 (V115v, R183r; V153v–155v, O142r–144v, R100r–101v; V143r–145v, R94r–95r; V208r–213r, O212r–218r, R134v–137r; V216r–217r, O222r–223r, R139r–v).

³⁹ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 359–366 (V221v–227r, O229v–236v, R142r–144v).

context clearly indicates that the author saw the authentic documents he refers to and did not use indirect sources. For example, it is specified who sealed and who signed the agreement between King Henry II and his brother Amaury, Lord of Tyre, in 1306 and that letters written in the name of Queen Eleanor of Aragon were countersigned by the Genoese captains in Nicosia in 1373; also, in a document drafted by a public notary for the Genoese during the Genoese invasion, the notary's introductory formula is given in the first person (ἔμπροσθεν ἐμοῦτο δῖμοσίου νοταρίου/"before me the public notary").⁴⁰

Moreover, although there are not any significant differences amongst the three manuscripts concerning omissions of particular documents, some interesting details are to be found only in the V recension and this suggests that the person who wrote or adapted or copied this version used an older or better text or had access to more documents. For example, the 1365 peace treaty between Cyprus and Genoa is described as "written down in Latin on a parchment" (καὶ γράφισαν λατίνικα εἰς χαρτὴν μὲνπρινον); the closing formula in a letter patent drawn up in the name of Peter II is in the first person plural as most probably was in the original document, while the other two manuscripts use the singular; documents are reported as received by the constable during the siege of Kyrenia in the first person plural, the plural changed into the singular in the other two manuscripts; and finally, only the V text gives two alternative dates for the coronation of Peter I, explaining that "I have found it written elsewhere" (ἀλλοῦ εἴβρα γραμμένον).⁴¹

On the other hand, the indiscreet contents of the *clumsy* or *scandalous* letter (ἔναν ἀτζαλλον χαρτὴν) John Viscounti sent to Peter I to inform him in a rather indelicate way of the love affair between Eleanor of Aragon and John of Morphou make one wonder how Makhairas could possibly have access to this letter at the royal Chancery, if indeed the royal archives had kept such a compromising document. And one could ask the same question regarding the equally colourful description of the Templar initiation episode and of the events surrounding the arrest of the Templars, which suggests that Makhairas may have seen both the bull *Pastoralis praeeminentiae* of November 1307 (brought to Cyprus by Hayton of Gorchigos, Amaury of Tyre's envoy to Pope Clement V with

⁴⁰ See respectively Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 122, 97, 314–315, 362 (V40r, O46r, R30r; V24r–v, O22v, R28v; V187r, O185r–v, R120v; V223v, O231v, R142v).

⁴¹ See respectively Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 144, 363, 365, 111–112 (V54r; V224v, O233r–v, R143r–v; V226r, O235v, R144r; V33v, 34r).

regard to his seizure of power) and documents concerning the trial of the Templars in Cyprus and the relevant testimonies.⁴²

The documents in the chronicle cover an important area of letter drafting and notarial practice. The terminology is not always accurate: the interchangeable words *χαρτία* and *γραφές* as well as the less frequent terms *γράμματα*/*letters*, *γραψίματα*/*writings*, *ἔγγραφος*/*document* (used only once in V), and *νότα*/*note* or *document* describe all sorts of different documents, while the vague *ἀντίλογος*/*answer*, sometimes *ρεσπόστα* (mainly in O and R), is no more enlightening. But the text does distinguish certain types of acts, charters, and letters: royal diplomatic correspondence, that is, missive letters emanating from the Lusignan Chancery or received by the king from different points of origin (Latin West, the Curia, Byzantium, the Muslim world); acts of the High Court (*γράψιμον τῆς μεγάλης αὐλῆς*) and assises (*ἀσύζα*); acts of the *Secrète* (*πλέρομαν* by the *σὺνγκριτον*); *privilèges* or letters patent (*προβ(ι)λίζιν*), further described once as *χαρτὴν ἀνοκτόν*/"open letter" because it was addressed to "all the men of Cyprus" and was thus unsealed; documents drawn up by a notary or public instruments (*χαρτὴν νοταρικόν* or *γραψίματαμε νοτάρην*); letters drafted by undefined scribes or secretaries that concern internal affairs of the kingdom, most probably sealed, and described as "secret letters" (*γραφαῖς κρυφαῖς*) or "confidential letters" (*χαρτὴν τῆς ἐμπιστισύνησ*); letters of guarantee (*χαρτὴν/γραφήν τῆς ἐμπιστισύνησ*); safe-conducts (*χαρτὴν τῆς ἐλευθερίαςτου, τοῦτέστιν σάλβο κουντούτον*); permits of free passage or *bulletes* (*πουλλέττα*); treaties and agreements (*χαρτία καὶ συχήματα τῆς ἀγάπης*); reports of envoys (*μαντατοφορία/μαντατοφόροι, ἀποκλισιάρηδες καὶ παρακαλητάδες*); and public proclamations by criers (*διαλαλημός/διαλαλητής*).⁴³

⁴² Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 195, 73–74 (V87v–88r, O120r–v, R67r; V7v–8r, R5r). On the suppression of the Templars in Cyprus, see M. Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 73–74, P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 121, and *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus. A Complete English Edition*, ed. A. Gilmour-Bryson, *The Medieval Mediterranean 17* (Leiden and Boston, 1998), *passim*.

⁴³ See indicatively Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 121 (in the same phrase V39r has *γραφάς* and O45v and R29v *χαρτία*), 149 (*γράμματα*, V58r, O76v, R46v), 97, 251 (*γραψίματα*, V24r, O22v, R18v; V129r), 362 (document, V224r), 247–248 (note, V126v, R89v), 208–209, 284, 289, 347–348, 356–357, 365 (*ἀντίλογος*, V97v, O134r, R72v; V164v, O156r, R106v; V168r; V212v, O217v, R137r; V219v, O226r, R140v; V226r, O235v, R144r), 211 (*ρεσπόστα*, V99r, O135v, R73v), nn. 22–27, 35–37, 39 above (missive letters), 361 (act of the High Court, V223r, O231v, R142v), 217–218,

Since the documents are primarily used as historical sources, all technical information related to diplomatics, such as the drafter's opening and closing formulae with his name or the description of the seals and the notary's *signum* (the handwritten sign attached to the notary's signature), is generally omitted, while the names of only some of the witnesses are occasionally cited. The most complete formulae are preserved in a letter patent drafted by a public notary for the Genoese admiral (“[the Genoese] drew up a paper by a notary”/ἐπίκαν ἕναν χαρτὴν νοταρικόν), but all the technical details are omitted: the letter begins with the phrase “On Monday, the fourteenth of March 1374, after Christ, before me the public notary and before the witnesses mentioned below, summoned and called for this paper” (τῇ δευτέρῃ τῇ ιδ’ μαρτίου αὐτοῦ χριστοῦ ἔμπροσθεν ἐμοῦτο δῆμοσιου νοταρίου καὶ μαρτύρων τῶν κἀτόθεν ὀνοματισμένων ἐπὶ τούτον κληθέντων καὶ παρακληθέντων) and ends with “and for greater confirmation and security this document has been written by the hand of the notary on the day and year mentioned above, in the presence of the below-mentioned witnesses, who are . . . and many others” (καὶ δια μεγαλλήττερον στερέοσην καὶ βαβαίσιον ἐγράπη διαχιρὸς τοῦ νοταρίου τὸ αὐτὸν ἔγραφος τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ἐχρονίαν τὴν ἄνωθεν ἔμπροσθεν τοὺς κἀτωθεν μάρτυρες τουτέστην . . . καὶ ἕτεροι ἄλλοι πολλή).⁴⁴

From the evidence provided by the chronicle, it is clear that the Lusignan administration employed western notarial practices. Whatever Byzantine traits were still maintained in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and survived in later centuries within the Greek Church's administrative structure do not appear in the documents inserted in the chronicle; such traits may be traced, for example, in

247–248 (assises, V104r, R76v; V126v, R89v), 290 (Secrète, V169r, O161r, R109r), 186, 345, 362, 363 (*privilèges*, V82v; V210v, O215r, R136r; V224r, O232v, R143r; V224v, O233v, R143v), 362–363 (open letter, V224r, O232v, R143r), 361, 362, 382 (χαρτὴν νοταρικόν, V223r; O231r, R142v; V223v, O231v, R142v; V239r, O254r, R152r), 97 (γραμίματα με νοτάρην, V24r, O22v, R18v; V129r), 265 (secret letters, V149r, R97v), 291 (confidential letters, V169v), 365 (letters of guarantee, V226r, O235v, R144r), 146, 360, 382 (safe-conducts, V55v, O73r, R44v; V222r, O230v, R142v; V239r, O254r, R152r), 417 (*bullette*, V266v), 235–236, 368–369, 382 (treaties, V117v, R84r; V229r, O239r–v, R146r; V239r, O254r, R152r), nn. 22, 28–34, 38 above (reports of envoys), nn. 54–55 below (public proclamations). Cf. generally Grivaud, “Πνευματικός βίος,” p. 1072. Especially on the *privilèges*, see J. Richard, “La diplomatie royale dans le royaume d’Arménie et de Chypre (XII^e–XV^e siècles),” *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* 144 (1986), pp. 79–81; the word προβιλίζια sometimes also means *licences, privilèges*; see Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 78–79, 146 (O4v, R8v; V55r–v, O72v, R44r–v).

⁴⁴ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, p. 362 (V223v–224r, O231v–232v, R142v–143r).

letters in Greek emanating from the Lusignan Chancery or the Greek Church and preserved in the valuable early fourteenth-century codex *Vat. Palat. gr. 367* or in the ca. 1300 manual of the episcopal court of Paphos/Arsinoe in MS *Paris. gr. 1391* (mainly in the model cases of legal procedure regulating family law, the *libelli*).⁴⁵

On the other hand, some particularly Cypriot characteristics of diplomatic usage may be observed which point to the gradual creation of a local tradition related to the demands of the Lusignan administration. The term κα(ν)τζιλ(ι)έρης/τζαντζιλιέρης/τζανσελλιέρης primarily designates the head of the royal secretariat or Chancery; until well into the fourteenth century the chancellors were members of the Latin clergy and later educated Westerners, as the names mentioned in the chronicle also suggest: the physician Hugh Ognibono/Uomobuono (συρ όγγη ένεμπεέν τον ιάτρών τζανσελλιέρην), Philippe de Mézières (μισέρ φιλήππας τε μανζήρεσ ό τζαντζηλιέρις τής κύπρου), and Amaury Galliard (άμμαρι γκαλιάρτ καντζιλιέρις τοῦ ρυγός). However, the use of the term in the text often creates confusion because it sometimes seems to indicate a secretary of the Chancery or a public notary and not necessarily the kingdom's chancellor; and, indeed, as Jean Richard pointed out a few years ago, it seems that the task of drawing up the

⁴⁵ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS *Vat. Palat. gr. 367*, fols. 107v–109v, 114r, 163v–164r (correspondence of Hugh I with the court of Konya), 111r–112r (letters of Henry I to the Emperor of Nicaea John III Doukas Batatzes and his wife Eirene), 110r–111r, 113v (letters to the authorities of Antioch, Attaleia, and Rhodes), 167v (letter of Patriarch Gregory II of Constantinople to Henry II of Lusignan); see S. P. Lampros, *Νέος Έλληνομνήμων* 5 (1908), pp. 43–55; *ibid.* 14 (1917), pp. 39–41, 37–39, 44; *ibid.* 15 (1921), pp. 151–152; C. Chatzipsaltes, “Σχέσεις τής Κύπρου πρὸς τὸ ἐν Νικαίᾳ βυζαντινὸν κράτος,” *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* 15 (1951), pp. 65–66, 72–73. A new edition of the letters in *Vat. Palat. gr. 367* by A. Beihammer, *Griechische Briefe und Urkunden aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Die Formularsammlung eines königlichen Sekretärs im Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 367* (Nicosia, 2007), is now available. See generally on the manuscript, C. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 30—Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 18 (Nicosia, 1993), pp. 153–165; Grivaud, “Πνευματικός βίος,” pp. 927–928, 1012–1013, 1062–1063, and *idem*, “Literature,” pp. 233, 238, 255–256. For the *libelli* in Bibliothèque Nationale, MS *Paris. gr. 1391*, see edition and commentary by D. Simon et al., *Zyprische Prozessprogramme*, *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte* 65 (Munich, 1973). A. Beihammer, “Byzantine Chancery Traditions in Frankish Cyprus: The Case of the Vatican MS Palatinus Graecus 367,” in Fourier and Grivaud, eds., *Identités croisées*, pp. 301–315 *passim*, and *idem*, “Gruppenidentität,” *passim*, compares the Byzantine and Frankish Chancery traditions in Cyprus. See generally on the Byzantine notariate, H. Saradi, *Le Notariat byzantin du IX^e au XV^e siècles* (Athens, 1992), and on the notarial practices in Cyprus, Grivaud, “Πνευματικός βίος,” pp. 899–902, and *idem* “Literature,” pp. 225–226.

king's legal documents passed at some point, probably during the reign of Henry II, into the hands of public notaries whom the king employed and to whom the title of chancellor or royal secretary was conferred, the instruments these notaries drafted having the value of royal acts (e.g. ἄς πίσι μετὸν καντζηλιέρην ἕναν προβιλίζην καὶ σημαδεμένον με τὸν ρύγα/"let him [the constable] have a *privilege* drawn up by the chancellor/officer of the chancery/public notary and signed by the king"). A chancellor of the Secrète, Nicholas de Naoun, is also mentioned (καντζηλιέρην μέγαν τοῦ σὺνκρίτου).⁴⁶

The chronicle does not use the terms ταβουλλάριος, νομικός, or συμβολαιογράφος/γραφεὺς τῶν συμβολαίων, terms that in the Byzantine notarial tradition designated the drafter of documents and may be traced in earlier documents from Cyprus or, in the fifteenth century, in an ecclesiastical context, but only the term νοτάριος/νοτάρης/*notary*. Like in the rest of the Byzantine world under Latin influence after 1204, the latter term does not describe only the secretary or scribe but mainly the notary, significantly described once as δημόσιος νοτάριος/"public notary."⁴⁷ However, the family name "Primikiris" (νικόλαν πριμικίρην τὸν μυροψίον), which survives in the V version

⁴⁶ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 117, 191 (Ognibono, V36v, O117r, R27r), 144 (Mézières, V54r, O70v, R43r), 452 (Gallart, V299v, O321r, R180r), 345, 346, 347–348, 361 (chancellor, V210v, O215r, R136r; V211v, R136r; V212v, O217v, R137r; V222v, O231r, R142v), 239 (Naoun, V119v, R85v). For the Lusignan Chancery and its chancellors, see Edbury, *Kingdom*, pp. 189–191; Richard, "Diplomatique," pp. 77–78 and passim; idem, "Οἱ πολιτικοὶ καὶ κοινωνικοὶ θεσμοὶ τοῦ μεσαιωνικοῦ βασιλείου," in Th. Papadopoulos, ed., *Ιστορία της Κύπρου. 4. Μεσαιωνικὸν Βασίλειον—Ενετοκρατία*, part 1 (Nicosia, 1995), p. 340; and several references in various chapters in Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, eds., *Cyprus*, pp. 54, 76, 85, 96, 158, 180, 225. Cf. Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 2: pp. 142, 158, 164, 418, 429 for a "notarium publicum... cancellarium nostrum dilectum." R. M. Dawkins, the editor of Makhairas, *Chronicle*, errs in consistently translating *σύγκριτον* as *chancery*. On the Secrète, see n. 50 below. The term "καντζηλιέρης" survives in Cyprus today as a family name.

⁴⁷ For examples of *notarios/notaris*, see Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 95, 97, 186, 240–241, 249, 250–252, 361–362 (V23r, O20r, R17v; V24r, O22v, R18v; V82v, O112v, R64r; V120v, R86v; V127v, R90r; V129r, R91r; V129v, where R91r apparently mistakes νοταριδεσ for νοταριδεσ; V130r, R91v; O231r, R142v; V224r, O232v, R143r; public notary, V223v, O231v, R142v). See Ch. A. Maltezos, "Portrait of the Notary in the Latin-Ruled Greek Regions of the Fourteenth-Century," in W. Seibt, ed., *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit, Referate des Internationalen Symposiums zu Ehren von Herbert Hunger (Vienna, 30 November–3 December 1994)* (Vienna, 1996), p. 123, and Beihammer, "Gruppenidentität," p. 215, for earlier examples in MS *Vat. Palat. gr.* 367 and the Paphos/Arsinoe manual, and Nicolaou-Konnari, "Greeks," pp. 24–25, 55–57, for later references. On Byzantine terminology and the evolution of the duties of a *notarios*, see Saradi, *Notariat byzantin*, pp. 31–47, 63–74.

only, brings to mind the title *primmikerios/primmicerius of the taboullarioi of Cyprus* (chief notary of the Greek Church of Cyprus) used for Constantine Anagnostes in 1259 in MS *Vat. Palat. gr.* 367. The text provides no evidence concerning the identity of these public notaries and we do not know if there were any Greeks among them; but the four names mentioned in the narrative (not in any of the reported letters) are clearly Latin or Syrian: “John de Fontaneggio,” Genoese, “Sir Paul/James de Belonia,” “Bartholomew Escaface,” and “Nicholas de Naoun.”⁴⁸ As we have already said, it would appear from the text that the notaries were often in the service of the king for whom they drew up *privilèges/προβιλιζία νοταρικά* and other charters. On two occasions notaries are attested as envoys to the pope and the Genoese and once a notary participates in the interrogation of a prisoner; in 1306, a notary is assisted by two Dominicans who seem to serve as scribes.⁴⁹ The term *συνγκριτικός* denotes the officer or *escrivain* of the Secrète, but it also generally means *secretary*; *σεκρετάριος* “secretary” is used only once in V. The term *γραμματικός* is used to describe the scribe or secretary in general and an officer of the Secrète and of the royal administration in particular; in 1370 the *γραμματικός... τζουάν σιλερίου*, who had been an apprentice or had trained with the notary Nicholas de Naoun (*μαθητής*), is mentioned; in 1389 *γραμματικοί* were appointed to assist the twelve *chevetaines* in the collection of royal taxes and in 1426 a keeper of the accounts of the *baillis* (*γραμματικός τούσ λογαριασμούς τὸν ἐμπάλιον*) is mentioned. There exists also a reference to a scribe of the *maréchaussée* or *marchalcy* (*γραμματικός τὸ μαρτζασίου*).⁵⁰

⁴⁸ See Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 452 (Primikiris, V299v), 144 (Fontaneggio, V54v, O71r, R43v), 159–160, 166 (Belonia, V66r, O86v–87r, R51v; V70r, O93r, R54v), 238 (Escaface, V119r, R85r), 239 (Naoun, V119v, R85v); also, cf. Makhairas, *Chronicle*, 2: p. 143 on Escaface. For the Byzantine title of *primmikerios*, see Saradi, *Notariat byzantin*, pp. 90–91. For Anagnostes, see n. 45 above and particularly Beihammer, “Chancery Traditions,” p. 305, and idem, “Gruppenidentität,” p. 215. For the existence of Greek lay and ecclesiastical notaries in the 13th and 14th centuries, see Richard, “Θεσμοί,” p. 364, Maltezou, “Notary,” pp. 123–126, and Nicolaou-Konnari, “Greeks,” pp. 55–57.

⁴⁹ See Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 365 (*privilèges*, V226r, O235v, R144r), 95, 97, 186, 250–252 (charters, V23r, O20r, R17v; V24r, O22v, R18v; V82v, O112v, R64r; V129r, R91r; V130r, R91v), 238, 252 (envoys, V119r, R85r; V129v), 241 (interrogation, V120v, R86v), 95 (Dominicans, V23r, O20r, R17v).

⁵⁰ See Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 147, 73 (*syngritikos*, V56r, O73v, R45r; V7v), 429 (*σεκρετάριος*, V286v), 327, 364 (*γραμματικός*, V197r, O198r, R127v; V225r, O234r, R143v), 239 (Naoun’s apprentice, V119v–120r, R85v), 421 (in 1389, V279v, O292v,

Throughout the chronicle and in all three manuscripts the western chronology, *anno domini*, and not the Byzantine *anno mundi*, is used, although it is always expressed in Greek numerals. The text follows the Lusignan (and Venetian, *more Veneto*) practice, according to which the beginning of the year was the first of March.⁵¹ Moreover, some typically Greek Cypriot and not Byzantine chronological traits are systematically used in the manuscripts; these are the expression ἐγγρονία τοῦ Χριστοῦ and the habit of omitting the alpha of the millenium (found mainly in V). These dating practices are also attested in marginal notes in Greek manuscripts from Cyprus from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards, while the earlier model letters in the codex *Vat. Palat. gr. 367* follow the Byzantine chronology (in the *marginalia* the term ἐγγρονία is used but none of the other characteristics). Most importantly, it seems that this dating usage of the Greek scribes in Cyprus also influenced Frankish Cypriot scribes and writers, as indicated by a short anonymous chronicle of Cyprus originally written in French but surviving only in an Italian translation, in which there are examples of omitting the figure indicating the millenium.⁵²

R168v), 454–455 (in 1426, V301v, O323r, R181r), 218 (marchalcy, V104r, R76r). For *syngritikos* in other sources, see various references in Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, eds., *Cyprus*, pp. 24–25, 29–30, 50–51, 54–57, 76, 118–119, 272. Cf. *Documents nouveaux servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie, Collection des documents inédits, Mélanges historiques 4 (Paris, 1882), reprinted with other documents as vol. 4 of Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre* (Famagusta, 1970), pp. 415, 421, 443, and *Le Livre des remembrances de la secrète du royaume de Chypre (1468–1469)*, ed. J. Richard with the collaboration of Th. Papadopoullos, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 10 (Nicosia, 1983), pp. xi, xxi and no. 57 for the *maréchaussée*. See generally on the Secrète, *ibid.*, “Introduction;” Edbury, *Kingdom*, pp. 191–192; and Richard, “Θεσμοί,” pp. 352–353.

⁵¹ See indicatively Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 339, 421, 46 (V206r; V279v, O292v, R168v; marginal notes on V107v, 125v). The chronicle’s editor R. M. Dawkins corrects silently the year in the translation and sometimes mentions the problem in his commentary without offering any explanation, e.g. Makhairas, *Chronicle*, 1: pp. 610–611, 2: p. 178. P. W. Edbury, “Redating the Death of King Henry I of Cyprus,” in M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar and J. Riley-Smith, eds., *Dei gesta per Francos. Études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard. Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 339–342, and A. Cappelli, *Cronologia, Cronografia e Calendario perpetuo. Dal principio dell’era cristiana ai nostri giorni*, 7th improved ed. by M. Viganò (Milan, 1998), pp. 7–8, 11, explain respectively the Cypriot and Venetian practice for the beginning of the year; Nicolaou-Konnari, “Η Κύπρος στις απαρχές της Τουρκοκρατίας,” pp. 221, 224, discusses similar chronology problems in marginal notes of Cypriot manuscripts.

⁵² For examples of ἐγγρονία in the manuscripts containing the chronicle, see Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 75–76 (V9v–10r, O1r, R6v), 49 (the historical notes on V239v), 33 (the colophon on O331r) and Nicolaou-Konnari, “Η Κύπρος στις απαρχές της Τουρκοκρατίας,” p. 202 (the historical notes on V239v); for examples of ἐγγρονία τοῦ Χριστοῦ and ἐγγρονία τοῦ Ἀδάμ in other Cypriot manuscripts, see Constantinides

The chronicle also provides evidence for a practice that substituted official documents, such as safe-conducts, or other symbols of authority, such as a signet ring: soft wax was put on the nail of a person's thumb and stamped with the official seal; the guards would see it and know that the bearer was free to pass. This practice was apparently quite common since the text takes it for granted. Moreover, the chronicle informs us that a royal letter of recommendation given to an envoy as a guarantee allowed the person in question to buy things on credit on behalf of the king while abroad upon signing a note of acknowledgment for the purchase (γραφὴν ὑπο χειρὸς του, a letter given to Thibald Belfarage by Peter II for a trip to Venice).⁵³ The information provided in the chronicle regarding public proclamations and royal bans (διαλαλημός) is equally of high importance. The reported proclamations mainly concern various matters during the Genoese invasion (such as restriction on lighting fires or torches at night, curfews, rules for the wall guards, execution of the murderers of Peter I), but also regulations concerning the Sunday market in 1425.⁵⁴ In most cases, the crier (διαλαλητής) uses the same formula to warn the people that no one should fail to obey or presume to start a riot on pain of losing his head or his life (να μεν εἶναι τηνάς απότομος να ποίσει ταραχὴν ἀπάνω εις κόμμαν κεφαλῆς or εις πέναν της ζωῆς του), a phrase that follows closely the corresponding French formula in the extant bans of the kings of Cyprus (“[vos ferés crier le banc] que nul soit tant ardi que dia ne face . . . villanie, en peina dou cors et del avoir”); nevertheless, this threat does not seem to have prevented the mob of Nicosia from attacking the crier during riots caused by the imposition of taxes to cover expenses caused by the Genoese invasion.⁵⁵

and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, pp. 160–163, 404, and J. Darrouzès, “Autres manuscrits originares de Chypre,” *REB* 15 (1957), p. 132. For the *alpha* in the Makhairas manuscripts, see indicatively Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 137, 233, 239 (V63v, 115r, 119v); for examples in other manuscripts, see Darrouzès, “Manuscrits originares de Chypre,” p. 166, idem, “Un obituaire chypriote: le Parisinus graecus 1588,” *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* 15 (1951), p. 27, and idem, “Autres manuscrits originares de Chypre,” p. 132. For the short chronicle, see Grivaud, “Πνευματικός βίος,” p. 1085, and idem, “Une petite chronique chypriote du XV^e siècle,” in Balard, Kedar and Riley-Smith, eds., *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 324–328 passim.

⁵³ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 307 (wax seal, V181r, O178r, R117r), 389 (Belfarage, V244v–245r, O259v, R154v); cf. Makhairas, *Chronicle*, 2: p. 165.

⁵⁴ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 278–279, 303, 314, 316–317, 333–334, 367–368, 431 (V160r–v, O150v–151r, R104r–v; V178v, O174r–v, R115r; V187r, O185r, R120v; V188r–189r, O186r–187r, R121r–v; V201v–202v, O203v–205v, R130v–131r; V228r–v, O238r–v, R145v; V288r, O301r–v, R172v).

⁵⁵ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, p. 288 (V167r, O159v, R108r–v); “Bans et ordon-

The language of diplomatics and the relevant terminology used in the chronicle are very close to that of other documents in Greek from Lusignan Cyprus, especially those in *Vat. Palat. gr.* 367 or the text of a 1450 treaty between the Lusignan king and the emir of Alaya (Candelore) and, to a certain extent, ecclesiastical and secular legal texts such as the manual of the episcopal court of Paphos/Arsinoe and the Greek *Assises*. However, the Greek language used for the documents that are cited verbatim in the chronicle is distinctively less formal and more dialectal.⁵⁶ Some formulae are similar, but the letters in the aforementioned texts are clearly original letters drafted by professional notaries in the Byzantine *koine* with only some vernacular traits and with more ornate addresses and titles. It is clear that the translation or rendering of the documents into the Greek Cypriot dialect in the chronicle is subordinated to the needs of the narrative, following the notarial language only as long as it does not interfere with the overall style of the text.⁵⁷ Although the opening formulaic addresses are sometimes slightly

nances des rois de Chypre,” in *RHC, Lois*, vol. 2, ed. A. Beugnot (Paris, 1843), pp. 354–379 passim, esp. pp. 357, 365.

⁵⁶ For *Vat. Palat. gr.* 367, see n. 45 above; for the text of the 1450 treaty, see Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 3: pp. 64–66, and A. C. Emilianides, “Όνομα, τοποθεσία και ιστορία του έμιράτου του Κανδηλόρου,” *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί* 3 (1939), pp. 77–108; for the Paphos/Arsinoe manual, see Simon, *Zyprische Prozessprogramme*, and J. E. Maruhn, “Eine zyprische Fassung eherechtlicher Titel der Epitome,” *Fontes Minores* 4 (1981), pp. 218–255; for the *Assises*, see *Άσιζαι του βασιλείου των Ιεροσολύμων και της Κύπρου*, ed. C. Sathas, in *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* 6 (Paris, 1877) and *The Assises of the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus*, English trans. N. Coureas, *Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus* 42 (Nicosia, 2002).

⁵⁷ Cmp. for example, the opening addresses and titles in the chronicle for the Lusignan king (Πέτρος διατις χάριτος τουπανάγιουπνεύματος ρύγας ιεροσολύμου και κύπρου προς τον τρις άκριβόν μου θιον τον κοντόσταύλην/“Peter by the grace of the All-holy Spirit King of Jerusalem and Cyprus to my thrice-beloved uncle the Constable”) and the sultan of Egypt (προς τον ειγαπιμένον μας φίλον τον σουλτάνον βαβυλωνίας ο δικόσσου φίλος ο ρύγας της κύπρου πολλά χερετίσματα/“To our loved friend the Sultan of Babylon, your own friend, the King of Cyprus, sends many greetings;” ο ψιλότατος άφέντις ο μέγας σουλτάνος πόλεος καργίου και της βαβυλωνίας και άφέντις των νισσίον/“the most high Lord the great Sultan of the city of Cairo and of Babylon and Lord of the Islands”), Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 359, 363 (Lusignan kings, V221v, O229v, R142r; V224r, O232v, R143r), 190, 236–237 (sultan, V84v, O115v, R65r; V118r, R84v), with those in letters of Hugh I of Lusignan to the Seljuk sultan of Konya dated 1214–1216 (Ούγκος, προνοία Θεου ρήξ της περιωνύμου νήσου Κύπρου, τῷ ύψηλοτάτῳ, κραταιῷ και εὐτρυχει, μεγαλογενεῖ, μεγάλῳ σουλτάνῳ, τροπαιούχῳ και νικητῇ πάσης της ύπο των Τούρκων χώρας, γῆς τε και θαλάσσης, χαίρειν. Υγιαίνειν και χαίρειν και εὐδοεῖσθαι την μεγάλην σουλτανικην έξουσιαν σου επί πᾶσιν εις Θεον έλπιζω, και ημεῖς Θεου τῇ βοηθειᾳ και χάριτι υγιως έχομεν και καλῶς and Έπει Θεου προνοία, χάριτι τε και εὐδοκία λόγος περι άγάπης έρρέθη μεταξυ της ημετέρας ρηγικης έξουσίας και αυτου δη του ύψηλοτάτου μεγάλου (σουλτάνου) της Ικονιέων

more ornate than the somewhat prosaic Latin or French corresponding ones, something which might constitute a Byzantine reminiscence, it is generally obvious that they are more or less faithfully translated from the original Latin or French documents; for example Πέτρος τε λουζουνίας διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ ρύγας ιεροσολύμων καὶ κύπρου is almost the same as “Nos Petrus Dei gratia Jerusalem et Cypri rex” or “Nos Jacobus, Dei gracia rex Jerosolomitanius... et rex Cypri et Armenie.” Similarly, in the same letter patent drawn up in the name of Peter II and cited in the chronicle, the closing formula “and that men may know and be sure that this is true, we have them write this letter patent, and have signed it with our own writing, and have sealed it with our usual seal” (καὶ διαπίστοσιν καὶ βαιβαίωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπίκαμεν καὶ ἐγράψαμεν τὸ αὐτὸν προβιλήζην καὶ ἐσυμαδεψαμέν το με τα γραμματὰ μας καὶ ἐβουλλοσαμέν το μετὴν βούλλαν μας τὴν συνιθισμένη) is not very different from the way extant letters patent drafted by public notaries in Latin for the Lusignan kings actually ended (“In quorum omnium testimonium et cautelam, et illorum omnium quorum interest, vel interesse et quos hoc presens negocium tangere poterit, certificationem, has presentes litteras fieri fecimus et eas impressione nostri magni sigilli pro munimine roborari”).⁵⁸

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the expression σωζομένου τῆς τιμῆς μου is a literal translation of the French *honneur gardé*, reminding at the same time similar phrases in both the investiture oath of obedience of the Greek bishops of Cyprus to the Latin bishop provided by the 1260 *Bulla Cypria* (“salvo ordine meo, contra omnes homines,” a provision that ensures that the episcopal rank of the Greek bishop will be safeguarded and which is rendered faithfully in Greek as σωζομένης τῆς χειροτονίας μου, κατὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου) and the model cases of family law in the manual of the bishopric of Paphos/Arsinoe (σωζομένων τῶν δικαίων μου).⁵⁹

μεγαλοπόλεως, Ἀζαντὴν τοῦ Καϊκαούση... ἐγὼ ὁ ἐν χριστιανικῇ τῇ πίστει ρήξ τῆς περιώνμου νήσου Κύπρου Οἰγκος), Lampros, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 5 (1908), pp. 45, 48, 50; cf. for the formulae in MS *Vat. Palat. gr.* 367, Beihammer, “Chancery Traditions,” pp. 309–314, and idem, “Gruppenidentität,” pp. 222–228, 233–236.

⁵⁸ See Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, p. 363 (V224r–v, O232v, 233v, R143r–v) and Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 2: pp. 291, 428 (opening formulae) and 307, 429 (closing formulae); also compare with “Formules,” in *RHC, Lois*, vol. 2: pp. 380–389. For titles and address terms in the chronicle, see generally Nicolaou-Konnari, “Ὄνοματολογία,” pp. 340–6.

⁵⁹ See respectively Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, p. 254 (V140v, R92v); for the original Latin text of the oath, *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, ed.

Several examples of notarial terminology have already been discussed before. Suffice it to add the expressions often encountered in the chronicle *ἔγραψεν χαρτίν/γραφὴν/γράμματα, ἐτίκεν χαρτία/γραψίματα, ἔβαλεν εἰς γράψιμον/γράφος/γραφὴν, χαρτώνω*, which all mean *to draft or draw up a document*,⁶⁰ both the more formal verb *ἀνάγνωσε* and the more vernacular *ἐδιάβασεν* for *he read*, the word *σημαδεύω* which means *to set one's signature* and the derivative expression *γραμμένα καὶ σημαδεμένα με τὰ γράμματά μου/written and signed by his own hand*, the words *βούλλα/βουλλώνω* which render both the words *seal* (noun and verb) and *papal bull*, and *στερεώνω ἀγάπην* and the derivative expressions *κρατῶ στερεωμένην τὴν ἀγάπην* or *χαρτία στερεωμένα ὑπὸ χειρὸς του*, which mean *to conclude, (re)confirm, or seal a treaty of peace*.⁶¹

Since evidence suggests that Makhairas saw and used the original documents, then he must have translated or had someone translate for him from Latin (letters from the Curia), French (documents emanating from the Lusignan administration), Italian (documents concerning the Italian maritime republics), the Byzantine *koine* (letters and reports of Byzantine ambassadors and Asia Minor rulers), or Arabic (letters and embassies from the sultan of Egypt).⁶² Of course, some of the letters

N. Coureas and Ch. Schabel, *Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus* 25 (Nicosia, 1997), p. 198 (*Bulla Cypria*), and for the Greek text, the more vernacular version in *Vat. Palat. gr.* 367, fol. 179r; Lampros, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 15 (1921), p. 344; Simon, *Zyprische Prozessprogramme*, p. 31.

⁶⁰ See, for example, Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 286, 73, 149, 304, 97, 251, 215–216, 296 (e.g. V166r; O158r; R107v; V7v; V58r; O76v; R46v; V179v; O17r; R116r; V24r; O22v; R18v; V129r; V102v; R75v; V173v). *Γράμματα* also means *handwriting*, see *ibid.* pp. 305, 308 (V180r; O176v; R116r; V182r; O178v; R117v). *Α σεντούκιον τῶν γραψιμάτων/document chest* is mentioned once, *ibid.*, p. 250 (V128r). *Χαρτώνω* also means *to make a contract of betrothal*, a meaning surviving in the modern Cypriot dialect today, *ibid.*, pp. 121, 296 (V39v; O46r; R29v; O166v).

⁶¹ See for example Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 241, 259, 265, 284 (*ἀνάγνωσε*, V121r; R86v; V143v; R94v; V149r; R97v; V164r; O155v; R106v), 121, 309 (*ἐδιάβασεν*, V39r; O45v; R29v; V183r; O180r; R118r), 284, 360 (*σημαδεύω*, V164r; O155v; R106v; V164v; O156r; R106v; V222r; O230v; R142v), 345, 314–15, 363 (*written and signed*, V210v; O215r; R136r; V187r; O185r–v; R120v; V224r), 363 (*seal*, V224v; O233v; R143v) 73–4 (*bull*, V7v; 8r; R5r), 235–7, 362–3 (*seal a treaty of peace*, V117r–118r; R84r–v; V224v; O232v–233r; R143r). The corresponding phrase for *διανα στερεώσο τὴν ἀγάπην* is in the *Vat. Palat. gr.* 367 letters *ἐπιστηριχθῆναι ἀγάπην*; see Lampros, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 5 (1908), p. 48.

⁶² See indicatively Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 72–74, 120–121 (Curia, V7v–8r; R5r–v; V38v–39r; O44r–45v; R28v–29r), 361–362 (Lusignan administration, V223r; O231v; R142v), 362 (Italian republics, V223v–224r; O231v–232v; R142v–143r), 258–259, 130–131 (Byzantines and Asia Minor rulers, V143r–145r; R94r–v; V45v; O55v–56r; R35r), 228–230 (sultan, V112r–113r; R81r–v).

must have already been translated into French by royal officials. The royal Chancery and the Secrète employed numerous secretaries, scribes, notaries, and translators of different languages, including Greeks, who were responsible for the translation of the letters the royal administration received into French or for the drafting of letters in foreign languages. The Venice manuscript provides more information than the other two manuscripts about letters or documents that were translated or written in a particular language or copied: “and they were written down in Latin”/καὶ γράφισαν λατήνικα; “they translated the terms of the agreement in plain French”/ἔμετὰγράφαν φράνγκικα ἀπεζά; “he translated it into French”/ἔμετὰγλώττησέντο φράνγκικα; “to copy the articles [of complaint] they had written”/ναμεταγράφουντα κεφάλαια τὰ ἐγράψαν, “to copy them”/δια νατὰ κοπιάρουν; “copies of the letters”/κόπιες τῶν γραφῶν or γραψίματος.⁶³

A problem to be raised with relation to the ability of Makhairas to master foreign languages is the rendering into Greek of non-Greek names (French, Italian, Arabic, Turkish, and other). The form of these names is so corrupt in Greek that they are often unrecognizable without the help of other parallel texts. It seems that, even in cases where these names were included in the original documents used in the text, the Greek form was not the product of direct transliteration from the original language but the rendering in writing of how a Greek speaker orally perceived a foreign name. A satisfactory explanation for this phenomenon should take into consideration the way Greek, French, Italian, Arabic and other languages and idioms spoken on the island at the time were pronounced by the various native speakers with respect to how far the use of these names was widespread amongst the local Greek population. I can only repeat Makhairas’s negative picture of the linguistic situation in Cyprus. He actually deplores the fact that, while at the time of the Byzantine emperors the Cypriots were obliged to know “proper Greek, spoken by all Greeks” (ρομαίικα καθολικά in V or ρομέικα ἑλληνικά in O and R) for the correspondence with Constantinople and correct Syriac for the patriarch of Antioch (συριάνικα σοστά in V and συριάνικα καλά in O and R), under the Lusignans Cypriots learnt French and their Greek became

⁶³ See respectively Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 144 (V54r), 146 (V55v), 149, 441 (V57v; V290r, O310v, R176r), 95 (V23r, O20r–v, R17v; O20v, R17v), 239 (V120r, R85v–86r).

so barbarous that “we write both French and Greek, in such a way that no one in the world can say what our language is” (καὶ σήμερον καὶ γράφομεν φράγκικα καὶ ρωμαϊκά ὅτι εἰστὸν κόσμον δενίξερουν ἦντα σὺντύχάννομεν).⁶⁴

Finally, treaties and agreements provide the necessary material for a case study that illustrates most of the points raised before concerning the way Makhairas uses documents in order to construct his narrative. Significantly less numerous than letters in the chronicle (only in roughly four cases are treaties reported, although on many occasions the conclusion of an agreement, *στοιχίματα* or *ἀγάπη*, is mentioned), they are, however, very important in so far as the original text survives and a comparison is possible that allows the investigation of the extent of adaptation of the original text, the politics of translation, and the historical reliability of the chronicle. The treaty between the king of Cyprus Peter II and the Genoese, signed in Nicosia on 21 October 1374 at the end of the 1373–1374 Genoese invasion of the island, is not reported in its entirety but its terms and the claims of the Genoese are indirectly mentioned or alluded to on three occasions. Makhairas also includes a list of Cypriot hostages and prisoners taken by the Genoese, but, compared to another extant list, his is incomplete and, in describing a subsequent escape attempt from Genoa, he mentions additional knights.⁶⁵ The terms of the treaty between James I of

⁶⁴ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, p. 148 (V56v–57r, O74v–75r, R45v); see Nicolaou-Konnari, “Chronique,” p. 78, eadem, “Literary Languages,” p. 10 and n. 12, eadem, “Ονοματολογία,” pp. 346–348, and Grivaud, “Literature,” pp. 223–224.

⁶⁵ For the mentions of the treaty, see Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 256, 270–271, 272–273 (V141v–142r, R93r; V153v–154r, O142r–v, R100r; V154v–155v, O143v–144v, R101r–v). The Latin text of the treaty is in *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, ed. E. Ricotti, 2 vols., *Historiae patriae monumenta* 7, 9 (Turin, 1857), 2: cols. 806–815, and C. Sperone, *Real Grandezza della Serenissima Repubblica di Genova* (Genoa, 1669) (Italian trans. of L. de Gongora, *Real Grandeza de la Serenissima Republica di Genova* [Madrid, 1665]), pp. 100–109. Dawkins in Makhairas, *Chronicle*, 2: pp. 155–156, discusses the discrepancies in the amounts given by Amadi, p. 442, and Bustron, p. 296. See generally G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1940–1952), 2: pp. 413–415, Edbury, *Kingdom*, p. 208, idem, “Η πολιτική ιστορία του μεσαιωνικού βασιλείου (1324–1432),” in Papadopoulos, ed., *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, 4: pp. 124–125, and M. Balard, “Οι Γενουάτες στο μεσαιωνικό βασίλειο της Κύπρου,” in Papadopoulos, ed., *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, 4: pp. 263–264. For the list of hostages, see Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 371, 379–381, 383–384 (V230v, O242v, R147r; V237r–238r, O251r–253r, R151r–v; V241v–242r, O255r–v, R152v), and L. de Mas Latrie, “Nouvelles preuves de l’histoire de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* 34 (1873), pp. 80–84, reprinted with other documents as vol. 4 of his *Histoire de l’île de Chypre* (see above, n. 50), pp. 72–76.

Lusignan and the Genoese of 19 February 1383, according to which the town of Famagusta with its harbour and a zone of two miles around it would be held by the Genoese in outright sovereignty for a pledge of 900,000 ducats, are reported in a summarized, narrative form that agrees in the main with the contents of the Latin text of the agreement.⁶⁶ In both cases, a noticeable difference between the chronicle and the original Latin text of the treaties is that Makhairas gives the amount for the indemnities and the pledge in ducats, while the Latin text has florins; both coins circulated and were used as a standard of value in Lusignan Cyprus, but florins appear only rarely with relation to Cyprus in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources while the ducat became the main standard of value from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards.⁶⁷

However, in the two other cases where treaties are reported in the chronicle the texts are cited almost fully and are thus of major interest. The first one concerns the events surrounding the takeover of the government by Amaury of Lusignan, Lord of Tyre, in 1306. Makhairas's narrative follows closely the *Charte d'élection* of Amaury as governor on Tuesday 26 April 1306, which survives in Latin (ἐψηφίστην κυβερ[ν]ούρης τῆς κύπρου/"he was proclaimed governor of Cyprus"), the oath of allegiance the nobles gave to Amaury, which does not survive (ὁ ὄρκος/"the oath"), the text that notified King Henry II about the coup d'état and the Cypriot nobility's grievances and complaints concerning his administration (ἀφορμὲς/ζητήματα), which survives in Old French, the king's answer that does not survive, and the royal charter by which the king consented to the terms imposed upon him by his brother concerning the government of the kingdom and various financial arrangements, which also survives in Old French. There can be no doubt that Makhairas saw these documents. For example, the chronicle provides details about the Old French texts having been drawn up by notaries in the form of royal charters, information that

⁶⁶ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 417–418 (V277r–v, O288v–289r, R167r–v). The Latin text of the treaty is in Sperone, *Real Grandezza*, pp. 116–137. Amadi, p. 492 and Bustron, p. 351 speak of 100,000 ducats, see discussion in Makhairas, *Chronicle*, 2: p. 203. See generally Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 2: pp. 433–435, Edbury, "Πολιτική ιστορία (1324–1432)," pp. 135–136, and Balard, "Γενουάτες," pp. 263–264.

⁶⁷ For coinage in Lusignan Cyprus, see generally C. Morrisson and M. Bompaine, "Η νομισματοκοπία στο μεσαιωνικό βασίλειο," in Papadopoulos, ed., *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, 5: pp. 1455–1480, particularly pp. 1475–1477; for the coins in the chronicle, see Makhairas, *Chronicle*, 2: pp. 46–47, 88, 148, 168.

also appears in the original documents (which survive at the Vatican Archives in a contemporary parchment copy without seals or signatures or complete lists of witnesses, representing most probably the copy submitted to the pope). More specifically, after the negotiations with the lord of Tyre, the king is said to have sent two friars from the convent of Saint Dominic in Nicosia and a notary to his brother to copy the articles of complaint concerning his person, something Amaury did not accept. Always according to the chronicle, a notary drew up the definitive charter of the agreement between the king and his brother, while the Old French text mentions a notary and “frater Nicolaus de Gazali, de ordine fratrum Minorum, de Nicossia;” Makhairas also specifies that the charter was sealed with the seals of the king, the lord of Tyre, and the Master of the Hospital and witnessed by the bishops, priors, and canons of the kingdom, and indeed the names of many prelates that correspond to this description appear on the original document. Moreover, the close comparison of the contents of the original extant texts with those reported in the chronicle also argues in favour of Makhairas having first-hand knowledge of the texts.⁶⁸

The election charter is used as a source for information that is incorporated in the narrative and what Makhairas says corresponds to the contents of the extant text. Only a short extract is cited from the oath; in one phrase Makhairas summarizes the thorny issue of the feudatories' due deference to the crown, explaining that they swore to support the lord of Tyre against every man, with the exception of the person of the king to whom they owed homage and fealty as his liege men (μόνον ειστά ἁγιατοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγέλια ναβλεπίσο ὁσόσον ἦτον ἀφέντης μας τὸν ἀφέντην τῆς τύρου κατὰ πρόσωπα πάσα ἀνθρώπου εὐγάλλοντατο κορμῆντου ἀφέντι μας τοῦ ρυγός τοῦπίου εἴμεστεν κρατούμενη με ὄρκον/“I swear by the holy gospels of God to guard the Lord of Tyre [O and R adding here the phrase ‘as much as I was bound to guard my lord the king’] against the face of every man, except against the person of my lord the king to whom we are bound by oath”). Similarly, from the text of the notification only two points are included that are to be found in the first paragraph of the Old French document

⁶⁸ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 89–90 (election, V19v, O14v, R14v), 91 (oath, V20v, O16v, R15v), 93 (nobility's complaints, V21r–v, O17v–18r, R16r–v), 93–94 (king's answer, V21v–22r, O18v–19r, R16v), 96–98 (royal charter, V23v–25r, O21v–23v, R17v–19r), 95 (Dominicans, V23r, O20r–v, R17v), 97 (notary, V24r, O22v, R18v), 97–98 (seals and witnesses, V24r–v, O22v, R18v).

(ἀμμὲ τὸ μεγαλλήτερον ἐλάλεν ὅτι ὁ ρύγας ὡς γίον κυβερνιάζη τὸ ρυγάτον ἐρκέται ζυμία καὶ ὄνταν χριάστη θέλη γυρέψην ναπάρι ἀπὸ τοῦ λάς/“but the chief one [= complaint] was that harm was coming from the way in which the king was governing the kingdom, and when he needs anything he tries to take it from the people”). The rest of the issues, which concern the king’s foreign policy (the kingdom’s security in the face of the Genoese, Mamluk, and Turkish threats) and internal administration (no measures taken to improve trade or face a famine caused by the dearth of wheat and the problem of long delays for a case to be heard before the courts), are dismissed with the explanation that “this paper contained many complaints against the king... which complaints would be very lengthy to write down” (ταπια ζητήματα εἶ πολλοζύγητα να γραπτοῦν). The king’s answer is given in the first person in the form of an oral reply; it includes the issues of the king’s illness and the fealty and obedience owed by the vassals to their king, points also raised in the Old French text of the barons’ notification to the king but not in the fragmentary version in the chronicle. The royal charter, however, is reported faithfully, all the terms are included in a summarised form, while the introductory paragraph is translated almost verbatim into the Greek Cypriot dialect from the original Old French text (“Henri, par la grâce de Dieu, XIII. Roy de Jerusalem latin et roy de Chypre, et nous la communauté des hommes du dit royaume de Chypre, faisons assavoir à touz ceaus qui cest present escript liront ou orront que nous... sommes en tel manière en accort... Et retenons x^m besanz de rente assénées à recevoir... sur toutes nos... rentes de notre riauume de Chypre”/ἐμῆς χαρὴν χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ ρύγας τῶν ἱεροσολύμων κύπρου καὶ λαλούμεν ὅσοσί μᾶς γρικούσην τῆς αὐτῆς γραφῆς ὅτι ἐσυμπάσαμεν με το θελιμάν μας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μας ὅτι ἐκρατίσαμεν ἀπὸ τοὺς εἰσόδους τοῦ ρυγάτου ὀνομίματα ρμη΄ χιλιάδες). The only discrepancies concern the amount of revenues assigned to the members of the royal household: the king’s mother is assigned 20,000 bezants in the chronicle but she is not included in the Old French text, the king’s two sisters are given 8,000 bezants in the chronicle and 10,000 in the text, and the total annual amount the king is said to have received is 148,000 bezants in the chronicle and 130,000 in the text.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ For the quotations, see respectively Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 91, 93, 97 (V20v, O16v, R15v; V21v, O18r, R16v; V24v, O22v–23r, R18v); for the election charter,

The second text is the peace treaty signed in Genoa on 18 April 1365 between the ambassadors of Peter I of Lusignan and the Doge Gabriele Adorno. The chronicle begins by explaining that the text of the treaty was originally written in Latin on parchment but that a translation “in plain French” (φράνγκικα ἀπεζῶ) was executed as soon as the ambassadors came back to Cyprus; and this French translation was most probably the text Makhairas used. In the text of the treaty that appears in the chronicle, all the notarial formulae and information as well as all the opening and closing addresses are omitted; the text of the 1232 privileges granted to the Genoese by Henry I (which is placed before all the other items of the treaty in the original Latin text) is also omitted but mentioned in articles 15 and 19; the terms of the treaty are preceded by a summary of the procuration of the ambassadors sent by the king to Genoa to negotiate the treaty dated 28 January 1365 (διὰ να σάσσουντὴν διαφορὰν or διὰ να γενὴ ἀγάπι/“pro discensionibus et discordis pacem et tranquillam dillectionem”), and this is the actual sequence of the various items in the Latin text, although its editor, Louis de Mas Latrie, chose to publish the procuration and the terms separately; and, finally, twenty articles (καυφάλαια or στυχήματα) are listed, while in fact the treaty is divided into fifteen clauses. A closer comparison of the Greek and Latin texts yields some interesting results.

The names of the ambassadors are wrong; instead of the names of the legate Peter Thomae and Peter’s physician Guido da Bagnolo of Reggio, Makhairas gives those of the Chancellor of Cyprus Philippe de Mézières, the Marshal of Jerusalem Simon Tenouri, and Guido da

see C. Kohler, “Documents chypriotes du XIV^e siècle,” *ROL* 11 (1908), pp. 444–452; for the notification and the charter containing the terms of the concluded arrangement, see L. de Mas Latrie, “Texte officiel de l’allocution adressée par les barons de Chypre au roi Henri II pour lui notifier sa déchéance,” *Revue des questions historiques* 43 (1888), pp. 524–541, texts on pp. 534–538, 538–541, reprinted as a footnote to the text in Amadi, pp. 242–245, 245–248, and “Les Gestes des Chiprois” (= the Templar of Tyre), in *RHC, Documents arméniens*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1906), pp. 858–860, 860–862. Cf. for the events, The Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, ed. and Italian trans. L. Minervini (Naples, 2000), §§ 425–432, 465–466 (a fragmentary account), Amadi, pp. 241–254, and Bustron, pp. 135–141, the last two also including the introductory paragraph (“Noi, Henrico, re di Hierusalem et Cypro”), but giving as the king’s envoys to Amaury “dui frati minori et uno nodaro,” agreeing with Makhairas for the amounts, but including three sisters (see discussion for Henry’s sisters in Makhairas, *Chronicle*, 2: p. 76). See generally Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 2: pp. 216–227ff., Edbury, *Kingdom*, pp. 113–117ff., and J. Richard, “Το μεσαιωνικό βασίλειο από το 1205 έως το 1324,” in Papadopoulos, ed., *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, 4: pp. 43–45ff.

Bagnolo. These persons were in fact the witnesses of the renewal of the 1232 Genoese privileges that was accorded by Peter I on 5 March 1363 during the king's visit to Genoa under the dogeship of Simone Boccanegra (a text not included in the chronicle), and the first two also witnessed the 1365 procuration of the ambassadors.⁷⁰ We may assume that all these texts were available to Makhairas who, in the process of evaluating his information, confused the names. The difference in the number of the articles may be explained as follows: the Latin treaty's two introductory paragraphs, placed before and after the 1232 privileges, are numbered as the first two articles, the main points of some of the treaty's clauses are given as independent articles, while some of the articles in the chronicle are not explicitly included in the treaty but seem to constitute the chronicler's inferences derived from the content of the terms (e.g. articles 8 and 9). Moreover, the sequence of the terms is reorganized and the considerably long clauses are summarized into one or two short phrases, which do not necessarily include the most important points. In other words, this is a précis of what the author considers to be important or adequate for his narrative and not a complete verbatim citation of all the terms. It is interesting to note that emphasis is given to those clauses or sub-clauses that concern the social definition and rights of the White Genoese and the commercial and political privileges of the Genoese; on the other hand, terms of political interest (such as the last clause, which gives Genoa the right to interfere militarily on the island in case the terms of the treaty were violated) or clauses that touch upon issues of feudal law (such as clause 4, which allows the Genoese podestà to have jurisdiction over the king's liege men, or those who were in the king's or his officers' pay and were of Genoese nationality) are omitted. The possibility that the French translation of the treaty that Makhairas probably used was slightly altered with clarifications or that a summary attached to the full text of the ambassadors' report was used may also account for these differences; for example, the fact that articles 15 and 19 refer to "the privilege granted by King Hugh [*lege* Henry I]" and say that "this they

⁷⁰ The 1232 privileges were published in Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 2: pp. 51–56; the 1363 renewal of the privileges in *ibid.*, pp. 248–249, and in *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, 2: cols. 719–723; for the names of the witnesses, see Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 2: p. 312, and Makhairas, *Chronicle*, 2: p. 110; for Guido, R. Livi, "Guido da Bagnolo, medico del re di Cipro," *Atti e memorie della R. deputazione di Storia Patria per le provincie Medonesi*, ser. 5, 11 (1918), pp. 45–91, Edbury, *Kingdom*, pp. 154, 188, 191, and *idem*, "Franks," p. 75.

[= the Genoese] proved/showed [to the ambassadors] that was written on the tenth of January 1232” argues in favour of Makhairas having used a text bearing notes and explanations.⁷¹

How far is it possible to evaluate, or rather re-evaluate, the chronicle’s historical reliability on the basis of the above analysis? I can offer no conclusive answer at this stage; a thorough comparison of the documents in the chronicle with the rest of the extant original documents and with parallel historical texts, as well as a detailed study of the way the contents of the same documents diverge in the three manuscript versions and in the Italian translation of the Ravenna text commonly attributed to Diomedes Strambali, are required in order to answer this and other questions raised at the beginning of this paper and related with the complex problems of the authorship of the text and of the relationship of the recensions; this goes beyond the scope and time limitations of the present paper.⁷² However, one could tentatively suggest that in the chronicle mainly the factual information necessary for the sequence of the historical events is drawn from the documents and that only some points, not always the most important ones, are included, while data such as amounts of money, dates, or lists of names are sometimes carelessly reported with mistakes or gaps. Moreover, it seems that, although the chronicle does not provide a complete rendering or a careful summary of the original text, there is no apparent ideological manipulation of a document’s reported contents or a biased choice of the points to be reported. In other words, we get an incomplete but not incorrect view of the contents of the documentary sources.

Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that the chronicle of Leontios Makhairas constitutes a special case in Cypriot historiography in terms of the extensive use of documents as first-hand sources and their conspicuous interpolation as essential narrative sequences. Naturally, the other Cypriot historiographers also use information drawn from

⁷¹ Makhairas, *Diplomatic Edition*, pp. 143–146 (V53v–55v, O70r–73r, R42v–44v), particularly pp. 146, 143–144 for the quotations (V55v; V54r, O70v, R43r); the text of the procuration is in Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre*, 2: pp. 253–254, and of the 1365 treaty in *ibid.*, pp. 254–266, and in *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, 2: cols. 733–744; the 1232 treaty was in fact signed on 10 June 1232, see Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre*, 2: p. 51. Amadi and Bustron do not include the text of the 1365 treaty. See generally Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 2: pp. 312–316, Edbury, *Kingdom*, p. 155, Edbury, “Πολιτική ιστορία (1324–1432),” pp. 76, 80, and Balard, “Γενουάτες,” pp. 262–263.

⁷² For the close relationship between the Italian translation of the chronicle in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS *Vat. lat.* 3941, and the text in R as well as for the person of Diomedes Strambali, most probably owner and copyist of both manuscripts and/or translator, see Nicolaou-Konnari, “Διασκευή.”

documents, but they incorporate it in their narrative in a uniform way, albeit with occasional citations; in the significantly shorter chronicle of George Boustronios, for example, there are allusions to letters in 44 cases with sometimes one-sentence citations. On the other hand, a close comparison of the way Makhairas, Amadi, and Florio Bustron use the same documents or documents that concern the same events will shed some light on many obscure issues concerning their common sources and relationship and it remains a *desideratum*. Suffice it to say here that, interestingly, the historiographer who also inserts documents in original form, although to a lesser degree and stylistically more skillfully and coherently, is Florio Bustron; this is hardly surprising since he also belonged to the same milieu of administrators and civil servants, and, for that matter, so did his kinsman George Boustronios. Makhairas and Bustron represent, thus, a *kypriotike* tradition of employing diplomata in history writing and their case reaffirms the important role of the notariate in the development of written culture in general and historiography in particular in Frankish and Venetian Cyprus, in so far as technical training and functional literacy within specialized bodies of bureaucrats allowed the diffusion of writing skills and access to archival sources. In this respect, one would be remiss if one did not make the connection with the thirteenth-century chroniclers who wrote the history of the Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus and were involved with the circle of the jurists. And, to some extent, this is a situation that is reminiscent of both the Byzantine bureaucratic model and the Genoese (and Venetian) state historiographical tradition, and one that bears evidence to the social and cultural syncretism between Greeks and Latins in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Cyprus.⁷³

⁷³ See Nicolaou-Konnari, "Literary Languages," pp. 15–16, and Grivaud, "Literature," p. 226, with more references. For Boustronios, see *George Boustronios, A Narrative of the Chronicle of Cyprus 1456–1489*, trans. N. Coureas together with an anthology of Greek texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries relating to Cyprus and translated by H. Pohlsander, *Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus* 51 (Nicosia, 2005), p. 47, n. 119. In the Latin Eastern historiographical tradition, the Archbishop of Tyre and Chancellor of the Kingdom of Jerusalem William of Tyre also inserts documents in his *Historia*, but to a much lesser degree; see list in William of Tyre, *Chronique*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 63/63A, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1986), 2: p. 1082. In Latin Greece, the anonymous author of the *Chronicle of Morea* most probably also came from an administrative milieu and had access to the principality's archives; see the translator's introduction in *Crusaders as Conquerors. The Chronicle of Morea*, trans. from the Greek by H. E. Lurier (New York and London, 1964), pp. 55–56.

PART III

DIPLOMATICS AND DIPLOMACY AMONG
BYZANTIUM, ISLAM AND THE WEST

THE FIRST OTTOMAN OCCUPATION OF MACEDONIA
(CA. 1383–CA. 1403) SOME REMARKS ON LAND
OWNERSHIP, PROPERTY TRANSACTIONS AND JUSTICE

Kostis Smyrlis

The first Ottoman conquest of Macedonia was accomplished between 1383, the date of the capture of Serres, and 1387, the date of Thessaloniki's surrender. It lasted until 1403, when, as a consequence of the battle of Ankara in the previous year, Thessaloniki along with Chalkidiki and the western Strymon valley was recuperated by the Byzantines, in accordance with the treaties the latter concluded with the Ottomans.¹

The land ownership regime and the legal and institutional order that prevailed during the approximately twenty years of the first Ottoman rule in Macedonia are still little known.² Many crucial questions remain essentially unanswered. To what extent did the conquerors respect the rights of the landowners in the region? Was the principle of private ownership put into question? With regard to monasteries in particular,

¹ On these dates, see N. Oikonomidès, "Le haradj dans l'empire byzantin du XV^e siècle," in *Actes du premier Congrès International des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*, 3 (Sofia, 1969), pp. 681–682; reprinted in idem, *Documents et études sur les institutions de Byzance, 7^e–15^e s.*, Variorum Collected Studies (London, 1976). On the treaties between Ottomans and Byzantines, see G. T. Dennis, "The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403," *OCP* 33 (1967), pp. 72–77; reprinted in idem, *Byzantium and the Franks, 1350–1420*, Variorum Collected Studies (London, 1982). According to the sole surviving treaty (January or February 1403), the Byzantines were to receive in Macedonia Thessaloniki and its region and "Calamarea," that is Chalkidiki (E. Zachariadou, "Süleyman çelevi in Rumili and the Ottoman chronicles," *Der Islam* 60 [1983], p. 278). It is possible that the treaty concluded later that year between Emperor Manuel II and Süleyman Çelebi enlarged this territory to include the western bank of the Strymon, a territory held by the Byzantines in 1404: Arkadios Batopedinos, "Ἀγιορειτικὰ ἀνάλεκτα ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχείου τῆς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου," *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμάς* 2 (1918), pp. 449–452 (*Vatopedi*, 3; see below n. 8); cf. K.-P. Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz. Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte zwischen 1402 und 1422* (Weimar, 1981), p. 59.

² The best account of the conditions in Macedonia during this period, dealing primarily with Thessaloniki, is in Nevra Necipoğlu's *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: A Study of Political Attitudes in the Late Palaiologan Period, 1370–1460* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1990) (hereafter cited as Necipoğlu), pp. 132–158. A book based on this dissertation is forthcoming: *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge University Press).

what was the status of the estates that were not taken away from the monks? Did the Ottomans transform them into timars or did the monks keep their full rights on them?³ How much of the Byzantine administration was left in place and what were the extent and local variations of self-government allowed to the Christians? Was Byzantine law and justice abolished? Did the Ottomans import into Macedonia a taxation system of their own⁴ or did they maintain the Byzantine practices?

The disappointing state of our knowledge on these matters is largely due to the scarcity of information. The archival evidence, which is usually one of the best sources of information on these issues, is particularly poor. Extremely few Ottoman documents are known from this period.⁵ With regard to the Greek evidence, the archives of the Athonite monasteries only conserve approximately 55 documents concerning Macedonia in this time, many of which are of little value for us as they deal with matters internal to the Holy Mountain. A few Athonite documents dating from the period after 1403 also provide information on the first Ottoman occupation of Macedonia. Finally, some additional evidence comes from acts of the patriarchal tribunal of Constantinople. In spite of its limited volume, the Greek evidence contains significant data on the period, concerning in particular the impact of the Ottoman conquest on the legal order and practices in the province.

I will not attempt to offer here a conclusive answer to the questions mentioned above. I simply wish to make some remarks, formulate some hypotheses and ask further questions on the issues of land ownership, legal order and justice in Macedonia between 1383 and 1403, by using the documentation from Mount Athos and the Patriarchate. I will be discussing documents that are already known and to a large extent exploited by scholars as well as three recently published acts of the monastery of Zographou⁶ and some documents that are still

³ On this issue, see the hypotheses of E. Kolobos, *Χωρικοί και μοναχοί στην οθωμανική Χαλκιδική, 15^{ος}–16^{ος} αιώνες. Όψεις της οικονομικής και κοινωνικής ζωής στην ύπαιθρο και η μονή Ξηροποτάμου* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 132–134.

⁴ As Nicholas Oikonomides has suggested: “Ottoman Influence on Late Byzantine Fiscal Practice,” *Südost-Forschungen* 45 (1986), pp. 1–24.

⁵ Cf. V. Demetriades, “Athonite Documents and the Ottoman Occupation,” in K. Chrysochoides, ed., *Mount Athos in the 14th–16th centuries* (Athens, 1997), pp. 41–42.

⁶ C. Pavlikianov, *History of the Bulgarian Athonite Monastery of Zografou from 980 to 1804. The Evidence of Twenty-Seven Unknown Documents* (Sofia, 2005), nos. 2–4, pp. 125–127.

unpublished coming from the monasteries of Vatopedi and Saint Paul.⁷ The stimulus for this inquiry came from my study of the documents of Vatopedi, whose archives contain the single largest body of documentation in Mount Athos concerning the time and place examined here. More than a third (21) of the relevant Athonite documents come from Vatopedi and most of them are unpublished.⁸

I will first go over the evidence concerning land possession and ownership in this period. I will then focus on two kinds of documents that inform us on legal practices: contracts, mostly concerning land acquisition, and court decisions, again largely regarding property disputes. More than half of the preserved documents from this period belong to one of these two types of documents. I will be using them in order to examine to what extent the conquest brought about changes in the legal practices in the province and the degree to which the Ottoman authority makes its presence felt in these documents. It should be immediately noted here that the evidence provided by these contracts and court decisions cannot be considered as reflecting general practice, above all because we are dealing exclusively with Greek acts. Ideally, such an inquiry would have to be based also on the examination of Ottoman acts of the same nature. It would have also been useful to know what proportion of the total land transactions and court decisions in this time were of the same form as our acts.

Land Ownership

The conquest brought about changes in land possession and ownership in Macedonia.⁹ It is obvious that all state lands, including the

⁷ The Photographs of the unpublished documents of Vatopedi and Saint Paul mentioned here are kept at the Collège de France, Paris.

⁸ In what follows I will refer to these documents as "Vatopedi unp." followed by the date. These documents will be published in the third volume of *Actes de Vatopédi* (Archives de l'Athos 23) including the acts from 1377 to 1500. This volume is currently under preparation by J. Lefort, V. Kravari, Ch. Giros, R. Estangüi Gómez and myself. For those documents of Vatopedi already published, I will refer to the old edition and indicate, in parentheses, that they will be included in the third volume of *Actes de Vatopédi* (Vatopédi, 3).

⁹ On land possession and ownership in this period, see the detailed discussion in Necipoğlu, pp. 139–150. In what follows, I will insist only on those cases unknown to Necipoğlu.

estates held as *pronoiai* under the Byzantines, were taken away by the Ottomans. Some beneficiaries of *pronoia* grants may have managed nevertheless to keep their estates thanks to special agreements with the conquerors. Some lands held in full ownership by lay and ecclesiastical landowners were also confiscated, but the surviving evidence is not enough to explain the pattern of these expropriations. There are several confiscation cases coming from this period, as well as some general statements regarding expropriation. Seven confiscation cases concern landowners from Thessaloniki. They were carried out both during the siege of the city (1384–1387) and after Thessaloniki had opened its gates to the Ottoman army. Two monasteries and two lay landowners lost properties located in the vicinity of the city, as well as in Lagkada, in Chalkidiki and in the Strymon region.¹⁰ Two monasteries within the city were also confiscated.¹¹ A general statement concerning Lagkada indicates that all Thessalonians who had properties there lost them and could not exploit them, apparently during the entire period of

¹⁰ (1) The monastery of Kyrkyrou lost control over its properties in Lagkada, an area settled by “Turks;” see below, n. 12. (2) Half of the village of Achinos on the Strymon, property of the monastery of Akapniou, was confiscated during the siege of Thessaloniki and given to Makarios Bryennios, who later donated it to the monastery: *Actes d’Esphigménou*, ed. J. Lefort, Archives de l’Athos 6 (Paris, 1973), no. 30 (1393). (3) The estate of Bollada at Kolydros, near Thessaloniki, also belonging to Akapniou, was seized by the “Turks” before 1394 and found its way into the hands of Nea Mone monastery: MM, 2: no. 453 (1394), pp. 200–202. (4) George Anatavlas lost land at Portarea (Chalkidiki), which was ceded to a “Muslim” before February 1388: *Actes d’Esphigménou*, no. 29. (5) Most of the properties of the Deblitzenos family around Thessaloniki and in Hermeleia (Chalkidiki) were occupied by “the impious ones” during the siege of Thessaloniki: *Actes de Docheiarou*, ed. N. Oikonomidès, Archives de l’Athos 13 (Paris, 1984), no. 58 (1419).

¹¹ The Ottomans seized the monastery of the Prodomos, which was converted into a mosque, but spared at least some of its properties, including a fishery (*bibarian*): MM, 2: no. 660 (1401), pp. 519–520, and Ioannes Anagnostes, *Διήγησις περί τῆς τελευταίας ἀλώσεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. Μονοῦδία ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*, ed. G. Tsaras (Thessaloniki, 1958), ch. 18 (PG 156, col. 620); on this monastery and the affair, see M. Rautman, “Ignatius of Smolensk and the Late Byzantine Monasteries of Thessaloniki,” *REB* 49 (1991), pp. 159–160. Another monastery, that of Saint Athanasios, was confiscated by the *archontes* of Thessaloniki, that is no doubt the Ottomans, but was later restored to Theodotos, superior of the Blatades monastery; MM, 2: no. 661 (1401), p. 521: ἐδημεύθη δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ τόπου τὸ ρηθὲν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου μονῶδιον, εἴτα ἀπελύθη. On this affair, which is also discussed below, see N. Oikonomides, “Το μερίδιο τῶν μοναστηριῶν στην αγορά τῆς τουρκοκρατούμενης Θεσσαλονίκης (1400),” in *Demetria 28, 7th Scholarly Symposium, “Christian Thessalonica”, Stavropegial and Parochial Monasteries* (Thessaloniki, 1995), p. 76; reprinted in idem, *Society, Culture and Politics in Byzantium*, ed. E. Zachariadou, Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot, 2005). Cf. Necipoğlu, pp. 146–148.

the Ottoman rule, because of the settlement of the “Turks.”¹² Based on this evidence we may remark that, either in breach of what they had promised to the capitulating Thessalonians or not, the Ottomans did not restore lands taken during the siege and that, in addition, they seized monasteries after the conquest of the city, transforming one of them into a mosque.¹³

Even Athonite monasteries, traditionally believed to have preserved all their properties thanks to their submission to the Ottomans,¹⁴ suffered losses. Three recently published acts from the monastery of Zographou reveal two confiscations that were carried out by the new rulers of Macedonia. It is necessary to discuss these acts in some detail. The first case concerns a tract of land called Skoribitza, located to the north of Hierissos in western Chalkidiki. The case is known to us from two acts both of which concern the same affair.¹⁵ The first one (no. 3) is an act of *adelphaton* issued by Zographou in favour of a certain Theodore, son of Bladimeros, or possibly simply Theodore Bladimeros.¹⁶ It bears no date but, as will be shown, it is contemporary with the second act (no. 4), dating from October 1392. In it, the monks state that they have received from Theodore, whom they call “most noble and wise” (*paneugenestatos kai synetotatos*) and “most glorious” (*endoxotatos*), the land of Skoribitza that he had come to possess (εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τούτου ἐνέπεσον); in exchange the monks promise to offer him for the duration of his life what the beneficiary of an *adelphaton* is entitled to and to commemorate

¹² Vatopedi unpr., December 1414, lines 49–50: διὰ τὰς ἀνωμαλίας οὔτε τὸ μοναστήριον εἶχε δυνάμειος ὥστε κατακάμνειν τὰ αὐτοῦ χωράφια οὔτε ἄλλος τις τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων, μάλιστα ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ τοῦ Λαγκαδᾶ, διὰ τὸ κατοικίσαι αὐτὴν Τούρκους.

¹³ On the possible terms under which Thessaloniki surrendered and on the privileges that may have been awarded to it later by Bayezid I, see Necipoğlu, pp. 132–137.

¹⁴ N. Oikonomidēs, “Monastères et moines lors de la conquête ottomane,” *Südost-Forschungen* 35 (1976), pp. 1–6. The idea that the monks offered, early on, their submission to the sultan and obtained from him (general) recognition of their holdings has been questioned by Vassilis Demetriades. He has suggested that the process of obtaining confirmation of the properties was a much more complicated affair, and that it followed the gradual advance of the Ottoman troops in the region: “Athonite Documents,” pp. 50–51.

¹⁵ Pavlikianov, *Zografou*, nos. 3 and 4, pp. 126–127. On the location of Skoribitza, see *ibid.*, p. 223.

¹⁶ The editor of the act has read “Θεόδωρον τὸν Βλανδημηρίου,” which normally means Theodore son of Bladimeros (Blandemerios), but would it be possible to read “Θεόδωρον τὸν Βλανδημήριον”? Cf. below, n. 18. On *adelphaton*, in principle a donation made by an individual to a monastery in exchange for the right to become a monk and/or receive an annual pension in kind, see most recently K. Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères byzantins (fin du X^e-milieu du XIV^e siècle)* (Paris, 2006), pp. 138–145.

him after his death. The second act (no. 4), dating from October 1392,¹⁷ is addressed to Zographou by an author whose name is missing but who no doubt is the same Theodore, as will become clear.¹⁸ The document, which unfortunately has many lacunae, states that Skoribitza, a property originally belonging to Zographou, had been donated—in full ownership—to the author of the act a short time earlier by the sultan (*euergesia authentike*).¹⁹ This led the monks to complain with insistence to the beneficiary, saying that the land was theirs as an imperial chrysobull and a fiscal act (*praktikon*) attested. As he initially did not want to cede the land to the monks, they threatened that they would try to recuperate it by showing their documents to the sultan. This obliged the author to consider more seriously the monks' complaints and, having examined their documents, he decided to cede the land to Zographou, fearing the wrath of God and of the sultan. He also gave the monks the rent (*dekateia*) he had collected. There is little doubt that the author of this second act (no. 4) is Theodore. The affair reported corresponds perfectly to the affair of the first act (no. 3). The issuing of a different act by both contracting parties is a normal practice for the establishment of an *adelphaton*. Finally, the expressions *paneugenestatos*, *synetotatos* and *endoxotatos*, by which the monks call Theodore, can only be accorded to someone holding an official function and are entirely appropriate for a person serving the sultan.²⁰

¹⁷ The act bears the date "October, indiction 1, 6901," which corresponds to 1392, not 1393 as suggested by the editor.

¹⁸ I think that the author's name may be partially preserved on line 14. If my suspicion is correct, it would be possible to read the name by completing the end of the lacuna on line 13 with what would be the beginning of the author's surname (Bladimeros): ἐντυχόντες ἐμοὶ [. . . Βλαδι]||¹⁴μηρῶ, τὰ τῆς τοιαύτης γῆς δίκαια ἐνεκαλοῦντο.

¹⁹ The adjective "*authentikos*" refers to the sultan who is often called in the documents "*mezas authentes*," that is "great master" (*Actes d'Esphigménou*, no. 29 [1388]; Vatopedi unpub., March 1400; *Actes de Lavra*, vol. 4: *Études historiques. Actes serbes. Compléments et index*, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos and D. Papachryssanthou, Archives de l'Athos 11 [Paris, 1982], nos. 6 [1394/5] and 7 [1398]: *veliki gospodar*) or "*katholikos kai mezas authentes*" (universal and great master), as in the act discussed here (Pavlikianov, *Zografou*, no. 4, pp. 126–127) and in V. Laurent, "Un acte grec inédit du despote serbe Constantin Dragaş," *RĒB* 5 (1947), p. 184 (1393; *Vatopédi*, 3). These expressions partly reproduce the sultan's title used in official Ottoman acts written in Greek, as in the case of an unpublished act (*horismos*) of Bayezid I preserved in the monastery of Saint Paul which begins: Ὅρισμός τοῦ μεγάλου αὐθέντου καὶ μεγάλου ἀμυρᾶ του Παγιαζιτπέι; see K. Chrysochoides, "Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου. Κατάλογος τοῦ Ἀρχείου," *Σύμμεικτα* 4 (1981), no. 31.

²⁰ Demetrios Bryennios Laskaris, a known timar holder, is also called *eugenestatos* (*Actes de Chilandar*, ed. L. Petit, *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 17 [1911], appendix 1, no. 158 [1388]) and *endoxotatos* (*ibid.*, no. 160 [1392]). On Demetrios Bryennios Laskaris, see below, n. 24.

The third act of Zographou (no. 2)²¹ is very similar in both content and form to the first act discussed here (no. 3). It is an act of *adelphaton* issued by Zographou in favour of a certain Bryennios Laskaris, called, like Theodore, “*paneugenestatos kai synetotatos*” and “*endoxotatos*.” Laskaris had come to possess (εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τούτου ἐνέπεσεν) a plot of land near Serres that had originally belonged to Zographou but, because of the monks’ negligence, had been taken away from the monastery (ἀπεσπάσθη ἐξ ἀμελείας ἡμῶν). Laskaris donated the land to Zographou in exchange for which the monks promised to offer him an *adelphaton* for the duration of his life and to commemorate him after his death. The expression “*apespasthe*” normally refers to confiscation. I think that here again a piece of land of the monastery was seized by the Ottomans, who gave it—in full ownership—to Laskaris; he later decided to give it back to the monastery in exchange for an *adelphaton*, just like Theodore. Makarios Bryennios too had done the same a few years earlier, whether in exchange for an *adelphaton* or not.²² The act bears no date, but an approximate dating can be proposed (ca. 1388–1393) on the basis of the prosopography and because of its resemblance to act no. 3, dating from October 1392. Indeed, these two acts, which are copied on the same piece of paper²³ and are very similar in form, both mention as hegoumenos of the monastery the hieromonk Paul and, among other monks, a monk called Kallistos. Act no. 2, therefore, appears to date from around the same time as no. 3. Moreover, there are several reasons to identify the Bryennios Laskaris of our act with Demetrios Bryennios Laskaris, a timar holder attested between 1388 and 1393, called in some documents “*eugenestatos*” and “*endoxotatos*,” and who was apparently based in Serres.²⁴

The documents of Zographou show that two lands of the monastery were taken by the Ottomans, who gave them—in full ownership—to Christians, no doubt serving the sultan in some capacity. The affair of Theodore (son of) Bladimeros, where the monks threatened to take their case to the sultan, suggests that the monastery’s property rights were in principle respected by the Ottomans. We may therefore assume that the monastery had obtained some sort of general guarantee covering all or a large part of its estates but that in practice some seizures took place

²¹ Pavlikianov, *Zografou*, pp. 125–126.

²² See above, n. 10.

²³ Pavlikianov, *Zografou*, pp. 223–224.

²⁴ On the epithets used for Demetrios Bryennios Laskaris, see above, n. 20. On this person, see also *PLP*, no. 14529, and *Actes d’Esphigménou*, p. 172.

and the monks were obliged to struggle each time to get their lands back. It is possible that behind Bryennios Laskaris' decision to make the donation to the monastery there were also the monks' threats to claim their land from the authorities. The fact that the monks agreed to concede an *adelphaton* in such a situation may be explained, to some extent, by their wish to avoid the expenses and efforts a petition to the sultan would involve; it could also suggest, however, that they were not entirely sure about the outcome of such an appeal.

Zographou was not the only monastery of the Holy Mountain to be hit by confiscation at this time. An act of Esphigmenou mentions the expropriation of an estate of the monastery by the Ottomans. According to this act, before 1388 the land of Esphigmenou at Portarea in Chalkidiki was seized by the "Turks," along with the land of a certain George Anatavlas, which was located within the monastery's estate. The lands were given to a "Muslim." Following a request to the sultan and to the vizier Ali Pasha, and thanks to a lot of effort and expense, the monks of Esphigmenou managed to recuperate their land, obtaining at the same time that of Anatavlas.²⁵ This case suggests that the Ottomans accepted Esphigmenou's rights over the land and gave it back to the monastery.

One more confiscation affecting an establishment of the Holy Mountain can be supposed on the basis of two acts coming from the monastery of Saint Paul. The first act, dating from 1385, concerns the donation of the monastery of Mesonesiotissa, near Bodena (modern Edessa), to Saint Paul by Nicolas Baldoubinos Pagases (Bagaš). Pagases donated Mesonesiotissa along with all its properties, including a church named Eleousa with its buildings, situated outside the town of Bodena.²⁶ A second act of Saint Paul seems to be dealing with the same church and buildings, which had apparently become part of a

²⁵ *Actes d'Esphigmenou*, no. 29. Contrary to George Ostrogorsky ("La prise de Serrès par les Turcs," *Byzantion* 35 [1965], pp. 311–312), Lefort understands that the only land taken by the Ottomans was that of Anatavlas. The expressions used in this document, however (ἀναδραμόντων ἡμῶν καὶ σπουδῆν καὶ ἔξοδον ποιησαμένων οὐκ ὀλίγην), correspond much more to a petition of somebody trying to recuperate lost properties rather than to a request for a donation.

²⁶ A. Každan, "Dva pozdnevizantijskih akta iz sobranija P. I. Sevast'janova," *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 2 (27) (1949), pp. 317–320 (Chrysochoides, "Κατάλογος," no. 25). On the identification of the region where Mesonesiotissa was located as that of Bodena and not Kastoria (as in *PLP*, no. 21244), see G. Subotić, "Manastir Bogorodice Mesonisiotise," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 26 (1987), pp. 125–171 (in Serbian with a French summary). On the location of the church of Eleousa, outside the walls of the town, see *ibid.*, p. 138.

timar holding before 1401/2. The monastery purchased these properties from two consecutive timar holders.²⁷ Another—probable—confiscation case involving an Athonite monastery concerns the village of Toxompous on the eastern bank of Lake Achinos, southeast of Serres. This expropriation can be deduced from the summary of an Ottoman act of 1405, given by Demetriades.²⁸ A property of Lavra since the thirteenth century,²⁹ Toxompous was apparently still in the possession of the monastery in 1398,³⁰ but seems to have been lost before 1405, as at that date it was held—most likely as a timar—by two persons, a Christian and a Muslim.

Additional evidence on the Athonite monasteries in this time comes from the archives of Vatopedi. Two documents dating from the period after 1403 speak of the time of the Ottomans when the monasteries' estates were seized.³¹ One of them in particular, a *praktikon* by which an assessor surrenders to Vatopedi four estates (*metochia*) in Chalkidiki—Hermeleia, Eladiaba, Prospophori, and Lantzou—, states that Eladiaba had been spared by the “the impious ones” who decided that the monastery should keep it.³² It would have been reasonable to infer that the Turks seized the other three estates mentioned in the *praktikon* had we not known from an official Ottoman document that Vatopedi controlled

²⁷ Unpublished document of Saint Paul, 1401/2 (Chrysochoides, “Κατάλογος,” no. 26). The identification of the church of this document as that donated in 1385 is based on the following indications. Besides the fact that the church of 1401/2 is also dedicated to the Theotokos Eleousa, its description is very similar to that found in the earlier document: in 1385 we are told that there were houses “inside the church,” meaning no doubt that some buildings were situated within the church’s—probably walled—courtyard; in 1401/2 we learn that the monks, after buying the church, made of it “a monastery like before;” the monks then bought the land “outside the church.” Finally, although the act of 1401/2 mentions no location, a setting near or inside a town is suggested by the kind of people signing the document, including an *ex-kastrophylox*, two Muslims, and a certain *protopapas* Andronikos, *dikaiou* of a higher ecclesiastical authority, which is unfortunately illegible. Phokion Kotzageorges also proposes that the two churches are identical: *Η αθωνική μονή Αγίου Παύλου κατά την οθωμανική περίοδο* (Thessaloniki, 2002), pp. 153–154. On the act of 1401/2, see also below.

²⁸ “Athonite Documents,” p. 43.

²⁹ It was donated to Lavra by Michael VIII in 1259; see *Actes de Lavra*, vol. 2: *de 1204 à 1328*, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos and D. Papachryssanthou, Archives de l’Athos 8 (Paris, 1977), no. 7.

³⁰ *Actes de Lavra*, vol. 4, no. 7.

³¹ Vatopedi unpub., 15 September 1404, line 5: ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐπιδρομὴ καὶ περὶ πάντας αὐτῶν δυναστεία καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀφήρπασεν; *Akti iz svetogorskih arhiva*, ed. V. Mošin (Belgrade, 1939), pp. 165–167 (1408; *Vatopédi*, 3): τὸν καιρὸν καθ’ ὃν ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου ταῦτα ἔλαβον οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ εἶχον.

³² Vatopedi unpub., 15 September 1404, lines 23–24: τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἐδυσώπησε καὶ ἔκριναν ἵνα ἔχῃσι τοῦτο οἱ μοναχοί.

Prospori in 1401.³³ Nevertheless, the evidence the *praktikon* provides on the Ottoman attitude toward the monks should not be dismissed in its entirety. In view of what we saw in the cases concerning Zographou, we may accept that the claims of the assessor do reflect reality to some extent, meaning that some estates of Vatopedi were indeed confiscated by the Ottomans and that these properties had not been recuperated by the monks before 1403. Another point worth noting concerns the way Vatopedi managed to retain Eladiaba under the Ottomans. The assessor's statement may be understood to mean that, in this case at least, the property of Vatopedi was respected by the conquerors not by virtue of a general privilege accorded to the monks, but following a decision specifically concerning the estate.

Many uncertainties remain regarding the fate of the Athonite estates in this period. The evidence discussed above shows that the situation was much more complicated than what has usually been accepted. Some of the monasteries' properties were seized and, as the Bladimeros affair suggests, this may have happened in spite of the existence of Ottoman acts offering general confirmation of their estates.³⁴ Often, the monks had to make considerable efforts and expenses in order to preserve or recuperate their lands. No doubt some they never got back. Nevertheless, the Athonites seem to have preserved the bulk of their fortune and to have suffered much fewer confiscations than other landowners. As we have already seen, these were not exclusively laymen but included monasteries such as Akapniou and Kyrkyrou in Thessaloniki. Other monasteries, like the Nea Mone in Thessaloniki and the Prodomos near Serres, received privileged treatment from the Ottomans similar to that enjoyed by the Athonites.³⁵

³³ The document is an unpublished order (*hüküm, mektûb, bitî*) of February 1401 preserved in Vatopedi, by which the Ottoman authorities confirm that the monastery may continue to enjoy the tax revenues (*resm*) of Prospori. I would like to thank Elias Kolobos, who provided me with a transliteration and a summary of this act.

³⁴ Demetriades has drawn attention to the mention of what might have been a firman of Bayezid I concerning the properties of Vatopedi ("Athonite Documents," p. 47). Cf. the case of the Prodomos near Serres, E. Zachariadou, "Early Ottoman Documents of the Prodomos Monastery (Serres)," *Südost-Forschungen* 28 (1969), pp. 1–12; reprinted in eadem, *Romania and the Turks (c.1300–c.1500)*, Variorum Collected Studies (London, 1985).

³⁵ On the ways the Ottomans treated different monasteries, in particular Nea Mone, see the remarks of Necipoğlu, pp. 144–149. On the Prodomos near Serres, see the previous note.

The Ottomans obviously used the confiscated properties to endow soldiers and supporters, Muslims or Christians. These grants either concerned the property or the possession of the lands ceded. There are a few attested cases of donation of properties by the sultan, all concerning Christians who often end up donating these estates to monasteries.³⁶ Moreover, in the earliest Ottoman register concerning the district of Thessaloniki there are mentions of endowments (*vakıf*) from the time of Bayezid I.³⁷

At the same time, the Ottoman State no doubt withheld the property rights on some of the land it acquired, ceding only the right of possession and usufruct to certain individuals in exchange for their obligation to render services. There are some concrete examples of such grants. Since before 1392, Demetrios Bryennios Laskaris possessed half the village of Achinos on the Strymon as a *pronoia* from the sultan, called “*authentike pronoia*,” a term translating the Ottoman term “*timar*.”³⁸ Another example of a *timar* comes from a document where the expression “*timaratos*” is used to denote the beneficiary. According to this document, before 1401/2 a certain Demetrios Comnenus had succeeded a Muslim called Mahmut in the possession of a *timar*, probably in the region of Bodena. It is interesting that according to this document both Comnenus and Mahmut sold to the monastery of Saint Paul buildings that apparently belonged to their *timar*.³⁹

In spite of the evidence suggesting that important confiscations were carried out, our documentation shows that during this period the Ottomans respected land ownership to a significant extent. It has already been suggested that the monasteries of Mount Athos kept a large proportion of their lands. This is borne out by the surviving documentation, which includes several acts of sale, donation and lease

³⁶ Makarios Bryennios (see above, n. 10); Theodore (son of) Bladimiro and probably also [Demetrios] Bryennios Laskaris, discussed above. Also in the region of Serres, a certain Palaiologos, related to the Laskaris family, was in 1464/5 the owner of the village of Berzani by virtue of succession; one of his ancestors, probably the one called Laskaris, had received it from Bayezid I; see N. Beldiceanu and I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, “Un Paléologue inconnu de la région de Serres,” *Byzantion* 41 (1971), pp. 5–17.

³⁷ V. Dimitriades, “Ottoman Chalkidiki: an Area in Transition,” in A. Bryer and H. Lowry, eds., *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham and Washington D.C., 1986), p. 44.

³⁸ *Actes d'Ésphigménou*, no. 30.

³⁹ Unpublished document of Saint Paul, 1401/2 (Chrysochoïdes, “Κατάλογος,” no. 26): Μαχμούτης ὁ μουσλουμάνος ὁ προλαβόν μου τιμαράτος. On the location of the *timar*, see above, n. 26 and n. 27.

of property, as well as disputes over boundaries relative to these estates. None of these acts suggests that the monks had anything less than full ownership rights over their lands. Despite their losses, Thessalonian monasteries too continued to own estates in the countryside.⁴⁰ The ownership pattern within the city had probably changed little after 1387, much of the urban properties, especially shops, still being in the hands of local monasteries and churches.⁴¹ Apart from monasteries, individuals too continued to own property. In some cases these persons based their ownership rights on agreements with the Ottomans. For example, Caesar Alexios Angelos, ruler of Thessaly and a vassal of the sultan, stated in 1389 that he had obtained from the “Muslims” the respect of his rights over some properties in Thessaloniki.⁴² In 1400, a certain Phronimos Mpogdanos, clearly a powerful individual, donated to Vatopedi a plot of land north of Chalkidiki, which he had purchased from the same monastery shortly before or during the Ottoman rule of the region.⁴³ If Mpogdanos may be considered a person who had made special agreements with the Ottomans, it is clear that individuals of lower status also owned and freely disposed of lands. In 1396, for example, a Thessalonian of modest standing donated a piece of land and sold some vines near Thessaloniki to another person. The land in question neighboured the lands of two more individuals.⁴⁴ In this context it is worth remembering what is stated in the already mentioned treaty of 1403 between the Ottomans and the Christians regarding in particular land ownership in Macedonia. In this treaty, Süleyman Çelebi, the eldest son of Bayezid I, agrees to force out of their estates all the “Turks” who possessed land in the areas ceded to the Byzantines; no doubt this is a reference to the estates that had been ceded as timars or in full ownership by the sultan. However, according to the treaty, the ownership of the lands “Greeks or Turks” had bought during the

⁴⁰ On the rural possessions of monasteries of Thessaloniki at this time, see Necipoğlu, pp. 144–150.

⁴¹ This is the image we get from an act of 1400, MM, 2: no. 664, pp. 525–527; cf. the remarks of Oikonomides, “Το μερίδιο των μοναστηριών.”

⁴² *Actes de Lavra*, vol. 3: *de 1329 à 1500*, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos and D. Papachryssanthou, Archives de l’Athos 10 (Paris, 1979), no. 151. On this case, see also below.

⁴³ Vatopedi unpub., March 18, 1400. On this case, see also below.

⁴⁴ Vatopedi unpub., March 1396. See also the case of Constantine Prinkips, who owned a vineyard obviously situated outside Thessaloniki: MM, 2: no. 471 (1394), pp. 221–223.

Ottoman rule had to be respected by the Byzantines.⁴⁵ Another point directly related to the question of land ownership regards taxation. It seems that taxes paid for lands held in full ownership in this period were significant, since they are apparently mentioned in the same treaty of 1403, which states that Manuel II would have the right to collect whatever the regions ceded to him owed to Bayezid I.⁴⁶

The evidence is too patchy for any safe conclusion to be reached. It is clear that the Ottomans confiscated a significant proportion of the land. Those hit hardest by these measures were, of course, the great landowners, lay and monastic. The lands seized were given out as timars or as full-ownership grants to individuals serving the state, whether Muslims or Christians. Some grants also went to monasteries and to Muslim pious foundations. At the same time, we can see that the existing pattern of private property, both of laymen and of monasteries, was to a considerable extent respected by the conquerors. Several lay individuals managed to retain their properties or acquire new ones, by joining the Ottoman establishment or thanks to special agreements. Many monasteries also received privileged treatment, as in the case of Mount Athos. The Church and the monasteries probably controlled most of the rental property within Thessaloniki. Besides some acts showing relatively modest people owning vineyards outside that city, there is very little evidence on the situation of lesser lay landowners, urban and rural. These were probably the least affected as their properties constituted less of a target.

The overall image is one of a mixed system of full-ownership and timar-type lands, which is similar to the system the Byzantines already used before the Ottomans came. But there is also a new notion of land possession, that of ownership based on agreements with the conquerors.

Transactions

I now come to the examination of the contracts and court decisions dating from this period in order to consider the conquest's impact on

⁴⁵ Dennis, "Byzantine-Turkish Treaty," p. 78.

⁴⁶ For a mention of the taxes owed to the sultan for a piece of land held in full ownership, see Vatopedi unpub., 18 March 1400.

the legal practices in Macedonia. We possess a number of documents recording legal transactions: acts of donation and sale, acts of lease, as well as some other contracts of a more complex nature. With regard to the legal framework implied in these acts, Byzantine law and custom is often followed with no changes since the previous period. Before 1392, for example, the Thessalonian monastery of Akapniou had to invoke its pressing debts in order to obtain the metropolitan's permission to sell one of its estates, in full compliance with the laws concerning the alienation of ecclesiastical property.⁴⁷ A few years later, the right of pre-emption awarded by the law to the neighbors of a property is mentioned and respected in a case of land sale.⁴⁸ Two *emphyteusis* contracts, concerning the lease of ecclesiastical properties in Thessaloniki, may also date from the period of the Ottoman rule of the city.⁴⁹

However, some of the contracts in question contain elements related to the Ottoman presence that are new and somewhat irregular with regard to Byzantine law and practice. A case of particular interest is an *adelphaton* contract. In 1388, the already mentioned George Anatavlas made such an agreement with Esphigmenou, by ceding a piece of land located within the monastery's estate of Portarea. However, as we have seen, at the moment of the establishment of the contract, the land was not in the possession of Anatavlas but in that of the monks, who had obtained the property after its confiscation by the Ottomans. As Anatavlas protested strongly, the monks accepted to award him two *adelphata* in exchange for his recognizing that the land in question was the property of the monastery. Anatavlas also promised that in the event the province again came under Byzantine control he would not contest the monks' rights.⁵⁰ This last clause reveals, I believe, the reason why the monks made such an agreement. For it is evident that at the time it was impossible for Anatavlas to reclaim his land by turning to the authorities or by seeking a court decision; clearly neither would recognize Anatavlas' rights. Here the Byzantine legal order is no longer functioning.

⁴⁷ *Actes d'Esphigmenou*, no. 30.

⁴⁸ Vatopedi unpub., March 1396.

⁴⁹ The first of these contracts was confirmed by Metropolitan Isidore Glabas (before 1396) and both by the patriarch in 1400: MM, 2: no. 664, pp. 525–527; on this act, see Oikonomides, "Το μερίδιο των μοναστηριών."

⁵⁰ See above, n. 25.

Other acts of donation to monasteries by laymen show the more or less conditional nature of land ownership, which rested on agreements with the Ottomans. In 1389, Caesar Alexios Angelos of Thessaly, mentioned earlier, donated the monastery of Saint Photis in Thessaloniki to the monastery of Nea Mone in the same city. In his act of donation, Angelos explains that this monastery had been included in the agreements he had made with the “Muslims” concerning the possession of his properties.⁵¹ In 1393, the ruler of Melnik, Constantine Dragaš, he too a vassal of the Ottomans like Alexios Angelos, donated to Vatopedi the monastery of Pantanassa situated in his town. The relevant passage in the document is partially illegible, but Dragaš seems to mention the sultan’s permission allowing him to donate the monastery.⁵² Finally, Phronimos Mpogdanos’ act of donation to Vatopedi we saw earlier, although not referring to any permission or agreement with the Ottomans concerning the land ceded, contains elements related to the new rule.⁵³ The document, which states that the donation was done with the knowledge of the metropolitan of Thessaloniki and of the “most wise *cadi*” (*phronimotatos kates*) of the same city, is signed by a series of ecclesiastical and civil *archontes*. This is one of a number of documents that prove that the civil along with the ecclesiastical authorities of that city maintained important functions, confirming transactions and forming part of courts.⁵⁴ The back side of the document contains three notes of confirmation. First comes a note signed by the metropolitan of Thessaloniki, Gabriel, which is followed by another note in Arabic, obviously written by the city’s *cadi* mentioned in the document. A final third note of confirmation is signed by one bishop and two hegoumenoi.

⁵¹ *Actes de Lawra*, 3, no. 151: ἐν ταῖς καταστάσεσι ἃς ἐποίησα μετὰ τῶν Μουσουλμάνων προσένεξα καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς πᾶσαν ἐλευθερίαν μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐτέρων ἡμῶν κτημάτων.

⁵² Laurent, “Un acte grec inédit;” Laurent’s edition suffers from misreadings and omissions.

⁵³ Vatopedi unpub., 18 March 1400.

⁵⁴ On this, cf. G. T. Dennis, “The Second Turkish Capture of Thessalonica, 1391, 1394 or 1430?” *BZ* 57 (1964), p. 57; reprinted in idem, *Byzantium and the Franks*; Necipoğlu, pp. 123, 133. Both Dennis and Necipoğlu have based their remarks on the homilies of the metropolitan of Thessaloniki, Isidore Glabas. Besides the act of 18 March 1400, several other acts of Vatopedi illustrate this phenomenon: Vatopedi unpub., February 1396; March 1396; after April 1396; 30 May 1396; September 1401. The evidence of these acts obviously goes against the assumption that Ottoman rule in Thessaloniki became harsher in the mid 1390s, at least with regard to the functioning of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; on this idea, see Dennis, “Second Turkish capture,” pp. 60–61. On the courts of Thessaloniki in this period, see below.

The meaning of the *cadi's* mention within the act and his confirmation note on the back is not clear. They do not necessarily mean that the *cadi's* permission was asked in this case, especially since he always comes after the metropolitan. They do indicate, however, that additional guarantees from the Ottoman authorities were considered necessary or at least useful during this period.

Court Decisions

A similar image may be obtained from the court decisions. Here too there is a great degree of continuity with the previous period but also some new and sometimes significant elements. Our evidence confirms the assumptions, mentioned above, regarding the self-government the Ottomans granted to Thessalonians and shows that this autonomy included justice. It also shows that arrangements similar to those of Thessaloniki were also valid in Serres. Several court decisions are attested in the Athonite archives and in the patriarchal register concerning Macedonia during the first Ottoman rule of the region. Approximately half of these judgments are known from the court decisions themselves, which have been preserved; the rest are quoted or simply mentioned in other acts, often letters of the patriarch requesting the implementation of his decisions. Practically all judgments were rendered by ecclesiastical authorities: most come from the patriarchal synod in Constantinople,⁵⁵ some from the courts of the dioceses of Thessaloniki and of Serres,⁵⁶ and some from the protos of Mount Athos.⁵⁷ One decision is the product of the collaboration between the civil ruler of Melnik and the town's ecclesiastical court.⁵⁸ In addition to these court decisions, there are two cases where prelates register

⁵⁵ *Actes de Kuthumus*, ed. P. Lemerle, Archives de l'Athos 2, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1988), no. 38 (1386); Vatopedi unpub., April 1389; MM, 2: no. 471 (1394), pp. 221–223; no. 479 (1395), p. 234; no. 481 (1395?), p. 235; no. 485 (1395), pp. 238–240; Vatopedi unpub., May 1395; MM, 2: no. 486 (1395), p. 240–241; no. 490 (1395), pp. 246–248; no. 605 (1400), pp. 434–437; no. 660 (1401), pp. 518–520; no. 661 (1401), pp. 520–524.

⁵⁶ Thessaloniki: Vatopedi unpub., after April 1396; 30 May 1398. Serres: *Actes d'Esphigménou*, no. 28 (1387); Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 158 (1388); *Actes d'Esphigménou*, no. 30 (1393).

⁵⁷ Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 159 (1389); *Actes du Pantocrator*, ed. V. Kravari, Archives de l'Athos 17 (Paris, 1991), no. 13 (1392); Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 160 (1392).

⁵⁸ Vatopedi unpub., August 1386.

oral testimonies concerning the borders of estates.⁵⁹ It is certainly not a coincidence that the monastic archives do not contain any decision concerning Macedonia rendered in this period by a Byzantine civil court, although there are many decisions of the patriarchal tribunal of Constantinople. Whereas the Byzantine state exercised no authority in the areas occupied by the Ottomans, the patriarch still controlled, in principle, the entire ecclesiastical apparatus in the same regions, which carried out or oversaw the implementation of his decisions. In most of the cases judged by the ecclesiastical courts, at least one of the parties is a monastery or a member of the clergy. The fact that practically all the decisions coming from monastic archives involve monasteries is entirely normal.⁶⁰ However, the situation is not very different in the register of the patriarchate: only two of the cases preserved there are between laymen, both concerning inheritance or family matters.⁶¹ This phenomenon is obviously related to the fact that the Church's power to ensure the execution of the decisions was limited. The patriarch could only threaten with excommunication those not complying with his orders.

These courts, whether based in Constantinople or in Macedonia, apply Byzantine law and custom at least as well as they did in the previous period. The pre-emption right of a monastery is identified and takes precedence over a more distant pre-emption right of another monastery. The holding of a timar, the equivalent of a pronoia, is not considered capable of conferring the right of pre-emption to the beneficiary.⁶² Finally, local inquiries are carried out by prelates who, as in previous times, travel in order to establish, with the help of witnesses, the disputed borders of some estates.⁶³ In the great majority of the decisions, whether issued in Constantinople or in Macedonia, there is absolutely no mention or even indirect allusion to the Ottoman authority. Had it not been for the date, it would have been impossible to say that these acts were not issued at a time when the Byzantines controlled Macedonia.

⁵⁹ The protos of Mount Athos together with the bishop of Hierissos: Vatopedi unpub., shortly before 1389; the bishop and members of the clergy of Rentina: Mošin, *Akti*, pp. 168–169 (1391–1425; *Vatopédi*, 3, ca. 1398).

⁶⁰ One case is between a layman and a priest: Vatopedi unpub., after April 1396.

⁶¹ MM, 2: no. 471 (1394), pp. 221–223; no. 485 (1395), pp. 238–240.

⁶² *Actes d'Esphigménou*, no. 30 (1393).

⁶³ *Actes de Kùltumus*, no. 38 (1386); Vatopedi unpub., shortly before 1389. Cf. Mošin, *Akti*, pp. 168–169 (1391–1425; *Vatopédi*, 3, ca. 1398).

Against this image of continuity with the previous period, there are some decisions that bear the marks of the new authority established in Macedonia. One of the most striking is a decision dating from 1387, which concerns a dispute between Esphigmenou and the clergy of Chrysoupolis over the ownership of a church in Serres. The decision is issued by the logothete of the diocese of Serres, acting for the then captive metropolitan of the town. In the act, the logothete legitimizes his authority to judge by invoking the power granted to him (*euergesia*), in this order, by the patriarch and by the Ottoman governor of Serres. The logothete calls the latter “his master and brother, the most brave *k̄yr* Ibrahim holder of the *kephalatikion*.”⁶⁴ The Ottoman government of Serres is also present in another court decision issued one year later, by the metropolitan of Zichna and *proedros* of Serres. In addition to the metropolitan of Zichna presiding in Serres, the court included two more bishops and some members of the town’s clergy, but also the most noble (*eugenesatoi*) Demetrios Bryennios Laskaris and Manuel Doukas; at least the former we know to have been a timar holder, that is a member of the Ottoman establishment. The same court included Hızır Pasha, replacing the “most noble and most brave subaşı and governor” of Serres Kutlu Bey, as well as many other civil *archontes*.⁶⁵ However, a few years later, in 1393, no Ottoman representative is mentioned in a court decision of the ecclesiastical court of Serres.⁶⁶ Does this evidence mean that initially less autonomy was granted to Serres than to Thessaloniki, where no such phenomena can be observed in the surviving acts, and that later the Ottoman authorities discontinued witnessing the diocese’s judgments? Or had this always been an irregular practice?

In any case, what we have observed on Serres may be useful in explaining the signatures to another act, a decision of 1392 issued by the protos of Mount Athos, which resolved a dispute between two Athonite monasteries over the borders of some fields in the Strymon area. Although the act itself is free of any mention of the Ottoman authority, we distinguish among the signing witnesses a person belonging to the new establishment. After the signatures of the protos and of

⁶⁴ *Actes d’Esphigmenou*, no. 28: τῷ ἀνδρικοτάτῳ αὐθέντῃ καὶ ἀδελφῷ μου κ̄yr τῷ Μπραίμη, τοῦ τὰ δίκαια τοῦ κεφαλατηρίου (*lege* κεφαλατικίου) κατέχοντος.

⁶⁵ Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 158: τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου καὶ ἀνδρικοτάτου σουπάση καὶ κεφαλῆς ἡμῶν τοῦ κ̄yr Κουτλούπη διὰ τοποτηρητοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Χετήρπασα.

⁶⁶ *Actes d’Esphigmenou*, no. 30.

three members of the clergy of Chrysoupolis, there come the signatures of three laymen. The first and the third may be considered as being local *archontes*. As for the second, he signs, in relatively good Greek, as Loukas, the “slave” of *mevlana* Rustem, an otherwise unknown person, but who may well be a local governor.⁶⁷ While the term “*mevlana*” is clearly a foreign one, the expression “slave” (*sklabos*) is also a complete novelty, no doubt translating the Ottoman term “*kul*.”⁶⁸ We may wonder if this Loukas is just a witness or if his rather official signature carries a particular weight, indicating that the judicial procedure was being monitored and the decision confirmed by the Ottoman authorities.

The new order created by the conquest is also felt in decisions of the patriarchal tribunal of Constantinople. In 1401, the patriarch judged a case concerning the small monastery of Saint Athanasios in Thessaloniki. Originally a dependency of the monastery of Exazenos, Saint Athanasios had been appropriated by the hegoumenos of the monastery of Blatades, Theodotos. Keeping the properties of Saint Athanasios, Theodotos sold the monastery to “a person foreign to our faith,” in the patriarch’s words, most probably a Muslim. Citing the canons restricting the alienation of ecclesiastical property, the patriarch decreed that Theodotos should be defrocked. He also ordered the metropolitan of Thessaloniki to immediately restore to Exazenos the properties of Saint Athanasios found in Theodotos’ possession. Moreover, the metropolitan was ordered to take from Theodotos the proceeds of the sale and try to recuperate Saint Athanasios from the buyer in order to give it back to its original owner, the monastery of Exazenos. The patriarch requested, on pain of excommunication, Theodotos’ cooperation with the metropolitan in this effort.⁶⁹ Here we see the limits of the application of canon law in Ottoman Thessaloniki. According to Byzantine law the court ought to annul the sale of the monastery; but such a decision would be impossible to implement under the new regime, especially because the buyer was most probably a Muslim.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Kravari, *Pantocrator*, no. 13: ὁ εὕρισκόμενος εἰς τὰς δουλείας ὁ Λουκᾶς ὁ σκλάβος τοῦ μουλονᾶ Ρουστάμε. I take the expression “ὁ εὕρισκόμενος εἰς τὰς δουλείας” to mean “the representative of,” but it could have a different meaning. In this period, the term “*douleia*” designated, among other things, tax obligations; see Arkadios, “Ἀγιορειτικὰ ἀνάλεκτα,” pp. 449–452 (1404; *Vatopedi*, 3).

⁶⁸ On “*mevlana*,” see *Actes de Pantocrator*, p. 114.

⁶⁹ MM, 2: no. 661, pp. 520–522. On this affair, see also above, n. 11.

⁷⁰ The patriarch did annul, apparently, the sale of a monastic property done without

Besides ecclesiastical courts, there is in our documentation indirect evidence regarding Ottoman courts and in particular the Byzantines' attitude towards them. An act of 1398 relates a rather complicated dispute that in fact never reached the courts. The act itself is a private agreement. A certain Theodore Diplobatzes, clearly a member of the Byzantine aristocracy, had acquired the right to withdraw to the monastery of Vatopedi and receive annual pensions, by virtue of an *adelphaton* agreement. Diplobatzes did go to Vatopedi only to leave the monastery soon after, displeased as he was with Athonite austerity. Although according to the customs of Vatopedi at this time no pensions were delivered to beneficiaries of *adelphata* residing outside the monastery, Diplobatzes managed in the following years to obtain such pensions from the monastery, while apparently living in Serres or near that town. He later received from Vatopedi a payment of 100 *hyperpyra*, one third of the investment made in order to create the *adelphaton*, promising that he would never bother the monastery again. But he did and, in spite of it all, he again began receiving pensions from the monastery. Diplobatzes was still not satisfied, and when the "master of the West" (*ho authentēs tes Dyseos*), that is most probably the *beylerbeyi* of Rumeli, passed through the area, he made an appeal to him complaining that Vatopedi was causing him damage. The *beylerbeyi* referred the matter to the *cadi* of Serres, sending an order (*horismos*) to the monks to appear before the same *cadi*. Indeed, the monks sent representatives for the judgment but, after long discussions with Diplobatzes, both parties agreed not to go to court. They made a private settlement, whereby the monastery paid Diplobatzes 100 additional *hyperpyra*, obtaining from him the declaration that the monastery owed him nothing. The act ends with a clause against anybody who would try to annul this accord; such a person should not be heard by any court, either of the sultan (*authentikon*) or ecclesiastical.⁷¹ We note that in this regular Byzantine formula the adjectives "civil" (*politikos*)⁷² or "public" (*demosiakos*)⁷³ have been replaced by the term "*authentikos*." It is certain that the affair is not reported in full by our act. What

proper permission in Ottoman Macedonia, but in this case both parties were monasteries: MM, 2: no. 481 (1395²), p. 235. Cf. another decision invalidating the alienation of monastic property in Constantinople, which contains lengthy quotations of the relevant canons, *ibid.*, no. 670 (1401), pp. 535–540.

⁷¹ Vatopedi unsp., 9 June 1398.

⁷² See, for example, *Actes d'Esphigménou*, no. 9 (1301), lines 24–25.

⁷³ See, for example, *Actes de Docheiariou*, no. 36 (1361), line 25.

appears clear, however, is that Diplobatatzes managed to obtain pensions and payments by threatening to take Vatopedi before the *cadi*. It is in fact very likely that Diplobatatzes was using this threat from the moment he left the monastery. Such an interpretation may explain the attitude of the monks, who in similar cases in the past had shown much greater resistance to persons like Diplobatatzes. Why the court of the *cadi* of Serres was perceived as possibly harmful to Vatopedi's interests is not clear. It may be that the monks were worried about Diplobatatzes' apparently good relations with the Ottomans or because they were not certain that the *cadi* would accept the internal customs of Vatopedi as binding.

That the Christians were ready to use any court they expected would best serve their interests is illustrated by an act dating from 1406, soon after the restoration of Byzantine authority in Thessaloniki. This document concerns a financial dispute between two Athonites, the monk Paul and the hegoumenos of Saint Paul, Antonios Pagases (Bagaš). Paul and his servant(s) had joined the monastery of Saint Paul by virtue of an *adelphaton* agreement, but were later driven out by Antonios. Claiming that the possessions he had given to the monastery in order to establish the *adelphaton* had been illegally withheld by Antonios, Paul obtained a favourable decision of the *protos* of Mount Athos; this he was supposed to use in front of the imperial court of Thessaloniki. Nevertheless, Paul decided to go instead to the Ottomans in Serres, where he showed the *protos*' decision to the *naiḗ* of the town, that is the *cadi*'s deputy. The *naiḗ* obviously accepted the decision of the *protos* as valid and legally binding since he promptly confiscated some of the horses Antonios or the monastery of Saint Paul possessed in that area and gave them to Paul.⁷⁴

Conclusion

The sources examined here offer a partial and, no doubt, to some extent distorted image of the land ownership regime and the legal order and practices that prevailed during the first Ottoman occupation of Macedonia. The impact of the Ottoman conquest was certainly greatest in the sphere of land ownership and possession, which

⁷⁴ Vatopedi unḡ., August 1406.

are directly related to the financing of the army and of the State in general. We see in particular that an important redistribution of the land took place under various conditions. Land ownership by great landowners often depended on agreements with the conquerors. In the sphere of law and legal practice, despite the existence of Ottoman governors and judges, the impression is that the new rulers allowed a great measure of autonomy to their Christian subjects. This is reflected in our documentation, where a remarkable degree of continuity with the previous period has been observed in transactions and judicial practice. Byzantine law and custom are followed in contracts and court decisions. Nevertheless, all is not like before. Here, too, there are new elements which put into doubt the continuity of the Byzantine legal order. The donation of a piece of property is done with the permission of the sultan; another one is confirmed by the *cadi* of Thessaloniki. In the courts of Serres at least, the Ottoman authorities monitor and corroborate the decisions. Court decisions also show the limits of the application of Byzantine law, which, with the possible exception of family law, seems to be confined to ecclesiastics and to parties recognizing the jurisdiction of the Church.

INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGE IN THE FIELD OF
MATERIAL CULTURE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN:
THE EVIDENCE OF BYZANTINE LEGAL DOCUMENTS
(11TH TO 15TH CENTURIES)

Maria G. Parani

In a volume of collected essays with the invocative title *History from Things*, material culture is defined as “the manifestations of culture through material productions” and its study as “the study of material to understand culture, to discover the beliefs—the values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions—of a particular community or society at a given time.”¹ Within this theoretical framework, the material productions that we call “artefacts” are regarded not simply as historical evidence, but as historical events themselves, brought into existence in the past as a result of specific causes that dictated their texture, structure, form and decoration.² Artefacts are treated as documents that can be read “to understand the people and the times that created them, used them, and discarded them” and written documents—traditionally used by historians in their investigation of the past—are considered as a species of artefact themselves.³

However, the significance of written documents to material culture studies is far from limited to their attribute *as* artefacts. Documents are also important as an invaluable source of information *on* artefacts, on their typology and function, on their distribution, but also on the more elusive conceptual framework of their production, dissemination and use. Legal documents, in particular, such as bequests, wills, deeds of sale, marriage contracts, court rulings on property-related cases, and inventories of secular and ecclesiastical establishments, can prove especially useful in this respect. First of all, they contain references to

¹ J. D. Prown, “The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction?” in S. Lubar and W. D. Kingery, eds., *History from Things. Essays on Material Culture* (Washington, D.C. and London, 1993), p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³ S. Lubar and W. D. Kingery, “Introduction,” in *History from Things*, esp. pp. viii–ix.

types of artefacts made of organic materials, for instance garments, textile household furnishings and wooden furniture, that are, as a rule, poorly represented in the archaeological record. Secondly, the information they provide may be regarded as reliable, since, because of the texts' legal nature, it is free of the rhetorical embellishments that often characterize descriptions of artefacts in other types of written sources, such as historical, hagiographical, or poetical works. Last but not least, legal documents, having formed an integral part of the fabric of day-to-day life in the societies that produced them, can offer us valuable glimpses into the "social life of things," to use an anthropological turn of phrase.⁴ Beyond the practical aspects of their use, the artefacts recorded in such documents are revealed as a medium of economic exchange, as depositories of cultural, sentimental and aesthetic values and religious beliefs, and as symbols of status and wealth.⁵

In the broader context of an investigation into intercultural communication in the Eastern Mediterranean region as reflected by medieval diplomatics, to which the present volume is dedicated, legal documents, whether the products of state and ecclesiastical chanceries or private acts, can be profitably gauged for evidence on exchanges in the field of material culture between the peoples active in the region under consideration. At the most basic level, these documents attest to the circulation of artefacts, whether as commodities, as gifts, or as personal belongings, across state and cultural boundaries, complementing, thus, the relevant evidence provided by archaeology. More importantly, however, they allow us to raise questions that go beyond verifying the importation or imitation of foreign artefacts in a particular area, to issues concerning the geographical dissemination of such items within that area, the social milieu in which they were encountered, the processes and the vehicles by which the imported forms were introduced

⁴ Cf. A. Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986).

⁵ For a discussion of both the advantages and the methodological problems involved in the use of legal documents in investigations into the material culture and daily life of societies past, see, for example, the studies collected in A. van der Woude and A. Schuurman, eds., *Probate Inventories. A New Source for the Historical Study of Wealth, Material Culture and Agricultural Development* (Wageningen, 1980); J. Bedell, "Archaeology and Probate Inventories in the Study of Eighteenth-Century Life," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32/2 (2000), pp. 223–245. For an example of the successful employment of legal documents in the study of daily life in medieval Byzantium, see N. Oikonomides, "The Contents of the Byzantine House from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century," *DOP* 44 (1990), pp. 205–214.

and integrated into their new contexts, as well as whether and how their origin from a different cultural tradition was appreciated by their owners and affected their use.

More specifically, the present contribution investigates the evidence provided by Byzantine public and private acts and ecclesiastical and monastic inventories of the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries for the presence, usage, and appreciation in Byzantine lands of artefacts of non-Byzantine origin, derivation, or ultimate inspiration. Admittedly, this is merely a footnote to the larger story of cross-cultural exchange in the field of material culture between the Byzantine Empire and its neighbours to the East, West, and North. Still, in my opinion, the advantages offered by using legal documents in an investigation of the sort outlined above make undertaking such an enquiry worthwhile. It needs be pointed out from the outset, however, that this paper does not concern itself with diplomatic gift-exchange nor with international trade, though these were important processes by which exchange in material culture was facilitated and promoted in the area that concerns us here and will certainly be alluded to in what follows.⁶ As to the chronological boundaries of this study, these are imposed by the dates of the surviving documents.⁷ Truth be told, what has survived in

⁶ The issues of gift-exchange and international trade in the Mediterranean region have been the subject of numerous specialised studies by Byzantinists, western medievalists, and orientalist. For studies with emphasis on Byzantium, see, selectively, A. Muthesius, "Silken Diplomacy," in J. Shepard and S. Franklin, eds., *Byzantine Diplomacy* (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 237–248; A. Cutler, "Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab, and Related Economies," *DOP* 55 (2001), pp. 247–278; idem, "Imagination and Documentation: Eagle Silks in Byzantium, the Latin West and 'Abbāsīd Baghdad,'" *BZ* 96 (2003), pp. 67–72; P. Schreiner, "Diplomatische Geschenke zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen ca. 800–1200: Eine Analyse der Texte mit Quellenanhang," *DOP* 58 (2004), pp. 251–282; D. Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange Across the Mediterranean. Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt and Italy*, Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot, 2005); idem, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean*, Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot, 1997); idem, "Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West," *DOP* 58 (2004), pp. 197–240; V. François, "Réalités des échanges en Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XVIII^e siècles: l'apport de la céramique," *DOP* 58 (2004), pp. 241–249.

⁷ For an introduction to surviving materials, F. Dölger and J. Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre. Die Kaiserurkunden*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Abt. 12, Byzantinisches Handbuch 3 (Munich, 1968); N. Oikonomides, "The Mediaeval Archives of Mount Athos as a Source for Balkan History," in *South East Europe in History: The Past, the Present and the Problems of Balkanology* (Ankara, 1999), pp. 109–113, esp. pp. 109–111; I. P. Medvedev, "Cartulaires byzantines et postbyzantines," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 3 (1983), pp. 95–109. For quick reference on Byzantine monastic foundation documents, including monastic inventories, see J. Thomas and A. Constantinides

terms both of original documents, kept mostly in monastic archives, and of copies in Byzantine and post-Byzantine cartularies constitutes but a small fragment of the bulk of documents that were generated by the State and Church bureaucracies and by private individuals in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. Furthermore, the material at our disposal suffers from many serious gaps in its chronological and geographical coverage, with certain regions being hardly represented at all, while others, such as Constantinople in the fourteenth and the early fifteenth century, being comparatively over-represented.⁸ As a result the answers to the questions we may ask of our documents concerning the presence of non-Byzantine objects or object-types in Byzantine lands are circumscribed by the restrictions imposed by the fragmentary nature of the evidence at hand.

Keeping these limitations in mind, we may now proceed to review the evidence for intercultural contacts in the field of material culture that may be gleaned from the surviving Byzantine documents.⁹ The relevant information, according to its nature, falls largely into four different categories. The first category comprises references to artefacts accompanied by adjectives indicative of non-Byzantine provenance or

Hero, eds., *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C., 2000) (hereafter cited as *Byz. Foundation Documents*).

⁸ This inflation of documents related to Late Byzantine Constantinople is due to the survival of the famous patriarchal register, the collection of acts issued between 1315 and 1402 by the ecumenical patriarch and the Holy Synod residing in the capital; see *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, vol. 1: *Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315–1331*, ed. H. Hunger and O. Kresten, CFHB 19/1 (Vienna, 1981), vol. 2: *Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1337–1350*, ed. H. Hunger and O. Kresten, CFHB 19/2 (Vienna, 1995), vol. 3: *Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1350–1363*, ed. J. Koder, M. Hinterberger and O. Kresten, CFHB 19/3 (Vienna, 2001); F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana* I–II (Vienna, 1860–1862) (hereafter cited as MM, 1 or MM, 2).

⁹ The observations that follow are based on a sample of more than 200 published Byzantine documents mentioning or describing artefacts, which was arrived at by surveying all the published collections known to the author in order to locate documents with some reference to artefacts. This work was done as the necessary first stage of a project undertaken in collaboration with Prof. Jean-Michel Spieser of the University of Fribourg and Dr. Brigitte Pitarakis of the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* of France, entitled “*Realia* in Byzantine Legal Documents,” which aspires to contribute to the study of daily life in Byzantium by collecting, interpreting, and commenting on references to secular and religious artefacts encountered in Byzantine public and private acts, as well as in monastic foundation documents, dating mostly from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. See M. Parani, B. Pitarakis, and J.-M. Spieser, “Un exemple d’inventaire d’objets liturgiques. Le testament d’Eustathios Boïlas (avril 1059),” *RÉB* 61 (2003), pp. 143–165.

derivation. The second comprises occurrences of non-Greek technical terms used to designate artefacts or manufacture and decoration techniques, which—at least in some cases—may hint at a concomitant adoption or adaptation of non-Byzantine forms and styles in material culture. In the third category are included references to specific types of objects, the occurrence of which in documents of a particular date may indicate that they were imported rather than local products. And lastly, the fourth category includes references to types of artefacts the usage of which suggests a departure from earlier Byzantine practices that was possibly brought about by close contacts with other cultures.

A. *References to artefacts accompanied by adjectives indicative of non-Byzantine provenance or derivation*

From a sample of around 210 published Byzantine documents with some mention of artefacts in general, references to objects accompanied by some indication of non-Byzantine provenance or derivation are relatively rare, encountered in fact in only twelve documents, two dated in the second half of the eleventh century, one in the twelfth, four in the thirteenth, and the rest in the fourteenth century. In only one instance, though, may we be certain that the artefacts concerned were definitely not Byzantine products. The reference is to a pair of silver gilt candelabra, which are designated as a “Venetian work” (ἔργον βενετικόν), listed among more than 180 different objects in the inventory of the treasury of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople dated to 1396, during the patriarchate of Anthony IV.¹⁰ Extant examples of Venetian candelabra in western ecclesiastical treasuries help us imagine the appearance of the lost candelabra of Hagia Sophia, which are not described in our document.¹¹ The indication of provenance seems to have been introduced to distinguish this pair from the other three pairs of candelabra that are listed in the same document, one pair made of jasper, a second of rock crystal, and a third one made of plain silver. If one judges by the order in which they are listed, the candelabra made of jasper and rock crystal must have been considered as the

¹⁰ MM, 2, p. 567.

¹¹ D. Buckton, ed., with the help of Ch. Entwistle and R. Prior, *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice* (Milan, 1984), nos. 38–39 (pp. 274–277); Cf. J. Durand, “Innovations gothiques dans l’orfèvrerie byzantine sous les Paléologues,” *DOP* 58 (2004), p. 335.

most valuable, in agreement with the traditional Byzantine hierarchy of materials.¹² Unfortunately, the inventory of the Great Church offers no indication as to how these Venetian products had been obtained, whether, that is, they were a pious gift by a wealthy donor, whether they were made to order in Venice, or whether they were purchased in the market of the capital. Whatever the case, the presence of products of Venetian metalwork in ecclesiastical treasuries in the Late Byzantine period is also attested on Mount Athos, namely in the treasury of the Serbian Monastery of Chilandar and that of Saint Paul.¹³ Interestingly enough, all four Athonite items—one diptych at Chilandar and one diptych, one icon, and one cross at Saint Paul—have been associated with the generosity of King Milutin of Serbia (1282–1321), who could have ordered them directly in Venice or, alternatively, as suggested by Katia Loverdou-Tsigarida, obtained them from Venetian merchants in Dubrovnik.¹⁴

In the rest of the examples known to me, provenance or derivation is indicated simply by an adjective, such as “ἀνατολικόν” (eastern), “σαρακηνικόν” (saracenic), “αἰγυπτιακόν” (Egyptian), “περσικόν” (Persian), “ἀντιοχίτικον” (of/from Antioch), “φραγγικόν” (Frankish), “βενετικόν” (Venetian), “σθλαβονικόν” (Slavic), “σερβικόν” (Serbian), and “ῥωσικόν” (Russian). As has been rightly pointed by many, such epithets do not necessarily denote the places of origin of the objects concerned. They may, at least in some cases, signify that a particular artefact was a local or, perhaps, even an imported imitation of a non-Byzantine type.¹⁵ However, from the point of view of this investigation, even if these particular artefacts were in fact imitations, their testimony is still important, not only because they hint at long-term contacts between cultures that led to simulation, but also because they

¹² Cf. M. Mundell Mango, “Hierarchies of Rank and Materials: Diplomatic Gifts Sent by Romanus I in 935 and 938,” *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 24 (2003), pp. 365–374, esp. pp. 368–369.

¹³ S. Pelekanides et al., *Οι Θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους. Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα* 3 (Athens, 1979), ill. on p. 209; A. A. Karakatsanis, ed., *Treasures of Mount Athos* (Thessaloniki, 1997), nos. 9.29–9.31.

¹⁴ A. E. Laiou, “Venice as a Centre of Trade and of Artistic Production in the Thirteenth Century,” in H. Belting, ed., *Il medio oriente e l'occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo* (Bologna, 1982), pp. 201–221; Karakatsanis, *Treasures*, p. 326. Note that, while Serbian monks had been established at Chilandar since 1198/9, which would explain Milutin's patronage, the earliest secure evidence for a Serbian brotherhood at the Monastery of Saint Paul dates to 1365.

¹⁵ See, for example, Jacoby, “Silk Economics,” esp. pp. 220–222.

intimate a degree of familiarity with—if not a predilection for and an appreciation of—non-Byzantine forms, at least in some sections of Byzantine society.

The objects that appear in Byzantine documents accompanied by adjectives indicating foreign origin or extraction fall broadly into two major categories. These are, predictably enough one might say, textiles and metalware. There is only one exception, which is encountered in a very interesting document, the will of Theodosios Skaranos, who became the monk Theodoulos, from Hermeleia in the Chalkidiki peninsula (northern Greece), dated between 1270 and 1274.¹⁶ This is a fascinating document, as it lists types of objects that do not, as a rule, appear in Byzantine inventories of movable property, namely wooden furniture and tableware made of clay and wood.¹⁷ This tendency towards being comprehensive is, perhaps, the reason why we hear about four “eastern” ceramic platters belonging to Skaranos.¹⁸ One deplors the lack of specificity in the adjective “ἀνατολικά.” Considering that the ceramic tradition of Byzantine Macedonia during the thirteenth century, as attested, for example, by the products of the workshops of Serres and Thessaloniki, does not evidence Islamic influence either in the shapes of the vessels or their decoration, the possibility that it refers to local Byzantine imitations of imported “eastern” vessels should in this case be dismissed.¹⁹ The term “eastern” could, then, be referring to products of Byzantine workshops, like those of Pergamon, located in Asia Minor, which was often designated as the “East” in Byzantine sources, being situated to the east of Constantinople.²⁰ Alternatively, it

¹⁶ *Actes de Xéropotamou*, ed. J. Bompaire, Archives de l’Athos 3 (Paris, 1964), no. 9 (pp. 71–88).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 80, line 17.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 80, lines 17–18: πηνακωσκούτελε όστράκηνα κδ', ετ(ε)ρ(α) δ' ἀνατολικά [sic].

¹⁹ On Late Byzantine pottery from Serres and Thessaloniki, see D. Papanikola-Bakirtze, E. Dauterman-Maguire, and H. Maguire, *Ceramic Art from Byzantine Serres* (Urbana and Chicago, 1992); D. Papanikola-Bakirtze, *Βυζαντινά εφραλωμένα κεραμικά. Η τέχνη των εγχαράκτων* (Athens, 1999), pp. 188–242, with additional bibliography. On the absence of oriental influences on Late Byzantine ceramic production, see V. François, “La vaisselle de table à Byzance: un artisanat et un marché peu perméables aux influences extérieures,” in M. Balard, É. Malamut, and J.-M. Spieser, eds., *Byzance et le monde extérieur. Contacts, relations, échanges* (Paris, 2005), pp. 211–223, esp. pp. 215, 219–221.

²⁰ See, N. Oikonomides, “The Chancery of the Grand Komnenoi: Imperial Tradition and Political Reality,” *Άρχεϊον Πόντου* 35 (1979), pp. 299–300. Note that from the late thirteenth century the designation “of all the Orient” (πάσης Ανατολῆς) formed part of the official title of the emperors of the Byzantine state of Trebizond, on the Black Sea

might be referring to products of Levantine workshops, like the famous Port Saint Symeon ware, which was, in fact, the most widely distributed of thirteenth-century ceramics around the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea basins.²¹ Of course, it could actually be referring to Islamic ceramics from Egypt, Syria, or Seljuk Anatolia, the presence of which in Byzantine contexts, though rare, is archaeologically attested.²² Our document is equally silent as to how Skaranos came to be in possession of these platters. He could have acquired them commercially, of course, at a market such as that of Thessaloniki. In relation to this question, it is interesting to note that, at a different point in his will, Skaranos mentions that he has a σύγγαμβρον “ἀπὸ τ(ῆν) Ανατόλην.”²³ Perhaps, then, these “oriental” platters were a gift to Skaranos from the husband of his wife’s sister or had been obtained by him during a family visit in the “East,” but this is mere speculation.

As mentioned earlier, the majority of references to artefacts accompanied by some indication of foreign provenance or derivation concern textiles, be it liturgical textiles and vestments, textile furnishings, garments, or plain cloth. In the inventory accompanying the rule of Michael Attaleiates for the Monastery of Christ *Panoiktirmon* (All-Merciful) in Constantinople, dated to 1077, there is a reference to a pair of chalice-veils made of Saracen silk, as well as a piece of Saracen cloth with embroidered decoration.²⁴ Both items, along with other precious liturgical textiles, vessels, and lighting devices, were donated to the monastery by the late monk John, who had held the offices of notary, *mystikos*, and chamberlain before his retirement.²⁵ Clearly, this John had been a wealthy individual. As for the availability of Islamic textiles from Syria, Egypt, as well as Spain in the markets of the capital and

coast of Asia Minor, *ibid.*, pp. 326–329. On the ceramic production of Pergamon in the Late Byzantine period, see J.-M. Spieser, *Die byzantinische Keramik aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon* (Berlin, 1996).

²¹ A. J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (London and New York, 1999), p. 149; M. J. Blackman and S. Redford, “Neutron Activation Analysis of Medieval Ceramics from Kinet, Turkey, especially Port Saint Symeon Ware,” *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 42 (2005), 83–186.

²² François, “La vaisselle de table,” pp. 216–217.

²³ *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 9, lines 36–37.

²⁴ P. Gautier, “La Diataxis de Michel Attaliate,” *RÉB* 39 (1981), line 1782: πανίον σαρακηνικὸν ἐξέμπλωτον; lines 1793–1794: ποτηροκαλύμματα ζυγαὶ β΄, . . . ἡ δὲ ἕτερον ἀπὸ βλαττίου σαρακηνικοῦ πανίου; *Byz. Foundation Documents* 1, p. 369.

²⁵ Gautier, “Diataxis,” lines 1777–1798; *Byz. Foundation Documents* 1, p. 369.

Thessaloniki, this is attested in other Middle Byzantine sources.²⁶ One assumes that the transformation of the Saracen cloth into the liturgical veils donated by John to the Monastery of *Panoiktirmon* must have taken place in a Constantinopolitan workshop. The Muslim origins of the cloths in question were in no way a deterrent to their usage in a Christian liturgical context. On the contrary, it would seem that their aesthetic qualities, luxuriousness, and value made them appropriate as offerings to a monastery. Besides, their use in a sacred context must have purged them from any lingering contamination related to their origins, to paraphrase Anthony Cutler, if there was any perceived to begin with.²⁷

In another ecclesiastical inventory, that of the Monastery of Xylourgou on Mount Athos, dated to 1142, one encounters references to an *epitrachelion*, i.e. a priest's stole,²⁸ and two silk liturgical textiles called *encheiria*, meaning literally "hand-kerchiefs,"²⁹ that are designated as "Russian," all richly adorned with what is probably embroidery work.³⁰ As I am unaware of a Russian tradition in silk-weaving, I am inclined to think that the epithet "Russian" does not refer to the provenance of the material out of which these items were made, as was the case in the previous example, but to the finished products, which must have been of Russian manufacture and/or decoration. The mention in the same inventory of Russian liturgical books has been taken to indicate the establishment of a Russian monastic community at the Monastery of

²⁶ *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, ed. J. Koder, CFHB 33 (Vienna, 1999), 5.1–5.2 (p. 94); *Pseudo-Luciano. Timarione*, ed. R. Romano (Naples, 1974), lines 147–153 (pp. 54–55). Cf. Jacoby, "Silk Economics," pp. 219–220.

²⁷ A. Cutler, "Reuse or Use? Theoretical and Practical Attitudes toward Objects in the Early Middle Ages," *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego* 46 (1999), pp. 1071–1072. Cf. the late 12th–13th-century Islamic candlestick in the treasury of the Athonite monastery of Saint Paul that is used as a base for a cross, which, interestingly enough, is of Venetian manufacture; Pelekanides et al., *Θησαυροί*, ill. on p. 209; Karakatsanis, *Treasures*, p. 323. On the presence of Islamic objects in western ecclesiastical treasuries and the motives as well as the methods of their "christianization" in their new contexts, see A. Shalem, *Islam Christianized. Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Treasuries of the Latin West* (Frankfurt, 1996).

²⁸ *ODB*, 1, p. 725.

²⁹ *LBG*, s.v. ἐγγεῖριος.

³⁰ *Actes de Saint-Pantéléemôn*, ed. P. Lemerle, G. Dagron, and S. Ćirković, Archives de l'Athos 12 (Paris, 1982), no. 7, line 12: ἐπιτραχίλιον χρυσοῦν ρούσι(κον) ᾶ; lines 19–20: ἐνχειρίν ἐν τ(ῆς) Θε(εοῦ)κου βλάτι(ον) ρούσι(κον) ἔχ(ον) περιφέ(ρια) χρυσα̅ (καὶ) στ(αυ)ρον ὁμοι(ον)·... ἕτερ(α) ἐνχειρία δύο κατὰβλάτ(ια) ὦν... (καὶ) ἕτερ(ον) παλαι(ὸν) ρούσι(κον).

Xylourgou,³¹ which would explain the presence among its belongings of Russian liturgical textiles, either brought by the monks when they first established themselves there—one *enchevriion* is, in fact, described as being old—or sent later, as gifts by Russian patrons of the monastery. If this interpretation is correct, then the inventory could constitute valuable evidence for documenting a Russian tradition in church embroidery, known to be thriving in the fourteenth century and later, already in the early part of the twelfth century.

A Russian *epitrachelion*, adorned with pearls, silver-gilt thread, and, according to one interpretation, enamel plaques, is listed in the above-mentioned inventory of the treasury of Hagia Sophia dated to 1396.³² This vestment was perhaps a gift sent from Russia by a secular or ecclesiastical donor or brought to Constantinople by one of the Russian pilgrims who visited the capital in the Late Byzantine period.³³ Its presence in the treasury of Hagia Sophia in the late fourteenth century constitutes material testimony to the close relations between the Greek and the Russian Churches at the time, as well as indicating that the movement of ecclesiastical embroideries between the two regions, attested by the two exquisite Late Byzantine *sakkoi* sent as gifts to the Metropolitan of Kiev Photius, in fact went both ways.³⁴

Another source for liturgical textiles in ecclesiastical treasuries that is attested in Late Byzantine legal documents is Venice, the silk industry of which was already expanding in the second half of the thirteenth century.³⁵ Thus, in an inventory of 1375 listing the movable property

³¹ *Actes de Saint-Pantéléémôn*, no. 7, line 25: βββλία ρούσι(κα). Cf. I. Ševčenko, “Byzantine Elements in Early Ukrainian Culture,” in idem, *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 163–172; P. Schreiner, “Sorge um Handschriften. Zwei wenig bekannte Nachrichten zur serbischen Kultur im 14. Jahrhundert,” *Žbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 41 (2004), p. 355. I thank Prof. Schreiner for providing me with a copy of his article.

³² *MM*, 2: p. 569. The suggestion that the vestment’s decoration comprised plaques of enamel was put forward by P. Hetherington, “Byzantine and Russian Enamels in the Treasury of Hagia Sophia in the Late 14th Century,” *BZ* 93 (2000), pp. 133–137, esp. pp. 136–137.

³³ On Russian pilgrims to Constantinople, see G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984).

³⁴ H. C. Evans, ed., *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261–1557)* (New York, 2004), pp. 302–303 and fig. 10.6. On relations between Byzantium and Russia in the Late Byzantine period, see M. Hinterberger, “Les relations diplomatiques entre Constantinople et la Russie au XIV^e siècle. Les lettres patriarcales, les envoyés et le langage diplomatique,” in Balard, Malamut, and Spieser, eds., *Byzance et le monde extérieur*, pp. 123–134, with further bibliography.

³⁵ D. Jacoby, “Dalla materia prima ai drappi tra Bisanzio, il Levante e Venezia: La

of the Monastery of the Virgin Gavaliotissa at Bodena, near Edessa in northern Greece, we find a reference to a Venetian *skepe*.³⁶ In an ecclesiastical context, the term “*skepe*” designates the textile cover of an icon, which would be drawn back only on special festive occasions to reveal the image beneath it.³⁷ The inventory under consideration was compiled on the occasion of the bequest of the Gavaliotissa Monastery to the Athonite monastery of the Great Lavra by its founders, the Serbian *despotes* Thomas Preljubović and his wife, Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina.³⁸ The Venetian *skepe* in question had been presented to the Gavaliotissa by a *kaisarissa*, in all probability the mother of the founder, Eirene.³⁹ What is particularly interesting in this case is not so much the presence of a Venetian textile in a Byzantine context, which, I would think, was a normal occurrence at this late a date, but the intermediary role played by a member of the Serbian aristocracy in the process of its arrival there. This draws attention to the issue of non-Byzantines, residing or active in the lands of the empire, as potential channels through which non-Byzantine objects or styles were introduced into the empire and by which their usage became acceptable and was adopted.

Beyond the liturgical realm, we hear of one hundred bed-covers of Slavic type, probably some kind of heavy blanket, at the Monastery of the Virgin Boreine, near Philadelphia in Asia Minor in 1247,⁴⁰ and of a pair of Frankish sheets that belonged to the household effects of the monk Maximos Planites, listed in his will of 1255, composed at the Monastery of Lembos near Smyrna.⁴¹ In the late twelfth or early

prima fase dell'industria serica veneziana,” in L. Molà, R. C. Mueller and C. Zanier, eds., *La seta in Italia dal Medioevo al Seicento. Dal baco al drappo* (Venice, 2000), pp. 265–304; idem, “Silk Economics,” pp. 229–230.

³⁶ *Actes de Lavra*, vol. 3: *de 1329 à 1500*, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos and D. Papachryssanthou, Archives de l'Athos 10 (Paris, 1979), no. 147, lines 13–14: σκέπη βενετική ἦν ἔδωκεν ἡ καיסάρισα.

³⁷ M. Theochare, *Εκκλησιαστικά χρυσοκέντητα* (Athens, 1986), p. 29.

³⁸ On Thomas Preljubović, see *ODB* 3, p. 2078; *PLP*, no. 23721. Katia Lovedou-Tsigaridas has suggested that a paten and an icon of Christ in the treasury of the Great Lavra Monastery formed part of Preljubović's gift; see her “Objets précieux de l'église de la Vierge Gavaliotissa au monastère de Lavra (Mont Athos),” *Ζογραφ* 26 (1997), pp. 81–86.

³⁹ *PLP*, no. 23718.

⁴⁰ *Actes de Vatopédi*, vol 1: *des origines à 1329*, ed. J. Bompaire, J. Lefort, V. Kravari and Ch. Giros, Archives de l'Athos 21 (Paris, 2001) (hereafter cited as *Actes de Vatopédi* 1), no. 15, line 193: ἑφαπλώματα... σθλαβονικά ἑκάτόν; *Byz. Foundation Documents* 3, p. 1186.

⁴¹ *MM*, 4: p. 75: συνδὸν ζυγὴ φραγγική.

thirteenth century, at the city of Berroia in Byzantine Macedonia, a piece of Egyptian cloth, 20 yards long, formed part of the inheritance of an orphaned young man who had been wronged by his guardian, along with another piece of cloth of unidentified material, and a third one, made of low-grade silk.⁴² The Egyptian cloth, which was listed first, was probably made of linen, for the production of which Egypt was renowned. Its occurrence at the city of Berroia constitutes an interesting testimony to the inland diffusion of this type of commodity, which could have been obtained at the great fair of Saint Demetrios at Thessaloniki or at another port of entry in the empire.⁴³ The importation of Egyptian or Egyptian-style cloth apparently continued in the centuries that followed. Thus, around 1365, one Theodore, residing in Constantinople, received as part of his dowry one Egyptian *skepe*, here to be understood as an item of female dress, along with a second, half-silk one, both valued together at two *hyperpyra*.⁴⁴

Given the well-known proclivity of the Byzantines for non-Byzantine fashions in dress, the apparent dearth of concrete references to non-Byzantine garments in our documents comes as a bit of a disappointment. In fact, thus far, I was able to locate only one other reference that may be relevant. In her will, dated 4 November 1098, Kale Pakouriane, a member of an influential aristocratic family of Constantinople and the widow of the *kouropalates* Symbatios Pakourianos, who had become the nun Maria, bequeaths a used *epilorikon* “of Antioch” to one of her freedmen.⁴⁵ The *epilorikon* was a type of protective garment, either a

⁴² *Demetrii Chomatemi Ponemata Diaphora*, ed. G. Prinzing, CFHB 38 (Berlin, 2002), 84.69 (p. 288): πανὶν αἰγυπτιακὸν πήχεις κ', ἕτερον πανὶν πήχεις κ', ἕτερον <κου>κουλάρικον πήχεις κ'.

⁴³ On trade relations between Byzantium and Egypt, including trade in textiles, see D. Jacoby, “Byzantine Trade with Egypt from the Mid-Tenth Century to the Fourth Crusade,” in *idem*, *Commercial Exchange*, no. I.

⁴⁴ G. Ferrari Dalle Spade, “Registro vaticano di atti bizantini di diritto privato,” *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 4 (1935), no. 10 (p. 265): σκέπαι δύο· ἢ μία λινομέταξος καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα αἰγυπτιακὴ εἰς ὑπέρπυρα δύο. On the imports and availability of both oriental and Italian fabrics, especially silks, in Late Byzantine Constantinople, see D. Jacoby, “The Silk Trade of Late Byzantine Constantinople,” in S. Atasoy, ed., *550th Anniversary of the Istanbul University International Byzantine and Ottoman Symposium (XVth Century)* (Istanbul, 2004), pp. 129–144.

⁴⁵ *Actes d'Iviron*, vol. 2: *du milieu du XI^e siècle à 1204*, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès and D. Papachryssanthou, *Archives de l'Athos* 16 (Paris, 1990) (hereafter cited as *Actes d'Iviron* 2), no. 47, lines 36–37: τὸ ἐπιλῶρικ(ον) τὸ ἀντιοχίτ(ικον) τὸ φορεμ(ένον) τὸ ὄν κατὰ σωφορίου.

coat or a jacket, that was meant to be worn over armor.⁴⁶ The particular example mentioned in the will could, according to Kale, be worn as an undergarment as well. It is possible that this item of military equipment originally belonged to Kale's husband, Symbatios, who had died a few years earlier, in 1093.⁴⁷ The epithet "ἀντιοχίτικον" could mean either that the garment had been made in Antioch or that it was of a type distinctive to the area of Antioch. As David Jacoby has demonstrated, Antioch was well known for its silk industry, which apparently survived the transfer of the city from Byzantine to Seljuk to Crusader control in the last decades of the eleventh century and which also included the production of imitative Islamic Iraqi and Persian garments.⁴⁸ It would have been interesting to know whether this Antiochene *epilorikon* had been obtained prior or following the Seljuk conquest of the city in 1084, as it would have been exciting to think that this rare reference to provenance or extraction was tinged sentimentally, occurring as it does in a will written in Constantinople only a few months after the conquest of Antioch by the Norman prince Bohemond in June 1098, at a time that is when the fate of that great city in relation to the Empire still remained unresolved. However, in my opinion, Kale was not being sentimental. Rather she was being thorough, trying to ensure that there would be no confusion with her various bequests, since there was a second *epilorikon* mentioned in her will, from which the Antiochene one had to be clearly distinguished.⁴⁹

Kale, in her will, also lists more than thirty objects made of precious metals. One among them was a grand Saracen ewer for serving perfumed wine.⁵⁰ This ewer, along with other precious vessels made of silver and silver-gilt and two new silk pillowcases, were meant to be sold and the proceeds donated to one of the charitable ecclesiastical

⁴⁶ *LBG*, s.v. ἐπιλώρικον.

⁴⁷ *Actes d'Iviron* 2, p. 152.

⁴⁸ D. Jacoby, "Silk Crosses the Mediterranean," in G. Airaldi, ed., *Le vie del Mediterraneo. Idee, uomini, oggetti (secoli XI–XVI)* (Genoa, 1997), pp. 63–64; reprinted in D. Jacoby, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean*, Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot, 2001), no. X. Cf. the taste of Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081) for Syrian textiles, which was exploited by Isaac Comnenus, brother of the future Emperor Alexios I, for political advantages: *Nicephori Bryennii Historiarum libri quattuor*, ed. P. Gautier, *CFHB* 9 (Brussels, 1975), IV, 29 (p. 299). I owe this reference to Alexander Beihammer, whom I here thank.

⁴⁹ *Actes d'Iviron* 2, no. 47, line 28.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, line 27: τὸ οἶνανθάρι(ον) τὸ μ(έ)γ(α) τὸ σαρακηνικ(ό)ν.

institutions of the capital patronized by Kale. There is no indication in the text of the will as to how or from where this Saracen ewer was obtained, or even whether it was a genuine product of Islamic metalwork or an imitation created in Byzantine lands by local or, possibly, Arab artisans.

Products of Islamic metalwork could have arrived in Byzantium as diplomatic gifts, as war-booty, or as part of the luxury trade with the East.⁵¹ Their presence is attested in other documents as well. In the inventory accompanying the aforementioned monastic foundation document of Michael Attaleiates, dated to 1077, in the section listing the sacred vessels of the *Panoiktirmon* Monastery, there is a reference to a silver-gilt casket with niello decoration, which is described as Persian.⁵² Though in certain contexts the adjective “περσικόν” is taken to denote colour, specifically a shade of purple,⁵³ in this context I believe it should be taken as indicating a general oriental provenance or derivation for the item concerned. The Fatimid silver-gilt casket with niello decoration, which was made for the vizier of the Caliph al-Mustanşir, Abū Mañşūr Şadaqa ibn Yūsuf al-Falāhī, between 1044 and 1047, now in Spain,⁵⁴ helps us visualize the appearance of Attaleiates’s casket, which in an ecclesiastical context might have been used for keeping incense. The circulation of products of Islamic metalwork in Byzantine lands has also been suggested on the basis of certain Byzantine ceramics, the decoration of which intimates knowledge of Islamic metal prototypes, though most relevant examples known to me date to a period later than the eleventh century.⁵⁵ As for Arab artisans settled and working in Byzantine territory, who could have produced imitative “Saracen” metalware, their presence has often been postulated on the basis of written sources.⁵⁶ A bronze ewer of the tenth or early eleventh cen-

⁵¹ To mention but one example, objects of gold and silver were included among the war-booty amassed by John Tzimiskes during his campaign in Mesopotamia in the 970s; see Cutler, “Gifts and Gift Exchange,” p. 261; see also Parani, Pitarakis, and Spieser, “Un exemple,” p. 155.

⁵² Gautier, “Diataxis,” line 1223: καμπτήριον ἀργυροῦν διάχρ(υσον) περσικόν μετὰ ἐγκάουσων; *Byz. Foundation Documents* 1, p. 357.

⁵³ R. Guiland, “Sur quelques termes du Livre des Cérémonies de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète,” *Revue des Études Grecques* 62 (1949), pp. 348–350.

⁵⁴ H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261* (New York, 1997), pp. 407–408, ill. on p. 410.

⁵⁵ Cf. A. Ballian and A. Drandaki, “A Middle Byzantine Silver Treasure,” *Μουσείο Μπενάκη* 3 (2003), esp. pp. 55–57.

⁵⁶ S. W. Reinert, “The Muslim Presence in Constantinople, 9th–15th Centuries:

ture that forms part of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and is said to have originated from Eleusis in Attica has recently been adduced by Anthony Cutler as evidence for the activity in Byzantium of Arab metalworkers, on the basis of its decorative scheme and its Kufic and Kufesque inscriptions, especially the one round the neck, which is a wish for “Full blessing and happiness.”⁵⁷ Both the shape and the decoration of this bronze vessel are reminiscent of Fatimid ewers made of rock crystal, with the difference that the metal ewer’s decoration has been Christianised by the substitution of an angel for the Tree of Life that appears on the Islamic examples.⁵⁸ Would, though, such a hybrid object have been considered as “Saracen” by Kale Pakouriane and her contemporaries or was the presence of the angel enough to naturalize it in a Christian environment? At present this question must remain unanswered.

Products of western or westernising metalwork are also reflected in Byzantine documents dating, unsurprisingly, to the Late Byzantine period. One reference is found in the will of the *pansebastos sebastos skouterios* Theodore Sarantenos from Berroia, which is dated to 1325. Theodore was a wealthy member of the provincial aristocracy of Byzantine Macedonia, who had been to Constantinople in the service of the emperor. There, he had acquired an icon of Saint John the Baptist, as well as his mail cuirass and his helmet. After his return from the capital, he founded at Berroia a monastery dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, to which he bequeathed precious garments and jewellery, textile furnishings, and tableware, with the provision that they could be sold if the need arose. Among these items was a Serbian footed bowl or goblet.⁵⁹ This Theodore could have obtained from a source closer to home. Thessaloniki readily comes to mind. Vessels that fit

Some Preliminary Observations,” in H. Ahrweiler and A. E. Laiou, eds., *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1998), pp. 125–150, esp. 127; D. Jacoby, “The Jews of Constantinople and Their Demographic Hinterland,” in C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds., *Constantinople and Its Hinterland* (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 222–225; A. Cutler, “A Christian Ewer with Islamic Imagery and the Question of Arab *Gastarbeiter* in Byzantium,” in R. Favreau and M.-H. Debiès, eds., *Iconographica. Mélanges offerts à Piotr Skubiszewski* (Poitiers, 1999), esp. pp. 68–69.

⁵⁷ Cutler, “A Christian Ewer,” pp. 63–69. See, also, M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 1: *Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting* (Washington, D.C., 1962), no. 52 (pp. 48–49), pl. XXXVI.

⁵⁸ Cf. Mundell Mango, “Hierarchies,” pp. 368–369.

⁵⁹ *Actes de Vatopédi* 1, no. 64, line 58: κούπα στατή σέρβικος.

this description have been, in fact, recovered from fourteenth-century Serbian archaeological contexts, such as the silver bowl from Temska or the tall silver-gilt goblet that was found as part of a treasure at Gorno Orizari, in a part of Byzantine Macedonia that had come under Serbian rule in the fourteenth century.⁶⁰ The use of such objects at the table is beautifully illustrated in the representation of the Wedding at Cana at the monastic church of Saint Niketa at Čučer in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the painted decoration of which was executed at the behest of the Serbian King Milutin by the workshop of the Thessalonian painters, Eutychios and Michael Astrapas, in the early decades of the fourteenth century.⁶¹ This representation of Christ's miracle appears as if inspired by feasts in a contemporary aristocratic lord's house and reflects a way of life enjoyed by both Serbian and Byzantine members of the upper classes at the time. The cultivation of a taste for similar things and the movement of luxury objects between Serbia and Byzantium, hinted at by art, archaeology, and our document, should be viewed in the broader context of Serbo-Byzantine relations in the fourteenth century, which were defined by geographical proximity, political antagonism, social interaction, and religious and cultural affinity.

Intercultural exchange at a different level and of a different kind is alluded to by an act recording a case that was heard by the patriarchal synod of Constantinople in 1400, at a time when property disputes were proliferating in the capital as a consequence of the protracted siege of the city by Bayezid I (1394–1402). The object of this particular dispute was a Frankish belt that was valued at 50 *hyperpyra*.⁶² The high price of the object suggests that it must have been adorned with precious-metal attachments, probably similar in appearance to the Italian-style belt-fittings that form part of the Chalcis treasure from Euboea, dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.⁶³ The plaintiff, one John Poures,

⁶⁰ D. Papanikola-Bakirtze, *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο* (Athens, 2002), no. 354; R. Polenaković-Stejić, "Une rare découverte du Moyen-Âge faite dans le village de Gorno Orizari, près de Kočani, en Macédoine," in *Actes du XII^e congrès international d'Études byzantines* 3 (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 324–325.

⁶¹ For a colour reproduction, see M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th centuries)* (Leiden, 2003), fig. 241.

⁶² MM, 2: p. 419: ζωνάριον φραγγικόν, τιμῆς ὑπερπύρων πενήκοντα.

⁶³ O. M. Dalton, *Mediaeval Personal Ornaments from Chalcis in the British and the Ashmolean Museums* (Oxford, 1911); Durand, "Innovations gothiques," pp. 341–343, fig. 10.

had received the Frankish belt from his father as a wedding gift, but had been forced to pawn it for an amount less than half its original price. The pawnbroker, though, had died before the belt could be redeemed and his heir, when interrogated, turned out to have sold the belt, because he needed money to marry his daughter off. It becomes apparent that in this example the importance of the non-Byzantine object lies neither in its cultural associations nor in its sentimental worth as a paternal wedding gift. For both parties concerned, it is its monetary value that is paramount. In the last decades of the fourteenth century, a time of crisis and hardship for the Byzantine capital, investing money on precious movable objects, which could be easily carried about one's person, pawned, or liquidated at short notice, must have seemed a reasonable course of action. That the object in question in this particular case is of western manufacture or extraction is interesting in that it indicates the availability and mobility of western-style jewellery and dress accessories in the Late Byzantine capital. Such items could have been imported directly from the West or the Latin-occupied territories in the East or manufactured locally for the socially and ethnically mixed clientele of Late Byzantine Constantinople, by Western artisans installed there or by Greeks imitating western types and techniques.⁶⁴

B. *Occurrences of non-Greek technical terms*

The other categories of evidence for intercultural exchange in the field of material culture that we come across in Byzantine legal documents are far less tangible. Non-Greek technical vocabulary employed in our documents to designate a type of object or the style of its manufacture and decoration could be indicative of a concurrent adoption of non-Byzantine forms and technology in real life, brought about by long-term contacts with, or the integration into Byzantine society of, members of other ethnic and cultural groups.⁶⁵ The term “σαρούτ” or “σαρούτιν,” for example, which begins to appear in Byzantine documents in the second half of the eleventh century as an attribute of certain icons made of metal, seems to be derived from the Syriac

⁶⁴ Cf. Durand, “Innovations gothiques,” *passim*.

⁶⁵ Cf. C. Aslanov, “Languages in Contact in the Latin East: Acre and Cyprus,” *Crusades* 1 (2002), pp. 155–81, esp. p. 168.

root “s-r-ṭ,” denoting the act of writing, of tracing a line, but also of engraving.⁶⁶ Its introduction into Byzantine texts has been associated with the presence in eleventh-century Constantinople of Syrian metalworkers, whose activity is securely attested by the bilingual inscription, in Greek and Syriac, appearing on the brass doors of the church of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome, dated to 1070. The doors had been commissioned in the Byzantine capital by Pantaleone, a member of a prominent and influential Amalfitan family residing in the city. The bilingual inscription in question commemorates the artisan responsible for casting the doors, one Staurakios, while a second inscription, this time in Greek, mentions one Theodore as “τὸ[ν] γράμσοντα τὰς πύλας,” i.e. the artisan responsible for the decoration of the doors, which consisted of engraved panels with details inlaid with silver and niello.⁶⁷ Given the meaning of the suggested Syriac root of the term “σαρούτ,” occurring in Byzantine inventories roughly at the same time, it is not unlikely that it was meant to identify metal icons executed in a comparable technique, though, admittedly, none has been discovered so far. Though we may not be entirely certain of its significance, the adoption of this particular technical term and its dissemination, amply attested by Byzantine inventories of movable property, are clear indications of the importance of the Syrian element in Byzantine metalwork of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.⁶⁸

However, attempting to establish a connection between a non-Byzantine loanword and a development in material culture is not always straightforward, especially when we are ignorant, as is often the case, of both the derivation and the exact meaning of the word.

⁶⁶ The discussion that follows is a summary of the more extensive treatment of the question of the significance of the term “σαρούτ” in Parani, Pitarakis, and Spieser, “Un exemple,” pp. 158–160, with detailed bibliographical references.

⁶⁷ One might be tempted to read a conscious evocation of the Syriac verb “sraṭ” in the choice of the participle of the Greek verb “to write” in Theodore’s inscription, especially when one considers the presence of Syrians in the workshop, on the one hand, and the type of decorative technique used, i.e. engraving, on the other. However, the current use of various forms of “γράφω” in Byzantine Greek to indicate the act of representing by means of lines—and, by extension, of drawing and painting—does not allow one to speak with certainty of anything more than parallel uses observed in both linguistic traditions. I owe this observation to Prof. Panagiotis Agapitos, whom I here thank.

⁶⁸ Cf. C. Mango, “Storia dell’arte,” in *La civiltà bizantina dal IX all’XI secolo. Aspetti e problemi*, Università degli studi di Bari, Centro di studi bizantini, Corsi di studi 2 (1977), pp. 249–251.

This is where recourse to other written sources and, above all, to the artistic and archaeological evidence becomes essential, as it can help us not only to document the changes in material culture that are implied by new vocabulary, but also to choose among alternative, linguistically plausible, interpretations of a term the one that best reflects the realities of the period in question. One short case study will, hopefully, suffice to illustrate this point. It concerns the term “καζακῶς,” which occurs in Late Byzantine texts and which in Byzantine-Greek dictionaries is usually derived from the Italian “*casacca*,” meaning great coat or jacket, thus implying a possible adaptation of a western type of garment in Byzantium at the time.⁶⁹ Theodore Sarantenos lists one “καζακῶν” among his arms and armour in his will of 1325 discussed above.⁷⁰ In the will, this item is followed by the word “ἔσολόρικον,” which could be either an attribute of the καζακῶς, in which case it would mean “with a mail lining,” or a separate piece of equipment, in which case it would indicate a garment worn under the mail cuirass. It is important, however, to point out that garments worn under body armour were as a rule made of thick, durable, and often quilted fabrics, but were hardly valuable enough to be listed along with the much more expensive metal gear of a soldier. On the other hand, in Late Byzantine portrayals of military saints one encounters representations of protective garments with a mail lining, which are worn over the cuirass. Such representations bring to mind a type of light armour comprised of a mail shirt covered on the inside and outside with fabric, which is attested among the Turks and the peoples of the Middle East already in the thirteenth century and which was called “*qazāgand*,” a Persian term also adopted in Arabic.⁷¹ I would, therefore, argue that the root of the term “καζακῶς” is Persian or Arabic rather than Italian and, consequently, its occurrence in Late Byzantine documents may be regarded as a reflection of the impact of Islamic military practices on Late Byzantine equipment, rather than the influence of Western fashions on Late Byzantine dress.

⁶⁹ See, for example, *LBG*, s.v. καζάκας (καζακῶς).

⁷⁰ *Actes de Vatopédi* 1, no. 64, line 151.

⁷¹ Parani, *Reconstructing*, pp. 120–121.

C. *References to types of objects, the occurrence of which in documents of a particular date could indicate that they were foreign imports*

The third type of evidence for intercultural contacts in the field of material culture that our documents might offer is, I would say, more conjectural than circumstantial, as it concerns references to specific types of objects, the occurrence of which in documents of a particular date may indicate that they were imported rather than locally made. In a recent article, for example, Jannic Durand has suggested that a chalice and a bowl or reliquary made of rock crystal, with silver-gilt mounts, listed in the 1396 inventory of Hagia Sophia,⁷² were possibly Venetian works, comparable to the exquisite Venetian rock crystal reliquary in the treasury of the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos, dated around 1400.⁷³ The production of objects made of rock crystal in Venice has been documented from the late thirteenth century and during the fourteenth, while in Byzantium no similar industry is attested at that time.⁷⁴ However, given that we do not know the age of the objects in the treasury of Hagia Sophia, as well as the time of their introduction there, the suggestion that they were Venetian, though plausible, must remain in the realm of speculation.

D. *References to types of artefacts the usage of which suggests a departure from earlier Byzantine practices*

The last category of evidence offered by our documents for intercultural exchange between Byzantium and other cultures that is going to be briefly discussed here is perhaps the most elusive. It concerns references to types of artefacts the usage of which points to a departure from traditional Byzantine practices under the influence of the habits of the peoples with which Byzantium was in contact. References to furs, garments lined or trimmed with fur, as well as fur bedcovers might come under this heading.⁷⁵ In the Early Byzantine period, the use of

⁷² MM, 2: p. 566: ποτήριον κρυστάλλινον μετὰ κόσμου ἀργυροδιαχρύσου, ἔχον καὶ (γρά)μματα εἰς τὸ χεῖλος; κωθόνιον κρυστάλλινον, ὃ μετεσκευάσθη εἰς κρατήρα, ἔχον βάσιν ἀργυροδιάχρυσον.

⁷³ Durand, "Innovations gothiques," pp. 334–335, fig. 1; on the Vatopedi reliquary, see also Karakatsanis, *Treasures*, no. 9.33.

⁷⁴ Cf. Laiou, "Venice," pp. 19–21.

⁷⁵ *Actes d'Iviron* 2, no. 44, line 11: τὸ ὀξύ μου ἱμάτι(ον) τὸ μετὰ τ(ῆς) γούνας...

fur garments was associated with barbarians, especially those from the North, and fur certainly did not form part of upper-class attire, nor was it considered as a symbol of status and wealth. The fashion for fur in the Abbasid Caliphate, and the Islamic world in general, which apparently stimulated a thriving trade with the North in the ninth and tenth centuries, seems to have left Byzantium largely unaffected.⁷⁶ True, in one of the accounts of the famous Arabic *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, compiled in Fatimid Egypt in the late 1060s, the ninth-century Caliph Al-Ma'mūn is presented as asking what it was that the Byzantines value most and receiving the answer “musk (*misk*) and sable (*sammūr*).”⁷⁷ This statement, however, is not corroborated by ninth- and tenth-century Byzantine sources known to me, nor do fur-trimmed garments appear as part of the attire of Byzantine officials and dignitaries described, for example, in the tenth-century Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies*.⁷⁸ Perhaps the author of the Arabic account was projecting into the past the realities of his own times. It might appear as too convenient a coincidence that the earliest reference to fur-trimmed garments in Byzantine legal documents that I have come across dates to the latter part of the eleventh century. Interestingly enough, it occurs in the will of the *kouropalates* Symbatios Pakourianos, dated to 1090.⁷⁹ Symbatios, the husband of Kale of whom we spoke earlier, was of Georgian descent, though his exact relation to the other more famous members of the family of the Pakourianoī, who distinguished themselves in the service of Alexios I Comnenus, is not known. He owned at least two garments trimmed with fur, one

· ἱμάτια χάσδια δύο ἐξ ὧν τὸ ἐν μετα γούνας ἄσπρης (will of Symbatios Pakourianos, 1090); MM, 4: p. 74: δύο γούνας, . . . , δέρμα ἀλωπικόν (will of Maximos Planites, 1255); M. I. Geddeon, “Βυζαντινὰ Συμβόλαια,” *BZ* 5 (1896), p. 114: ἐπανωφόρια δ', τὸ ἐν σκαρουλάτον μετὰ γούνης ἀλωπεϊκῆς (marriage contract, Ohrid, 13th-14th century); *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. N. Oikonomidēs, Archives de l'Athos 13 (Paris, 1984), no. 49, line 33: γουνεφάπλωμα ἀλωπεκον εἰς ὑπέρπυρα ἐπτὰ (inventory of the property of the widow Maria Deblitzene, Thessaloniki, 1384); MM, 2: p. 375: γούνας βερβερίτζας ἀπὸ τῆς Βλαχίας (property dispute between Theodore Mamales and Andreas Argyropoulos, Constantinople, ca. 1400). Cf. *Actes d'Iviron* 2, p. 10, no. 158: “un nouveau lit pour l'higoumène avec de la fourrure de renard, tout à fait neuf” (notice dated to 1183/4 from the *synodikon* of the Monastery of Iviron, written in Georgian).

⁷⁶ J. Howard-Johnston, “Trading in Fur, from Classical Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages,” in E. Cameron, ed., *Leather and Fur. Aspects of Early Medieval Trade and Technology* (London, 1998), pp. 65–79.

⁷⁷ *Books of Gifts and Rarities. Selections Compiled in the Fifteenth Century from an Eleventh-Century Manuscript on Gifts and Treasures*, trans. G. al-Hijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs 29 (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), no. 31 (p. 77).

⁷⁸ *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. Reiske, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1829, 1830), passim.

⁷⁹ See above, n. 75.

of which was made of silk. Symbatios was very selective in his will, apparently listing only those few items that he considered important or valuable, including another garment that had been presented to him by the emperor himself. This reference, I would suggest, intimates a change in the mental attitude towards fur in Byzantine contexts. That this was indeed so is borne out by the fact that references to fur-trimmed or fur-lined garments occur increasingly in Byzantine texts from the twelfth century onwards.⁸⁰ They are also recorded in private acts of the thirteenth and the fourteenth century, at which time we begin to have some relevant artistic representations as well.⁸¹ This change in fashion, which appears to have taken place during the course of the eleventh century, should perhaps be related to the economic prosperity of the empire at that time, which, as succinctly put by David Jacoby, “generated changing consumption patterns and a growing inclination toward the display of luxury as a status symbol.”⁸² Given their increasing importance in the political and military establishments of the empire at the time, Armenians and Georgians like Symbatios, hailing from a region where cultural interaction with the Islamic East had always been much more intensive, might have acted as a catalyst in establishing the acceptability of fur as one such status symbol in Byzantium.

Despite the fragmentary nature of the material at our disposal and our own limitations in interpreting it, the image that emerges is in agreement with what we know from other sources concerning the continuous and fruitful interaction in the field of material culture between the Byzantine Empire and the other actors on the international scene of the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond, an interaction that was not hindered by religious, military, or ideological differences. The forms of this exchange, its incentives and its repercussions, its intensity and its protagonists vary from one period to the next in response to the political, social and economic realities of the time. Foreign styles and artefacts which had practical advantages, which were sought after for reasons of prestige and status display, or which were simply aesthetically pleasing

⁸⁰ See, for example, *Ptochoprodromos. Einführung, kritische Ausgabe, deutsche Übersetzung, Glossar*, ed. H. Eideneier, *Neograeca Medii Aevi* 5 (Cologne, 1991), II.34–1 (p. 111): Οὐ θέλουν τὰ παιδίτσια μου χειμωνικάς γουνίτσιας.

⁸¹ See, for example, P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 3 vols. (New York and Princeton, 1966–1975), pls. 534–535.

⁸² Jacoby, “Silk Crosses the Mediterranean,” p. 61.

or fashionable, were imported or imitated in Byzantium, apparently to a degree greater than is often assumed. All in all, the information that Byzantine legal documents provide us sometimes confirms, sometimes enriches, and yet some other times helps refine the knowledge we derive from written sources of a different kind, archaeology, and artistic representations. And it is only when considered in association with these other types of evidence that the testimony of these documents on intercultural exchange may be exploited to its full potential and usefulness.

DOCUMENTS ON INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
IN MAMLŪK JERUSALEM: THE GEORGIANS UNDER
SULTAN AN-NĀṢIR ḤASAN IN 759 (1358)

Johannes Pahlitzsch

The significance for Mamlūk-Georgian relations of the Monastery of the Holy Cross, located outside the Old City of Jerusalem to the west, has been demonstrated elsewhere. It is particularly evident from the fact that, after its confiscation by the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars in 666/1268, the monastery was returned to the Georgians at the beginning of the fourteenth century when relations between the two sides were reestablished.¹ A whole series of documents were issued by the Mamlūk state chancery on behalf of Sultan an-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 741/1341) on this occasion, demonstrating the efforts made to maintain good relations with the Georgians.²

Two hitherto unpublished documents illustrate the later history of the Georgian community in Jerusalem and how they used their documents to protect their rights. The first one, no. VII.B.2.5 of the archive of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, is a protocol of a hearing that took place on 14 Rabīʿ II 759/26 March 1358 at the court of the šāfiʿite judge in Jerusalem. It is written on paper measuring 25.5 cm in width and 34.5 cm in height. The top margin to the first line of the text is 7.5 cm (5.1 cm to the *basmala*), the right-hand margin is 4 cm and the bottom margin from the last line of the text is 7.5 cm.

According to the protocol the governor of Gaza Sayf ad-Dīn³ had issued on 24 Rabīʿ I 759/6 March 1358 a decree commissioning the

¹ Cf. Ch. Müller and J. Pahlitzsch, "Sultan Baybars I and the Georgians—In the Light of New Documents Related to the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem," *Arabica* 51 (2004), pp. 258–290; J. Pahlitzsch, "Mediators Between East and West: Christians under Mamluk Rule," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9/2 (2005), pp. 31–47. I would like to thank Magdi Guirguis, Frédéric Bauden, Christian Müller, Marina Rustow and Amalia Zomeño for their help and advice. Much of this paper was written during my stay at the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

² Cf. nos. VII.B.1.5, VII.B.1.11, VII.B.2.33, VII.B.2.35, VII.B.2.38, VII.B.5.2, VII.B.5.3 and VII.B.7.501 of the archive of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

³ A governor of Gaza of this name is mentioned in documents 28 and 29 from the Ḥaram aš-Šarīf dated 745/1344; D. P. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem*, Beirut Texts and Studies 29 (Beirut, 1984), p. 254.

wakīl bayt al-māl, the representative of the public treasury, ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Sayf ad-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Ġānim,⁴ to inspect the property of the Georgian community. At this time Jerusalem was still dependent in terms of administrative organisation on the governor of Gaza and it seems that, because of the governor’s order, ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn ibn Ġānim cited the Georgians to appear before the court.⁵ The Georgians were probably given the opportunity to comment on this inspection, but it is unknown whether they had any reason to complain. In any case the head of the Georgian community, Abbot Ioane⁶ of the Monastery of the Holy Cross, presented several documents issued by a certain amir Šahīd ad-Dīn an-Nāšīr⁷ and by the Sultan an-Nāšīr Ḥasan (r. 748–752/1347–1351 and 755–762/1354–1361), which confirmed the rights of the Georgian monks and priests regarding their churches, monasteries and *awqāf*, i.e., pious foundations. Whether the latter term actually means pious foundations established according to Islamic law is not clear. It is doubtful that the Georgians had transformed the property of their churches and monasteries into Islamic *waqf* after the end of Crusader rule in the middle of the thirteenth century. More probably, the Islamic court used this term as analogous to Christian church property. Interestingly, in a document from 18 Ġumādā I 664/25 February 1266, a certain estate of the Georgians is called an endowment under Byzantine law (*ḥabīs rūmī*).⁸

⁴ His father, Sayf ad-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Ġānim al-Maqdisī, was also *wakīl bayt al-māl*; cf. Ḥaram document no. 371 (dated 710/1310), Little, *A Catalogue*, p. 290; Muğñir ad-Dīn al-‘Ulaymī, *al-Ums al-ġalīl bi-ta’rīkh al-Quds wa-l-Khalīl*, 2 vols. (Amman, 1973), 2: p. 154, mentions him for 733/1332 with the *nisba* al-Anšārī.

⁵ D. S. Richards in M. H. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem. An Architectural Study*. With additional historical research by D. S. Richards (Buckhurst Hill, 1987), pp. 59–60; D. P. Little, “Relations between Jerusalem and Egypt during the Mamluk Period According to Literary and Documentary Sources,” in A. Cohen and G. Baer, eds., *Egypt and Palestine, a Millennium of Association* (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 73–93.

⁶ The Abbot Yūnā (line 5) of this document is obviously the same as Īwān from VII.B.2.21 (line 14), both being transcriptions of the Georgian name Ioane. An abbot of this name is mentioned for the first half of the 14th century; cf. the list of abbots of the Monastery of the Holy Cross in E. Metreveli, *Masalebi Ierusalimis k’art’uli koloniis istoriisat’vis* [Materials for the History of the Georgian Colony in Jerusalem] (Tbilisi, 1962), p. 36.

⁷ It is not clear whether the *nisba* an-Nāšīrī means that he was in the entourage of al-Malik an-Nāšīr Ḥasan or in the entourage of the latter’s father, an-Nāšīr Muḥammad.

⁸ Müller and Pahlitzsch, “Sultan Baybars I and the Georgians,” p. 268.

The Georgian abbot also brought another, much older document, a decree of the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (r. 615–635/1218–1238) dating from 625/1228 (lines 10–11).⁹ Unfortunately this document, which would be the second oldest of the archive of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, is lost. It is explicitly mentioned in the protocol that this decree contained a clause according to which the *dūwān al-mawārīṭ*, the office of the inheritances, would not be allowed to encroach on the inheritances of members of the Georgian community who died without heirs. This question was regularly contested.¹⁰ Thus we find a similar clause in a decree of Sultan an-Nāṣir Muḥammad from 713/1313 still preserved in the patriarchal archive.¹¹ And only three years earlier, in 755/1354, an-Nāṣir Ḥasan's predecessor aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ (r. 752–755/1351–1354) had promulgated a rescript against the *ḍimmīs* containing detailed stipulations on that issue as well.¹² So it is probably no coincidence that this issue was raised again at the hearing. After the presentation of their privileges by the Georgians, the judge responsible, Tāğ ad-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Anfāq 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Kamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad al-Umawī (d. 769/1368), gave orders to inspect the Georgian property.¹³ Apparently both the judge and the Georgians were satisfied with the outcome of this inspection.

⁹ The special position of the Georgians under the Ayyūbids is confirmed by James of Vitry, the Latin bishop of Acre (1216–1228). According to him many Georgians travelled to the Holy Sepulchre. Furthermore they were allowed to raise their flags and were—in contrast to the other Christian pilgrims—exempted from the usual dues. They even threatened the Ayyūbid lord of Jerusalem al-Mu'azzam after he had razed the walls of the city in 1219 without previously asking them; cf. James of Vitry, *Libri duo quorum prior orientalis sive Hierosolymitanae alter occidentalis historiae nomine inscribitur*, c. 80, ed. F. Moschus (Douai, 1597; reprinted Farnborough, 1971), pp. 156–157; A.-D. von den Brincken, *Die "Nationes christianorum orientaliū" im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Kölner historische Abhandlungen 22 (Cologne and Vienna, 1973), p. 109.

¹⁰ A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam* (Beirut, 1958), pp. 359, gives examples from the 9th and 12th centuries A.D.

¹¹ Document no. VII.B.7/501 (Rağab 713/November–December 1313), lines 24–27.

¹² Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam*, pp. 359–360; U. Vermeulen, "The Rescript of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ against the *ḍimmīs* (755 A.H./1354 A.D.)," *Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica* 9 (1978), p. 179, and M. Perlmann, "Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamlūk Empire," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1940–1942), p. 855, assume that this ruling refers only to the inheritances from *ḍimmīs* converted to Islam.

¹³ Ibn Ḥağar al-Asqalānī, *ad-Duwar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mī'a at-tāmina*, ed. M. Saiyid Ġād al-Ḥaqq, 5 vols. (Cairo, 1966), 1: p. 470, no. 1165; Muğīr ad-Dīn, *al-Uns al-ğalīl*,

This seems to have changed seven months later, since the Georgians found it necessary to submit a petition to the Sublime Porte (*qiṣṣa rufi'at ilā l-abwāb al-ʿāliya*, no. VII.B.2.21, line 13). The reason for this was that the governor of Jerusalem, who was at this time a mere trooper (*ḡundī*), i.e., a person not of amiral rank,¹⁴ took away 1,000 dirhams from the Georgians. The petition as such is lost, but the document that was granted in response to it by Sultan an-Nāṣir Ḥasan, ordering the return of the Georgians' money, has been preserved in the archive of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem as no. VII.B.2.21 (dated 26 Dū l-Qa'da 759/10 October 1358). It is an official document issued by the state chancery in scroll form, consisting of 11 sheets of paper that are glued together. The total length is 334.2 cm, the width between 13.3 and 13.8 cm. The first sheet is 14.2 cm long—without damage—and the last one 9.9 cm. The other sheets are about 35 cm long on average, adding the parts they were pasted over. The first and second sheets are blank. Its width and length thus do not correspond to the paper format given by al-Qalqašandī (d. 821/1418) in his compendium of the secretarial art for the missives of a sultan to his officials, but roughly to a missive of Sultan Baybars from 665/1266, which concerns the Georgians as well.¹⁵

As the document of Baybars, an-Nāṣir Ḥasan's document is not an official decree (*marṣūm*) but a personally addressed missive (*mukātaba*). It is 27 lines long and the right-hand margin is 4 cm to 4.5 cm on average, i.e., about a third of its width. The space between the lines of the document ranges between 9.5 and 11 cm, thus equalling four or even five thumb widths. The space between the lines was seen as an expression of the difference in rank between issuer and recipient,

2: p. 125, with Muḥammad as the name of the great-grandfather. He was involved in several proceedings that are documented in the collection from the Ḥaram aš-Šarīf: no. 42/4 (750/1349), no. 42/6 and no. 621/2, pp. 279–280 and 293 (both 753/1352), no. 834/2, p. 294 (756/1355), as well as no. 333, pp. 320–321 (754/1353). For this *qādī* and the title *aqdā al-quḍāt*, cf. Ch. Müller, *Qādī-Gericht und Rechtsadministration in Jerusalem. Studie der mamlūkischen Dokumente des Ḥaram Šarīf* (Habilitationsschrift Martin-Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 2006), pp. 194–238, esp. p. 223.

¹⁴ Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. 60.

¹⁵ Al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-a'sā*, 14 vols. (Cairo, 1913–1920; reprinted Cairo, 1963–1972), 6: pp. 190–192. The paper format of Baybars's document is 36 cm in height and 12.3 cm in width; Müller and Pahlitzsch, "Sultan Baybars I and the Georgians," p. 261. For the size of the known Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk sultan's decrees, cf. S. Heidemann, Ch. Müller and Y. Rāḡib, "Un decret d'Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil en 571/1176 relatif aux moines du Mont Sinai," *Annales Islamologiques* 31 (1997), p. 82.

although al-Qalqašandī mentions only cases of three or four thumb widths.¹⁶ Only the first two lines are written directly beneath each other, probably in order to have the *basmala* close to the beginning of the text.¹⁷ The space between the second and third lines of the text, which was extended by more than a third to 16.5 cm, bears the ruler's name, his authorizing signature (*alāma*), in large letters (the letters' height is 16.3 cm): “*wāliduhu* (his parent) Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad.” The words “*wāliduhu*,” or in other cases “*aḥūhu* (his brother),” were used for addressing people of rank.¹⁸

The missive begins with the blessing formula (*du‘ā*) “*adāma Allāhu ni‘mat*” (line 2), which was, according to al-Qalqašandī, reserved for high-ranking officers such as the *al-ḡanāb al-‘ālī* or, as in this case, the *maḡlis al-‘ālī*, an emir of forty at this time. After a number of expressions of veneration (*nu‘ūt*), the formula “*ṣadarat hādīhi al-mukātaba ilā* (this missive is addressed to . . .)” leads into the body of the letter.¹⁹ The addressee is a certain amir Šihāb ad-Dīn. Being an amir of forty he certainly had a higher rank than the governor of Jerusalem and thus should have been able to execute the order of the sultan. Maybe he could be identified with Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ālmalik, who was promoted to the rank of an amir of one hundred by an-Nāṣir Ḥasan.²⁰ He seems to have been related somehow to Jerusalem. His father had founded a *madrasa* there with his tomb adjacent to the Ḥaram aš-Šarīf. In 775/1373 Šihāb ad-Dīn was appointed governor of Gaza and shortly afterwards superintendent of the Two Ḥarams in Jerusalem and Hebron.²¹

¹⁶ Al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘šā*, 6: pp. 195–196. Müller and Pahlitzsch, “Sultan Baybars I and the Georgians,” p. 262.

¹⁷ Cf. Heidemann, Müller and Rāḡib, “Un decret d’Al-Malik al-‘Ādil,” p. 86; S. M. Stern, “Petitions from the Mamlūk Period,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39 (1966), p. 247; idem, *Fāṭimid Decrees. Original Documents from the Fāṭimid Chancery* (London, 1964), pp. 157–159.

¹⁸ The signature was possibly written by the sultan himself or by an official specially authorised to do so; cf. Müller and Pahlitzsch, “Sultan Baybars I and the Georgians,” p. 262. For other signatures of this sultan, cf. Stern, “Petitions from the Mamlūk Period,” plates II and VI; idem, *Fāṭimid Decrees*, p. 158.

¹⁹ Al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘šā*, 7: pp. 142–143. Cf. H. Ernst, *Die mamlukischen Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters* (Wiesbaden, 1960), no. XI, p. 52 (740/1339), and no. XXXIX, p. 168 (896/1465). Müller and Pahlitzsch, “Sultan Baybars I and the Georgians,” pp. 263 and 266–267.

²⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb as-Sulūk li-ma‘rifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. M. M. Ziyāda and S. ‘Abdalfattāḥ ‘Āshūr, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1934–1973), 3: p. 63.

²¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb as-Sulūk*, 3: pp. 219 and 224. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, pp. 309–310.

After the actual text of the document the usual injunction “*in šā’ Allāh* (as God wills)” follows in the middle of the line (line 22),²² and then the date written in two lines (lines 23–24). In lines 25 to 26 we find the authorization (*mustanad*), i.e., the person occasioning it or the corresponding office. In the present document the *mustanad* reads “according to the noble order (*al-amr aš-šarīf*) from the Palace of Justice (*dār al-‘adl*).” This means that the Georgians submitted their petition “in the name” of Abbot Ioane (line 13–14) to the *dār al-‘adl* in Cairo. Their case was obviously dealt with in a public audience before the sultan. Here again the emissaries of the Georgians showed privileges that had been granted to them by a certain Sultan an-Nāšir, who could be either an-Nāšir Muḥammad or an-Nāšir Ḥasan himself, and by aš-Šāliḥ Šāliḥ. Convinced by their arguments or for other reasons, Sultan an-Nāšir Ḥasan then gave publicly in the Palace of Justice the order that led to the composition of the document.²³ The document concludes with the blessing of the Prophet (*tašliya*) (line 27) and the *ḥasbala*.²⁴ The reverse side of the document bears archival notes in Georgian and Greek from the nineteenth or early twentieth century.²⁵

An-Nāšir Ḥasan’s missive is thus to a large extent consistent with other Mamlūk documents of this kind.²⁶ In particular, a *mukātaba* of an-Nāšir Muḥammad issued in 740/1339 as a response to a petition submitted to the *dār al-‘adl* by the monks of the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai is very similar in its structure and wording.²⁷

²² Al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-a‘šā*, 7: p. 217. Ernst, *Die mamlukischen Sultansurkunden*, pp. XXV and XXXIII.

²³ Stern, “Petitions from the Mamlūk Period,” pp. 265–266, describes the audiences of the sultan in the Palace of Justice. Al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-a‘šā*, 6: p. 264, has “*al-marsūm aš-šarīf*” instead of “*al-amr aš-šarīf*,” since he presents the *mustanadāt* in connection with decrees.

²⁴ Cf. al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-a‘šā*, 6: pp. 267–269.

²⁵ The Greek note reads: “Φερμάνιον τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Μαμελούκων Μουχάμετ Χασούρ περὶ τῶν μοναχῶν τῆς μονῆς Σταυροῦ,” A. Tselikas, *Καταγραφή του αρχείου του Πατριαρχείου Ιεροσολύμων*, Δελτίο του Ιστορικού και Παλαιογραφικού Αρχείου 5 (Athens, 1992), p. 401, no. 21.

²⁶ The procedure in dealing with petitions has been described extensively by Stern, “Petitions from the Mamlūk Period,” *passim*. However, concerning the responses he focuses on decrees. Examples of *mukātabāt* responding to petitions are in N. Risciani, *Documenti e firmani* (Jerusalem, ca. 1930), no. IV, V, VI, pp. 34–53 (between 797/1395 and 798/1396), which have a similar *‘alāma*: “*wāliduhu Barqūq*” (Risciani’s reading “*Barqūq al-mālik*” has to be corrected).

²⁷ Ernst, *Die mamlukischen Sultansurkunden*, no. XI, pp. 52–53 (740/1339).

The significance of these documents consists in the fact that they provide us with first-hand information about a specific moment in history. However, one has to be very careful in drawing general conclusions from them. Thus, while the documents presented here give the impression of a certain degree of legal security for the Christians under Mamlūk rule, the chronicles illuminate the fragility of their status.²⁸ Only one year before the protocol of the hearing at the *qāḍī*'s court was issued, the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem had been imprisoned and maltreated by the Mamlūk authorities. Seven years afterwards, in 1365, Christians were systematically persecuted on the order of the sultan because of the assault on Alexandria of the Cypriot King Peter I.²⁹

However, the archival material published here also demonstrates the importance of documents for intercultural communication, be it at the court of a local judge or at the law court of the sultan. Obviously the Georgians had to be able to read and speak Arabic—translations or translators are not mentioned—and to know the procedures of the Islamic law courts quite well to protect their rights. For hundreds of years the Georgian community of Jerusalem carefully preserved its documents in its archive in the Monastery of the Holy Cross to present them whenever it was necessary, until the monastery was taken over by Greeks in the nineteenth century and the archive was transferred to the newly created Central Archive of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.³⁰ Therefore, these documents illustrate in a unique and very concrete way the ability of the Orthodox Christians to adapt to the surrounding Islamic culture, at least in the sphere of law.

²⁸ D. P. Little, "Christians in Mamluk Jerusalem," in Y. Yazbeck Haddad and W. Zaidan Haddad, eds., *Christian-Muslim Encounters* (Gainesville, Tallahassee et al., 1995), pp. 210–220; and idem, "Communal Strife in Late Mamlūk Jerusalem," *Islamic Law and Society* 6 (1999), pp. 69–96, stresses very much the issue of legal security.

²⁹ Pahlitzsch, "Mediators Between East and West," pp. 38–40.

³⁰ Tselikas, *Καταγραφή*, pp. 20–30. The same holds true for other non-Muslim communities such as the Franciscans of the *Custodia di Terra Santa*. According to Risciani, *Documenti e firmani*, no. XV (831/1427), pp. 134–136, the Franciscans showed Sultan Barsbay documents of more or less all Mamlūk sultans, the names of which are given in the documents from Baybars on. However, whether the Franciscans actually received any before they were allowed to settle in Jerusalem in the 1330s is doubtful. Risciani, *ibid.*, p. 137 n. 3, points out that, on the one hand, the oldest extant document is from 776/1374, while on the other, it might be possible that they obtained some documents coming to Jerusalem before 1330: "ora per semplice visita dei loughi Santi, ora per dimorare al S. Sepolcro".

Edition of VII.B.2.5

- 1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- 2 تاريخ رابع عشر شهر ربيع الآخر سنة تسع وخمسين وسبعماية ورد مرسوم كريم
سيفي مولانا ملك الامرا بالاعمال الساحلة
- 3 بغزة المحروسة اعز الله انصاره يتضمن الكشف عن الاماكن المختصة بالكرج
بالقدس الشريف تاريخه الرابع والعشرون من شهر ربيع الاول
- 4 سنة تاريخه على يد الشيخ علا الدين علي بن الشيخ الصالح سيف الدين ابي
بكر بن غانم وكيل بيت المال المعمور بالقدس الشريف فحضر
- 5 ريس الكرج يوني وجماعة من الكرج الى مجلس الحكم العزيز بالقدس الشريف
بين يدي متوليه سيدنا الفقير الي الله تعالي اقضى القضاة
- 6 تاج الدين مفتي المسلمين بقية السلف الصالحين ابي بكر الحاكم يومئذ بالقدس
الشريف ايده الله واحضروا من ايديهم مراسيم
- 7 شريفة شهيدية ملكية ناصرية ومراسيم ناصرية خلد الله ملك مالكةا بان يجري
جماعة الرهبان والقسيسين
- 8 الكرج المقيمين بالقدس الشريف المعروفين بالجرجانية على عادتهم المستمرة
وقاعدتهم المستقرة في أوقافهم
- 9 وكنائسهم وان لا يطلبوا بغير حق والوصية بهم حسبما تضمنه المرسوم الشريف
الشهيدى الناصري واحضروا مرسومًا
- 10 شريفًا ملكيا كامليا تاريخه منتصف القعدة سنة خمس وعشرين وستماية من
مضمونه ان ليس لديوان الموارث تعلق بما تخلفه
- 11 امواتهم الرجال والنساء فعند ذلك ندب الحاكم المشار اليه من يضع خطه اخره
فوقفوا على الاماكن المختصة بهم
- 12 فوجدوا غالبها واكثرها حوانيت تحت دياراتهم وابوابها الي الدارين السالك[ين]
ينتفعون بها انتفاع مثلها
- 13 واما غير الداخلة تحت دياراتهم فهي في ايديهم من مدة تزيد على ثلاثين واربعين
سنة واكثر من ذلك
- 14 وتشملها المراسيم المشار اليها وذلك في تاريخه اعلاه حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل
- 15 وقفت على الدارين [sic!] المذكورين وعايئت الحوانيت وقفت على الدارين
المذكورين
- 16 داخلة في الدير وابوابها الي الدارين النافذين وعايئت الحوانيت
داخلة في الدير
- 17 شاهدت ذلك في تاريخه اعلاه وابوابها الي الدارين
الساكنين وشاهدت
- 18 كتبه عثمان بن خليل [...] ذلك في تاريخه كتبه
محمد بن إبراهيم
الشافعي

Translation

- 1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate
- 2) On the date of the 14 Rabīʿ II in the year 759 (26 March 1358) a noble decree of Sayf ad-Dīn, our lord the king of the commanders in the province of the coast
- 3) in Ġazza—may it be protected, may God strengthen its supporters—, containing [an order for] the inspection of the places pertaining to the Georgians in the noble [city of] Jerusalem dating from the 24th of the month of Rabīʿ I
- 4) in the [same] year (6 March 1358), arrived at the *ṣayḥ* ʿAlāʾ ad-Dīn ʿAlī, the son of the pious *ṣayḥ* Sayf ad-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Ġānim, the Representative of the public treasury (*wakīl bayt al-māl*)—may it be rich—in the noble [city of] Jerusalem. And
- 5) the head of the Georgians, Yūnā (Ioane), and a group of Georgians appeared at the venerable law court in the noble [city of] Jerusalem in front of the person in charge of it, our lord the humble servant of God (lit. the poor before God)—may He be exalted—the best of the judges (*aqḍā l-quḍāt*)
- 6) Tāğ ad-Dīn, the *muftī* of the believers, the very best of the pious forefathers Abū Bakr, the judge at that time in the noble [city of] Jerusalem—may God support him. And they showed from their hands noble decrees
- 7) of the [Amir] Šahīd ad-Dīn from the entourage of the [Sultan] al-Malik an-Nāṣir and decrees of the [Sultan] an-Nāṣir—God, may He be exalted, make the dominion of their (i.e. the decrees') owner everlasting—so that the community of Georgian monks and priests
- 8) residing in the noble [city of] Jerusalem known as *al-ğurğānīya* keep the continuity of their customs and the persistency of their basic rules in their pious foundations, their monasteries
- 9) and their churches; and that nothing should be demanded from them unjustly and that they should be taken care of according to the content of the noble decree of Šahīd ad-Dīn an-Nāṣirī. And they showed a noble decree
- 10) of al-Malik al-Kāmil, its date being the middle of [Dū] l-Qaʿda of the year 625 (October 1228), and it contains that the Office of the inheritances is not allowed to encroach on what has been left by

- 11) the dead men and women among them. And at that point the just-mentioned judge gave orders to those (lit. him) who signed at the end of [this document] and they inquired about the places pertaining to them (i.e. the Georgians),
- 12) and they found the majority of them and most of them are shops inside their lands with their doors [opening] to the passageways and they profit from them in a similar way.
- 13) And regarding what is not inside their lands, these have belonged to them for more than 30 and 40 years and more than that.
- 14) And the just-mentioned decrees contain all of this and this is on the above-mentioned date. God is sufficient, what a truly wonderful representative.
- 15) [right:] I inspected the mentioned houses and surveyed the shops
- 16) inside the monastery and their doors [going to] the passageways.
- 17) I testified to this on the above-mentioned date.
- 18) It was written by ʿUṭmān ibn Ḥalīl [...]
- 15) [left:] I inspected the mentioned houses
- 16) and surveyed the shops inside the monastery
- 17) and their doors [going to] the passageways. I testified
- 18) this on the above mentioned date. It was written by Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm aš-Šāfiʿī.³¹

³¹ ʿUṭmān ibn Ḥalīl and Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm aš-Šāfiʿī acted as witnesses as well in a purchase deed of 10th Šawwāl 759/15 September 1358, Ḥaram document no. 326. I am indebted to Christian Müller for this information.

Edition of VII. B. 2.21

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	1
ادام الله نعمة المجلس العالى الاميرى	2
والده حسن بن محمد	
الاجلي الكبيرى العالى العالدى	3
الذخري المجاهدى النصيرى الشهابى	4
عز الاسلام و المسلمين شرف الامرا فى	5
العالمين نصرة الغزاة والمجاهدين	6
عضد الملوك والسلاطين حسام امير المومنين	7
وخصه بالتأييد وبلغه من النعمة كلما	8
يريد ولا برحت الالسنة تثنى فى	9
وصف مناقبه وتعيد صدرت هذه المكاتبه	10
الى المجلس العالى يُهدى اليه من السلام اتمه	11
ومن الثنا اعمه وتوضح لعلمه الكريم ان	12
قصة رفعت الى الابواب العالیه باسم	13
ايوان الراهب وجماعة الرهبان بدير المصلبه بالقدس الشريف	14
انها ان بايديهم تواقع شريفة ناصرية وصالحية بان	15
لا يغير عليهم شى فيه [؟] جماعة الكرج ويوصى بهم	16
وان وال القدس اخذ منهم الف درهم	17
ومرسومنا ان يتقدم المجلس العالى بحملهم على	18
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³² The reading of this word is not clear, but according to al-Qalqaşandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'šā*, 7: pp. 140–143, the last phrase of the *mukātabāt* for the six highest ranking officials is: “*yuhūṭu 'ilmuhū l-karīmu bi-dālīka wa-llāhu ta'ālā yu'ayyiduhū bi-mannihū wa-karamihū.*” The wording *yu'ayyiduhū bi-l-malā'ik* can be found in Risciani, *Documenti e firmani*, no. IX

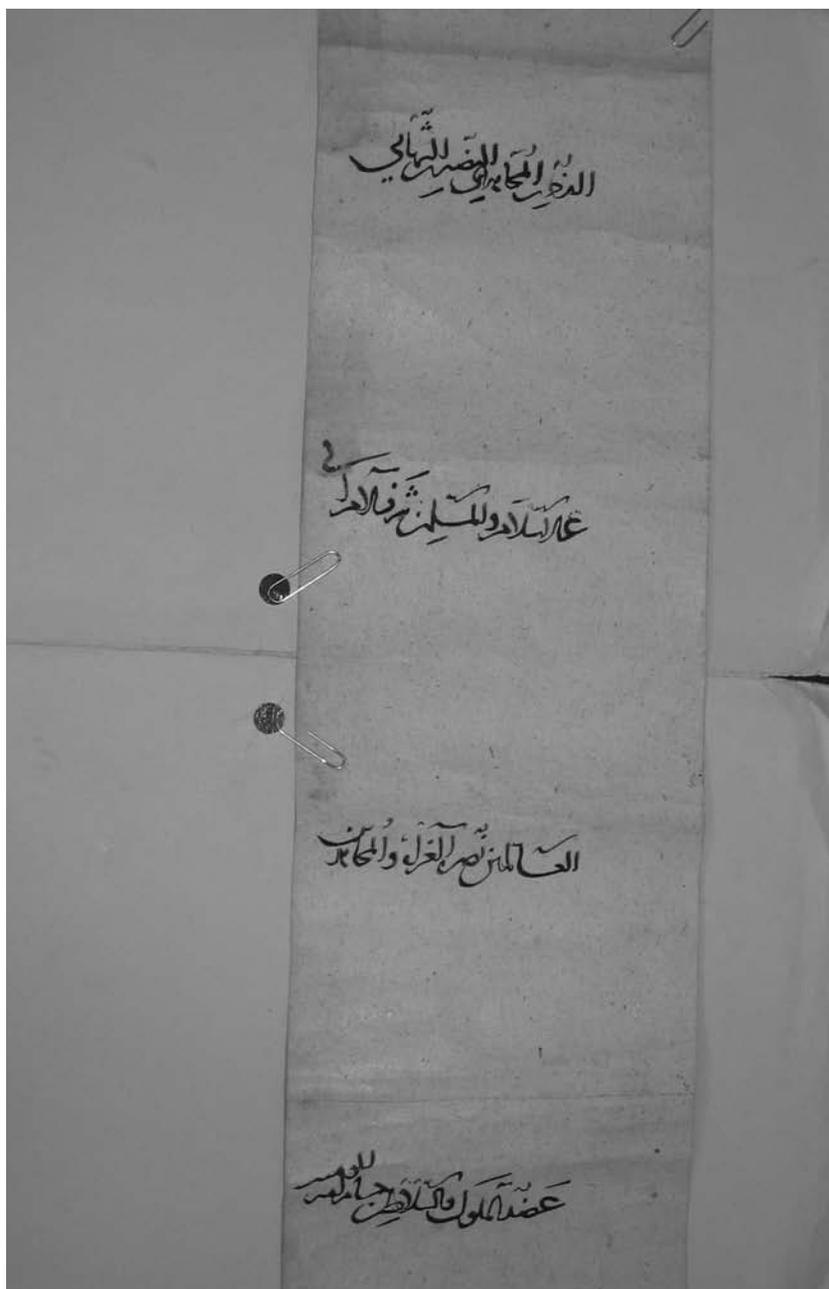
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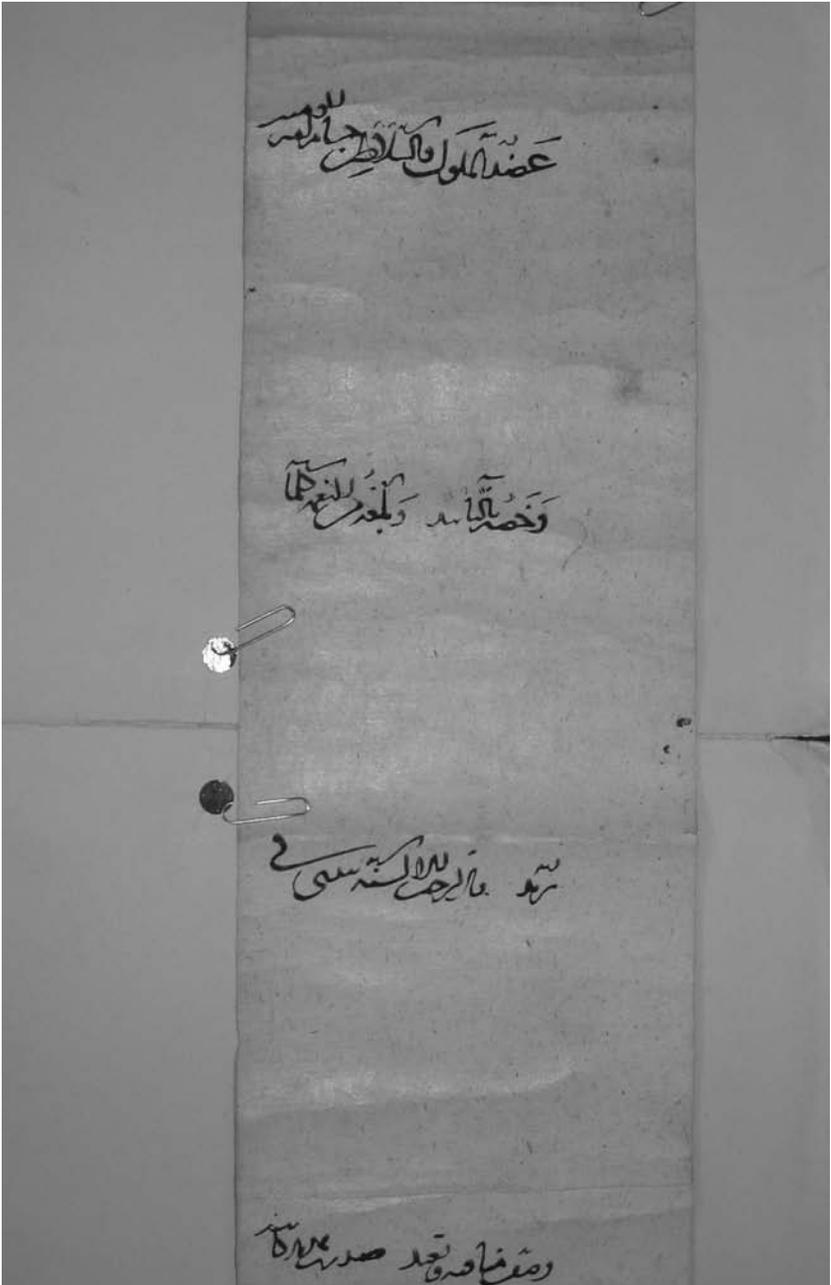
- 1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate
- 2) May God permit the benefaction of the High Excellency (the emir of forty) to endure, the Commander
His parent Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad
- 3) the most noble, the great, the learned, the just,
- 4) the treasure, the fighter for the faith, the victorious Šihāb [ad-Dīn]
- 5) the might of Islam and the faithful, the honour of the commanders in
- 6) both worlds, support of those who raid against the infidels and the fighters for the faith,
- 7) aid of the kings and the sultans, sword of the Commander of the faithful—
- 8) [God] bestow upon him support and convey to him all the benefaction
- 9) he wishes, and may the tongues continue to praise in
- 10) the description of his virtues again and again. This missive has been dispatched
- 11) to the High Excellency—may [God] grant him complete peace
- 12) and universal praise—and it makes evident to his noble conscience that
- 13) a petition has been submitted to the Sublime Porte in the name of
- 14) Īwān, the monk, and the community of the monks in the Monastery of the Holy Cross in the noble [city of] Jerusalem.
- 15) They report that they have in their hands noble decrees of [the Sultans] an-Nāṣir and aṣ-Šāliḥ ruling
- 16) that nothing where the community of the Georgians is should be changed against them and that they should be taken care of.
- 17) And [they report] that the governor of Jerusalem took from them 1,000 dirhams.
- 18) And our noble decree orders that the High Excellency should give orders to treat them according

(814/1411), p. 72 and no. X (814/1411), p. 76 (with images), and Ernst, *Sultansukunden*, no. XI (740/1339), p. 52 (with *malā'ika*). It seems that in the word *yu'ayyiduhū* the scribe connected the letter *wāw* with the following *yā'* quite sweepingly, thus creating a loop that makes it difficult to recognize the *yā'*.

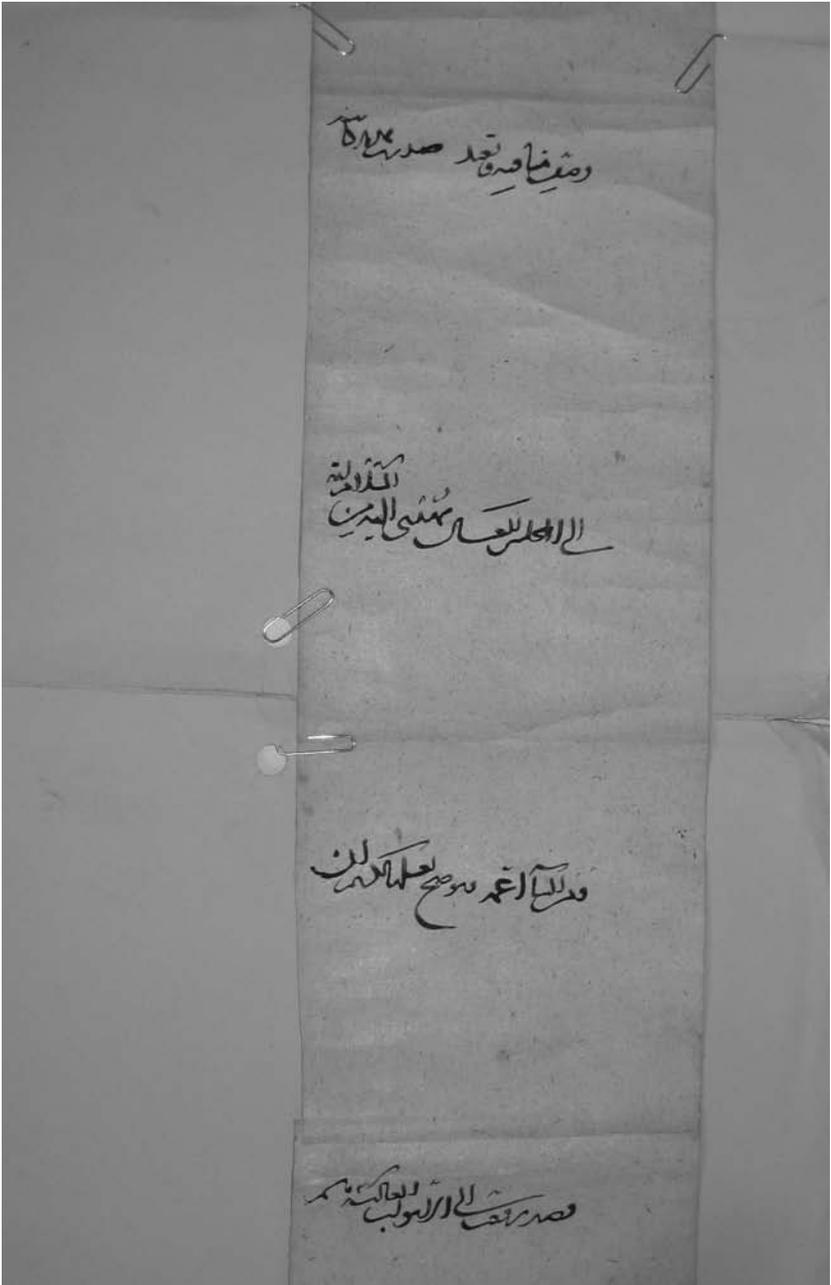
- 19) to the noble decrees which are in their hands and which continue in force and that he should avert the iniquitous hand from them
- 20) and whatever has been taken from them should all be returned to them.
- 21) His noble conscience should be aware of this, may God—may He be exalted—support him with the angels.
- 22) If God—may He be exalted—wills.
- 23) Written at the 26 Dū l-Qa'da
- 24) in the year 759 (10 October 1358)
- 25) according to the noble order
- 26) from the Palace of Justice.
- 27) Praise be to God alone and may He bless our lord Muḥammad and his companions and grant him salvation.
- 28) God is sufficient for us; how excellent a keeper is He!

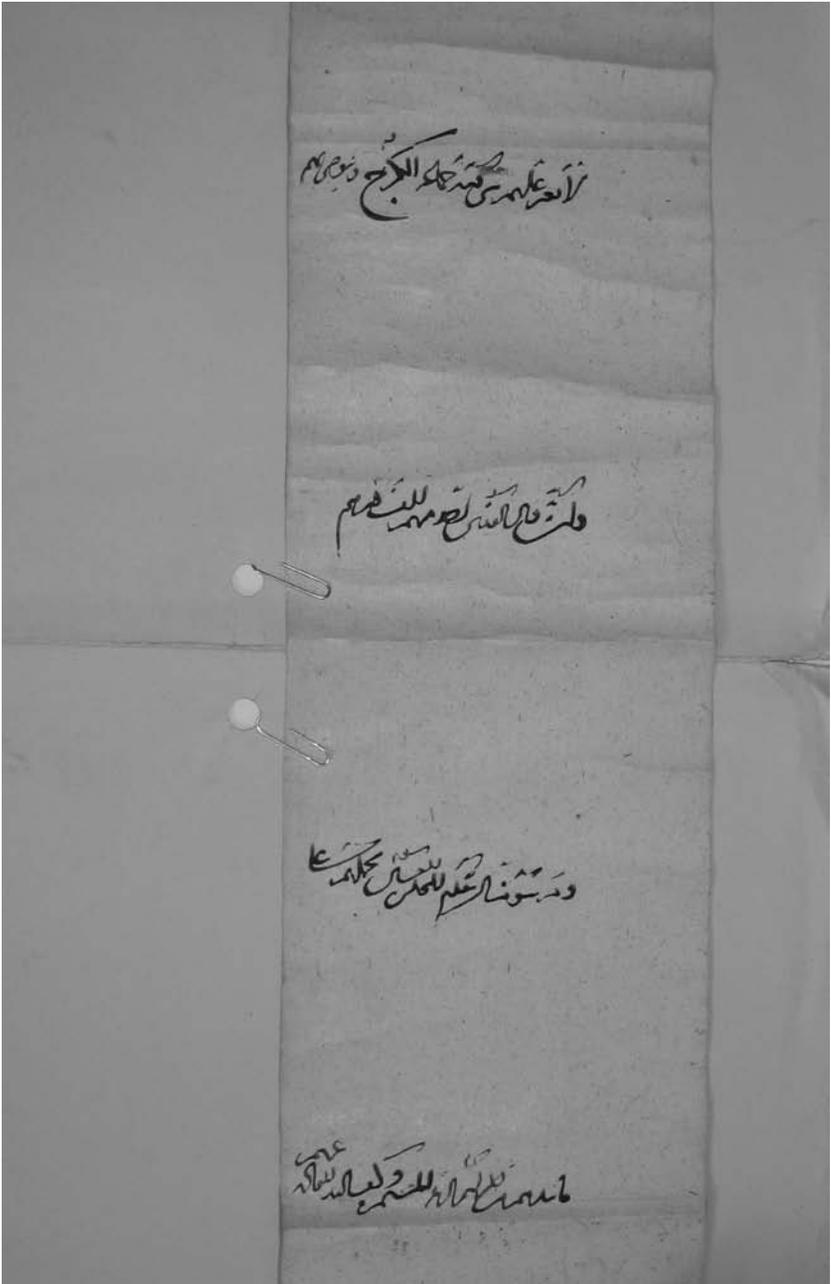


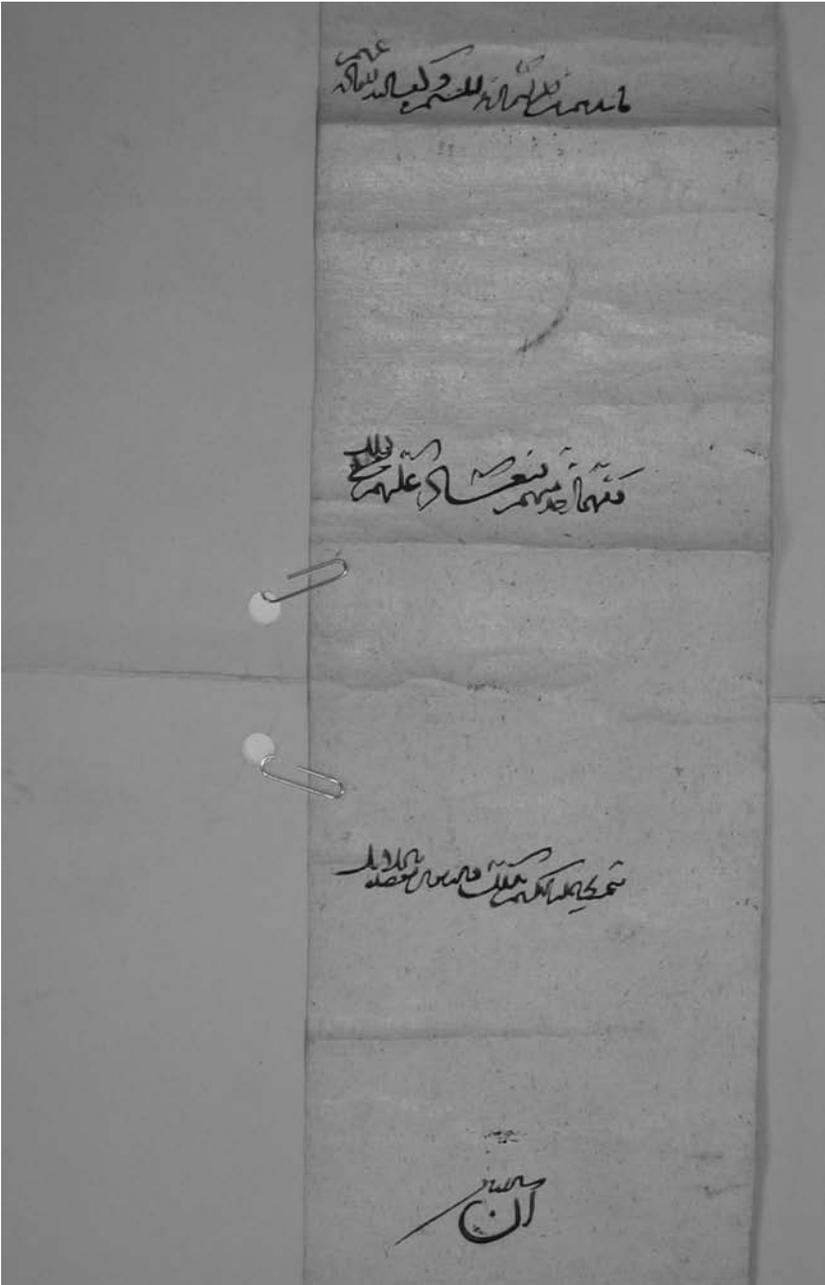










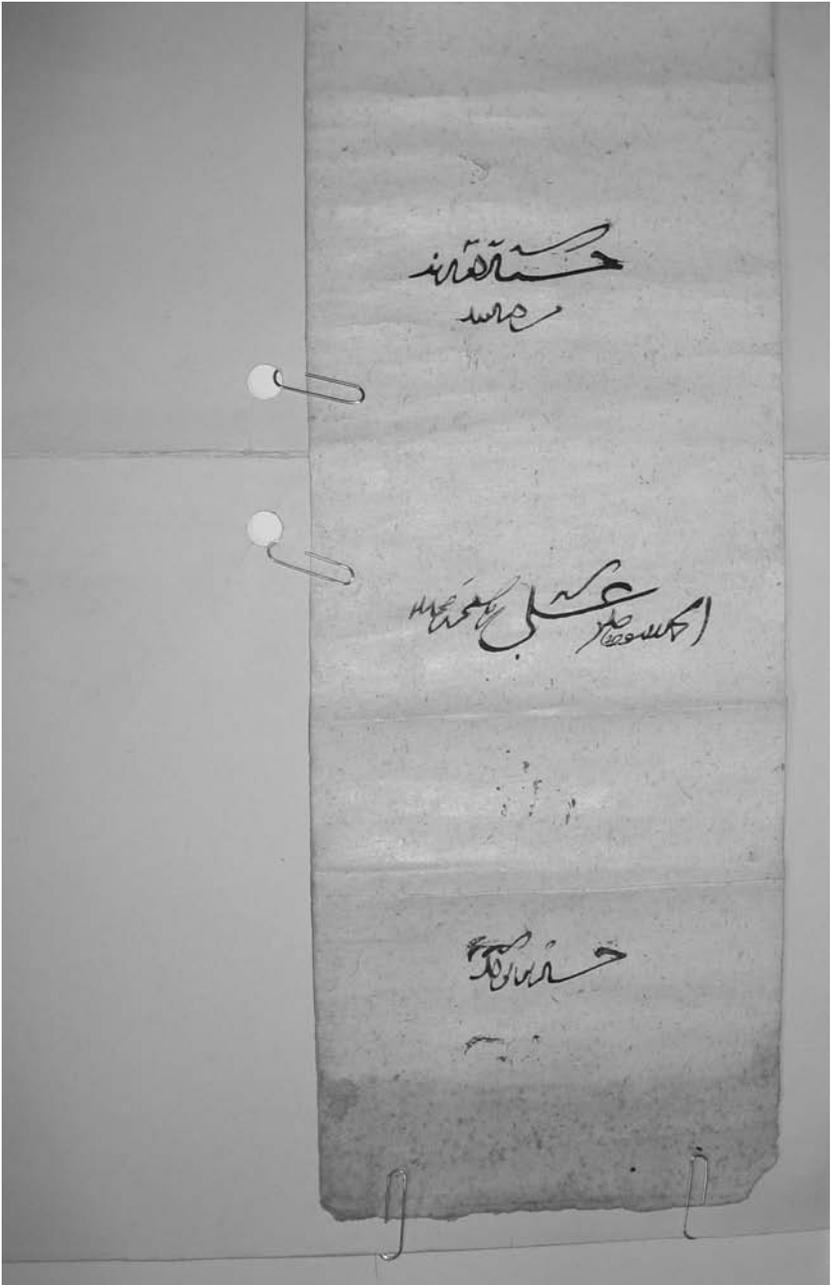


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DAS VERGESSENE ZYPERN:
DAS BYZANTINISCHE REICH UND ZYPERN
UNTER DEN LUSIGNAN

Peter Schreiner

Als Zypern im Jahre 1191 von Richard Löwenherz erobert und 1192 den Lusignan überlassen wurde, war nicht vorauszusehen, dass ein neuer Staat in der Mittelmeerwelt entstehen würde, der fast 400 Jahre, bis 1571, als selbständiger Herrschaftsbereich bestehen sollte. Von der Genese und dem administrativen Aufbau her, können wir, zumindest am Beginn, wohl von einem Kreuzfahrerstaat sprechen. Von diesen unterscheidet ihn jedoch die Präsenz einer ursprünglich ausschließlich, in späteren Jahrzehnten überwiegend griechischen Bevölkerung orthodoxen Glaubens, und die Tatsache, dass Zypern bei seiner Eroberung Teil des byzantinischen Reichs gewesen ist. Die staatsrechtliche und praktisch-politische Frage, wie Byzanz unmittelbar und in der Folgezeit auf die Wegnahme eines Reichsteiles reagiert hat, ist bisher nie explizit gestellt worden. Sie soll daher zentraler Gegenstand dieses Beitrags sein, der unter diesem Gesichtspunkt auch Probleme der Diplomatie und der damit verbundenen schriftlichen Elemente mit einschließt.¹

Der einzige Zeitgenosse der politischen Reaktion ist Niketas Choniates, der als hoher Staatsbeamter (*logothetes ton sekretou*) in unmittelbarer Umgebung des Kaisers Isaaks II. Angelos tätig war. Er beschreibt in seinem Geschichtswerk den Vorgang folgendermaßen:

Bei der Hinreise (*sc.* ins heilige Land) landete der englische König in Zypern, eroberte es und nahm den Tyrannen der Insel, oder besser den unmenschlichen und aufbrausenden Verderber, Isaakios Komnenos, gefangen. Zuerst legte er ihn in Fesseln, später aber schaffte er den Frevler außer Landes und schenke ihn einem seiner Landsleute als Sklaven. Er selbst aber segelte nach Palästina und ließ auf Zypern ein Heer, als wäre

¹ Weder ältere noch neuere Gesamtdarstellungen gehen auf Rechte und Reaktion des byzantinischen Kaisers ein. Der 15. Internationale Byzantinistenkongress Athen 1976 hat Zypern eine ganze Sektion gewidmet, die diese Thematik jedoch ebenso wenig berührt wie der 4. Band der neuen Geschichte Zyperns: Th. Papadopoulos, Hrsg., *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, Bd. 4: *Μεσαιωνικόν Βασίλειον—Ενετοκρατία* (Nikosia, 1995).

die Insel schon sein Eigentum, und er schickte Lastschiffe auf die Insel und sammelte seinen Lebensunterhalt als Steuer von dort ein. Als er von Palästina aufbrach, schenkte er das zypriotische Land, als gehöre es ihm, dem König von Jerusalem, damit dieser, da er ja seine eigene Herrschaft verloren hatte, sich in den Kriegspausen dort aufhalte, und über die Zyprioten herrsche, als wären sie für das Grab des Herrn erworben und die Insel den Grenzen Palästinas einverleibt.²

Mit diesen knappen und realistischen Worten ist für Choniates die Eroberung der Insel abgetan, und er spricht später nicht mehr über das weitere Schicksal. Er verfasste sein Geschichtswerk nach 1204 im Exil in Nikaia, wo ihn der Verlust Konstantinopels so erschütterte, dass jener Zyperns dem gegenüber gering erscheinen musste. Wenn man die wenigen Sätze genauer betrachtet, so gewinnt man den Eindruck, dass er mit der Vertreibung des Isaak Komnenos aus Zypern, die den Byzantinern fünf Jahren nicht gelang, so zufrieden war, dass er den Verlust der Insel zu akzeptieren schien, auch wenn er zweimal betont, dass die Insel doch nicht Eigentum des englischen Königs geworden sei. Er verschweigt, wer der wirkliche Besitzer ist, nämlich das byzantinische Reich.

Die unmittelbare Reaktion in Byzanz

Aus einer arabischen Quelle (Bahā'addīn ibn Šaddād) erfahren wir, dass Kaiser Isaak im März 1192 versuchte, die Hilfe Sultan Saladins für eine Rückeroberung zu gewinnen.³ Das Unternehmen kam nicht zustande, und ohne Bündnispartner war das byzantinische Reich in der damaligen Situation nicht in der Lage, eine Rückeroberung zu unternehmen. Noch im Jahr 1198 wurde Zypern als Teil des byzantinischen Reiches betrachtet: im Vertrag mit Venedig vom November 1198 gab Alexios III. Angelos den Venezianern weiterhin Handelsrechte in Zypern, obwohl er und die Venezianer wussten, dass diese nicht mehr durchzusetzen waren.⁴ Derselbe Alexios stellte auch (zu einem unbekanntem Zeitpunkt)

² *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. I. A. van Dieten, CFHB 11 (Berlin, 1975), p. 418, 75–88.

³ *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, bearbeitet von F. Dölger, 2. Teil: *Regesten von 1025–1204*, zweite erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von P. Wirth (München, 1995), Nr. 1608.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nr. 1647. Das Faktum als solches ist im Rahmen der byzantinischen Politik nicht überraschend. Der Vertrag gesteht den Venezianern nämlich auch

ein Chrysobull für das Machairas-Kloster auf Zypern aus, dem er für seine sämtlichen Besitzungen Steuerfreiheit gewährte.⁵ Die Fiktion des freien Handelns über Steuereinnahmen in einem Land, worüber der Kaiser *de facto* nicht mehr verfügt, ist also aufrechterhalten. Auf der anderen Seite, der zypriotischen, war noch immer ein gewisses Gefühl gegenüber einer byzantinischen Oberhoheit vorhanden. Nur so ist es wohl zu verstehen, wenn Francesco Amadi in seiner im 16. Jahrhundert verfassten Chronik (deren frühe Quellen außer Frage stehen) im Hinblick auf die Krönung des Königs Aimery im Jahr 1195 vermerkt, *dubitando del' Imperator de Constantinopoli, qual era greco* habe man sich an Kaiser Heinrich VI. gewandt.⁶ Im Herbst 1199 unternahm Alexios III. einen letzten Versuch, seine territorialen Rechte in Zypern geltend zu machen. Mit pisanischer Vermittlung wandte er sich an Papst Innozenz III., er möge Aimery zur Herausgabe von Zypern veranlassen.⁷ Das Jahr 1204 hat den Verlust Zyperns endgültig besiegelt.

Zypern und das nikänische Kaiserreich

Nach 1204 unternahm es kein Kaiser mehr, Zypern mit diplomatischen oder gar militärischen Mitteln zurück zu gewinnen.⁸ Ganz im Sinn einer beginnenden national-griechischen Politik, die die Kräfte des Griechentums sammelte,⁹ ging es den nikänischen Kaisern darum, die Griechen in Zypern zu schützen oder doch Einfluss zu nehmen auf den Erhalt des orthodoxen Glaubens. Ein erstes Zeugnis bringt ein

Niederlassungsrechte in Orten des bulgarischen Raumes zu, der schon seit 10 Jahren außerhalb des byzantinischen Staatsverbundes lag.

⁵ Ibid., Nr. 1666b.

⁶ *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, 1. Teil, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1891), Nachdruck mit einer Einführung von S. Beraud (Nikosia, 1999), p. 87. Vgl. A. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*. Bd. 2 (Cambridge, 1972), p. 48 (ohne Hinweis auf Amadi, obwohl die Stelle indirekt zitiert ist).

⁷ *Regesten*, ed. Dölger, Nr. 1654.

⁸ Dazu ein wenig beachteter Beitrag von M. J. Angold, "The Problem of the Unity of the Byzantine World after 1204: The Empire of Nicea and Cyprus (1204–1261)," in *Πρακτικά τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνoῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, Bd. 2: *Μεσαιωνικὸν Τμήμα* (Nikosia, 1969), pp. 1–6. Angold betont, dass dem byzantinischen Kaiser mehr an der Einheit der Orthodoxie und einem mentalen Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit der Griechischsprechenden als der politischen Einheit mit Zypern lag. Wichtigstes Ziel des nikänischen Kaisers war immer die Wiedergewinnung Konstantinopels.

⁹ J. Koder, "Griechische Identitäten im Mittelalter. Aspekte einer Entwicklung," in A. Abramea u. a., Hrsg., *Βυζάντιο. Κράτος και κοινωνία. Μνήμη Νίκου Οικονομίδη* (Athen, 2003), pp. 297–319, bes. pp. 310–313.

Schreiben des zypriotischen Erzbischofs Neophytos (nach 1231 oder nach 1238), in dem er sich bei Kaiser Johannes Dukas Vatatzes gegen ein Einmischen des ökumenischen Patriarchen Germanos II. in Zypern beschwert.¹⁰ Der Kaiser wird von Neophytos als oberste richterliche Instanz gegen den Patriarchen betrachtet. Er ist für Neophytos der φυσικός αὐθέντης (Z. 4), ein Anruf, der mehrmals wiederholt wird (Z. 34). Als αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων erstreckt sich seine βασιλεία (Z. 14–15) εἰς τὰς κατὰ Κύπρον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, in denen sein Name auch in der Liturgie genannt wird. Die Kirche auf Zypern fühlt sich, trotz der politischen Trennung mit dem Kaiser verbunden, da sich die orthodoxen Bewohner in der Sicht des Neophytos, als “Romaioi,” als Byzantiner, betrachten.

Das genannte Schreiben ist (in Kopie) überliefert in einem der wichtigsten handschriftlichen Zeugnisse zur Geschichte und Kultur Zyperns, dem Codex *Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 367*.¹¹ Der nach Ende 1317 auf Zypern angefertigte Codex überliefert neben anderem eine große Anzahl von juristischen Formularen, bei denen in allgemeinen Daten und teilweise auch Personennamen fehlen.¹² Sie stammen am ehesten aus einer Sammlung von Basismodellen, die teils am Königshof und teils in den Kanzleien zypriotischer Bischöfe entstanden, um Notaren als Formelschatz zu dienen. Unter diesen Texten finden sich auch drei

¹⁰ V. Laurent, *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I,4 (Paris, 1971), Nr. 1252. Kritische Edition des erstmals von Sp. Lampros, “Κυπριακὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἔγγραφα ἐκ τοῦ Παλατινοῦ κώδικος 367,” *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 14 (1917), pp. 14–50 (hier Nr. 28, pp. 41–43) herausgegebenen Schreibens bei K. Chatzepsaltes, “Σχέσεις τῆς Κύπρου πρὸς τὸ ἐν Νικαῖα βυζαντινὸν κράτος,” *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* 15 (1951), pp. 63–82, hier pp. 75–77. Die von Laurent vermutete chronologische Spanne “1229–1232” ist nicht korrekt, weil das Schreiben (Z. 37–38) das Martyrium der orthodoxen Mönche erwähnt, welches auf den 19. Mai 1231 datiert ist; vgl. P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, Bd. 2, CFHB 12 (Wien, 1977), p. 192. Auf der anderen Seite ist in dem Schreiben von der “Unterwerfung” (ὑποταγή) unter die lateinische Kirche die Rede. Chatzepsaltes bezieht diese auf die Beschlüsse der nikänischen Synode von 1223 (Laurent, *Regestes*, Nr. 1234). Diese Bezugnahme ist durchaus möglich, doch berichtet eine Chroniknotiz in derselben Handschrift, die den Brief überliefert (vgl. folg. Anm.), dass auch im Jahre 1238 (22. Juli) eine solche Unterwerfung stattgefunden habe oder vielleicht überhaupt erst zu diesem Zeitpunkt (Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, pp. 193–194). Der Brief könnte also auch 1238 geschrieben sein.

¹¹ Beschreibung bei A. Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi* (Vatikan, 1964), pp. 113–114. Alle mit der Handschrift in Zusammenhang stehenden Fragen werden ausführlich dargestellt in der Studie von A. Beihammer, *Griechische Briefe und Urkunden aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrzeit. Die Formelsammlung eines königlichen Sekretärs im Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 367* (Nikosia, 2007).

¹² Lampros, “Κυπριακὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἔγγραφα ἐκ τοῦ Παλατινοῦ κώδικος 367,” *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 14 (1917), pp. 14–50; 15 (1921), pp. 141–165, 337–356.

offizielle Briefe, die für die Beziehungen zwischen Nikaia und Zypern bedeutsam sind. Sie stellen die einzigen Urkunden dar, die wir aus dem gegenseitigen Staatsverkehr besitzen. Es liegen zwei Schreiben von König Heinrich I. vor, der zwischen 1232 und 1253 regierte. Er bezeichnet sich dort als ὁ καὶ προνοία θεοῦ Ἑρρῆς ῥήξ τῆς περιωνόμου Κύπρου bzw. τῆς περιλαλήτου μεγαλονήσου Κύπρου. Damit ist auch eine relative Datierung möglich, da Heinrich 1246 den Titel eines Herrn von Jerusalem annahm. Er selbst nennt sich ἡ ῥηγικὴ ἐξουσία μου. Johannes Dukas Vatatzes wird in der ersten Zeile angesprochen als θεόστεπτε, θεοφρούρητε ἀειαύγουστε, πανευσεβέστατε, μέγιστε βασιλεῦ καὶ αὐτοκράτορ Ῥωμαίων. Dies entspricht ganz der Titulatur, die dem Kaiser des byzantinischen Reiches zukommt,¹³ und ist Ausdruck der vollen Anerkennung Johannes' III. als einzigen rhomäischen Kaisers, die durch die mehrfache Bezeichnung ἡ κραταιὰ καὶ ἀγία σου βασιλεία bestätigt wird. Bemerkenswert ist aber ein dritter Brief, gerichtet an die Kaiserin Eirene "Komnene," die erste Frau des Johannes Dukas Vatatzes, die 1239 starb. Er ist auch deshalb von besonderer Bedeutung, weil es sich um den einzigen an eine byzantinische Kaiserin gerichteten und erhaltenen offiziellen Auslandsbrief in der gesamten byzantinischen Geschichte handelt. Eirene war die Tochter Theodoros I. Laskaris und nur entfernt mit den Komnenen verwandt.¹⁴ Heinrich titulierte sie πανευσεβεστάτη ἀυγούστα sowie ἀυθέντρα καὶ θεία (Tante) μου, wie er auch Johannes in den beiden genannten Briefen als θεῖος (Onkel) bezeichnet.¹⁵ Es scheint, dass sich auch die Kaiserin in die Angelegenheit um die griechische Kirche in Zypern eingeschaltet hat, und König Heinrich die kirchenpolitischen

¹³ F. Dölger, *Die Entwicklung der byzantinischen Kaisertitulatur*, in ders., *Byzantinische Diplomatik* (Ettal, 1956), pp. 130–151.

¹⁴ Eine Verbindung der Familie der Laskariden mit den Komnenen lässt sich nicht exakt nachweisen; vgl. D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), p. 139 und Anm. 5. Doch kann die Bezeichnung "Komnene" auch auf der Verwandtschaft der Vatatzes-Familie mit den Komnenen beruhen; vgl. K. Barzos, *Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, Bd. 2. (Thessalonike, 1984), pp. 382–389. Zum Titel siehe auch A. Beihammer, "Byzantine Chancery Tradition in Frankish Cyprus: The Case of the MS Palatinus Graecus 367," in S. Fourrier und G. Grivaud, Hrsg., *Identités croisées en un milieu méditerranéen: le cas de Chypre (Antiquité-Moyen Âge)* (Rouen, 2006), pp. 301–315, bes. pp. 310–313.

¹⁵ Es ist von einer fiktiven Verwandtschaft nach dem byzantinischen Prinzip der "Familie der Könige" auszugehen, in der Heinrich (gleichzeitig mit der politischen Anerkennung) zum Neffen des byzantinischen Kaisers wurde. Diese Briefe, die die Antwortschreiben veranlassten, sind nicht erhalten. Vgl. auch Beihammer, "Byzantine Chancery Tradition," p. 313.

Spannungen auf der höchsten Ebene der Herrscher zu lösen bemüht war.¹⁶ Sowohl der Brief des Erzbischofs als auch die drei Briefe an den nikänischen Kaiser und die Kaiserin sind am ehesten zwischen 1238 und vor dem Tod der Königin (1239) verfasst.

Zypern und Byzanz in späteren Quellen

An dieser Stelle sind einige Worte zur Quellensituation notwendig. Die drei Briefe, die auf die Schutzfunktion des byzantinischen Kaisers und die staatsrechtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Zypern und Nikaia ein interessantes Licht werfen, sind unikale Dokumente. Sie zeigen, gerade durch die Betonung der (pseudo-)verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen, welchen Wert Heinrich auf eine diplomatische Glättung der Spannungen legte und wie er immer wieder die Superiorität des byzantinischen Kaisertums gegenüber Zypern unterstreicht. Sie beweisen aber auch auf der anderen Seite, dass für den byzantinischen Kaiser nur diplomatische, niemals kriegerische Maßnahmen denkbar sind. Man sollte aber auch nicht vergessen, dass wir ohne diese Briefe, die zufällig als diplomatische Übungsstücke erhalten sind, über die Beziehungen zwischen Nikaia und Zypern nichts wüssten. Georgios Akropolites, "offizieller" Historiker des nikänischen Reiches und Augenzeuge all dieser Vorgänge, berichtet darüber mit keinem Wort.

Erst mehr als 50 Jahre später, im Jahr 1294, erscheint Zypern wieder auf der Ebene staatlicher Beziehungen, als Kaiser Andronikos II. seinen nunmehr sechzehnjährigen Sohn Michael IX. verheiraten will. Georgios Pachymeres, und in seiner Folge Nikephoros Gregoras schildern relativ ausführlich die Vorgänge.¹⁷ Die Initiative scheint von Zypern, nicht Byzanz ausgegangen zu sein, da Pachymeres von den προσλιπαροῦντες (eifrigen Bewerbern), darunter auch ἐκ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ ῥηγός¹⁸ spricht. Für die Wertschätzung, die der byzantinische

¹⁶ Dieser Brief berührt auch die Chronologie der beiden oben genannten, die Dölger, ohne Berücksichtigung des Briefs an die Kaiserin, zwischen "1240 und 1246" annimmt: *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, bearbeitet von F. Dölger, 3. Teil: *Regesten von 1204–1282*, zweite erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von P. Wirth (München, 1977), Nr. 1768 a–c.

¹⁷ *Georgios Pachymères, Relations historiques IX*, 5, ed. A. Failler, Bd. 3, CFHB 24 (Paris, 1999), pp. 226–229; *Nikephoros Gregoras, Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen, Bd. 1, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* 19 (Bonn, 1829), pp. 193, 14–194, 15.

¹⁸ *Pachymères*, ed. Failler, p. 229, 3–4.

Kaiser mit dem Ziel der Legation verband, und die gleichzeitig auch die Bedeutung des zypriotischen Königtums widerspiegelt, spricht die Zusammensetzung der Gesandtschaft mit Johannes Glykys und Theodoros Metochites an der Spitze.¹⁹ Nikephoros Gregoras kommentiert dieses Faktum folgendermaßen:

Sie wurden nicht nur wegen ihrer politischen Erfahrung ausgewählt, sondern auch, weil sie an Umfang ihres Wissens und an Reichtum ihrer Weisheit alle anderen weit übertrafen. Denn sie waren nicht nur in unserer göttlichen Lehre bewandert, sondern in allen profanen Wissenschaften. Das ist nötig für Leute, die als Gesandte ausländische Völker besuchen, damit ihre Zunge wohl artikuliert sei und sie in jedem Disput, welcher Art auch immer, siegen.

Trotz der hochkarätigen Gesandtschaft scheiterte das zypriotische Projekt, weil erst eine Genehmigung des Papstes für die Eheschließung hätte eingeholt werden müssen.²⁰

Nicht byzantinische, sondern zypriotische Quellen berichten von einem weiteren Eheprojekt auf der Ebene der Herrscher im Jahre 1372.²¹ Die Initiative war diesmal von Byzanz ausgegangen, dessen Kaiser Johannes V. Palaiologos seine einzige Tochter Eirene mit dem gerade fünfzehnjährigen, eben gekrönten König Peter II. verheiraten wollte. Verhandlungsführer waren ein gewisser Georgios Bardales, der prosopographisch nur in diesem Zusammenhang bekannt ist, und ein anonymen deutscher Ritter. Es lassen sich freilich keine Gründe finden, warum die Gesandtschaft auf so niedrigem Niveau besetzt war und vielleicht auch deshalb scheiterte.²² Die angebotene Mitgift scheint nicht gering: viele Orte in Griechenland und 50,000 Dukaten in Gold

¹⁹ Auch dieser hinterließ einen Bericht in seiner Vers-Autobiographie, vv. 474–521, *Dichtungen des Groß-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites*, ed. M. Treu (Potsdam, 1895), pp. 13–14.

²⁰ Wir erfahren aus keiner Quelle den Namen der Auserwählten, am wahrscheinlichsten die 1273 geborene Maria, die dann 1315 Jaime von Aragon heiratete. Helvis, nach 1280 geboren, war wohl zu jung; die übrigen drei Schwestern waren bereits verheiratet.

²¹ F. Dölger und P. Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, 5. Teil (München, 1965), Nr. 1372. Der Originalbericht bei Leontios Machairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled "Chronicle"*, ed. R. M. Dawkins, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), §§ 344–350 (pp. 326–331); vgl. auch die Darstellung bei Amadi, pp. 436–437.

²² Zu personeller Zusammensetzung und Aufgaben der Gesandtschaften in der Paläologenzeit siehe E. Malamut, "De 1299 à 1451 au coeur des ambassades byzantines," in Ch. Maltezos und P. Schreiner, *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo)* (Venedig, 2002), pp. 79–124 (unsere Gesandtschaft ist nicht behandelt).

neben anderen Gegenständen.²³ Politisch interessant ist das Angebot des Kaisers, die geistige Vaterschaft für den jungen König zu übernehmen, da auf diese Weise ein Abhängigkeitsverhältnis entstehen würde.²⁴ Die von Machairas mit aller Ausführlichkeit geschilderten Verhandlungen stellen eine Politfarce dar, in der die Geringschätzung des byzantinischen Kaisers nicht deutlicher hätte zum Ausdruck kommen können: (1) die königliche Familie bedankt sich für das Angebot und wünscht eine Verbindung, doch muss man das Votum der Ratgeber einholen; (2) die Ratgeber, die von alters her mit Hass gegen die Romäer erfüllt sind (so Machairas), raten ab, da die Auseinandersetzung mit den Genuesen die Sicherheit der kaiserlichen Braut auf der Insel gefährde. Man wolle vermeiden, dass die kaiserliche Tochter in die Hände der Genuesen falle; (3) die kaiserlichen Gesandten nehmen die abschlägigen Briefe entgegen, und antworten diplomatisch höflich: „Ihr seid klug, und da ihr so viele Probleme habt, wollen wir dies dem Kaiser sagen und es geschieht, wie Gott will.“ Machairas verschweigt auch nicht die wahren Hintergründe: einer der Notabeln wollte selbst seine Tochter mit dem König verheiraten.²⁵ Dieser Bericht ist nicht nur eines der schönsten Beispiele für intrigenreiche diplomatische Verhandlungen, sondern zeigt auch, wie wenig in diesen Jahrzehnten ein byzantinischer Kaiser galt: Vergessen durch Missachtung.

²³ Die tatsächliche Ausführung des Angebotes hätte sicher unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten bereitet, die am Hof in Nikosia nicht unbekannt gewesen sein dürften. Die Städte (wenn nicht überhaupt das fränkische Griechenland gemeint war) gehörten zu den „Apanagen“ von Manuel und Demetrios Kantakuzenos; vgl. D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, Bd. 1. (Paris, 1932), pp. 94–118. Hinsichtlich des Geldangebotes ist zu bedenken, dass noch 1371 Johannes V. nicht in der Lage war, die Staatsschulden an Venedig zurückzubezahlen; vgl. T. Bertelé, „I gioielli della corona bizantina dati in pegno alla repubblica Veneta nel sec. XIV e Mastino della Scala,“ in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, Bd. 2 (Milano, 1962), pp. 91–177. Woher ein Jahr später die enorme Summe hätte genommen werden sollen, bleibt rätselhaft.

²⁴ Wir kennen auch dieses Angebot nur aus den zypriotischen Quellen. Eine geistige Verwandtschaft im kanonistischen Sinn kann freilich nicht gemeint sein, da sie ein Ehehindernis dargestellt hätte. Vielmehr ist wiederum, wie schon im Fall von Johannes III. Dukas Vatatzes und Heinrich I., an eine Konstruktion im Rahmen der „Familie der Könige“ zu denken.

²⁵ Auch dieses Projekt kam nicht zustande, da letztlich der genuesische Einfluss siegte, und Valentina, eine Nichte des Bernabò Visconti, den König heiratete. Bemerkenswert ist die Anwesenheit der Margareta von Lusignan gerade zu diesem Zeitpunkt in Zypern (Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, § 345). Als Tochter des armenischen Königs Konstantin III. war sie eine weitläufige Verwandte der zypriotischen Königsfamilie. Verheiratet mit Manuel Kantakuzenos, dem „Despoten“ von Morea, der die als Mitgift genannten Orte (s. Anm. 22) hätte abgeben müssen, hat sie möglicherweise ihren Anteil am Scheitern der Verhandlungen.

Noch weniger über die Hintergründe wissen wir über die letzte Ehe zwischen Palaiologen und Lusignan, so dass nur Daten und Fakten bleiben: am 3. Februar 1442 heiratete Helena Palaiologina, Schwester des Theodoros II. von Morea und Nichte des letzten byzantinischen Kaisers, Johannes II. von Lusignan.²⁶ Als Konstantinopel im Herbst 1451 durch den geplanten Bau einer Bosphorusfestung des osmanischen Sultans Mehmed II. bedroht war, sollte ein Kontakt mit Zypern letzte Hilfe bringen, doch scheint die Mission nicht durchgeführt worden zu sein. Sie wäre dem Geschichtsschreiber Georgios Sphrantzes anvertraut worden, und sein Werk ist somit auch die letzte byzantinische Quelle, die über staatliche Kontakte berichtet.²⁷

Byzanz und die Lusignan in der zypriotischen Geschichtsschreibung

Byzanz spielt in der zypriotischen Geschichtsschreibung, verkörpert durch Leontios Machairas²⁸ und Francesco Amadi, keineswegs eine größere Rolle, als dies umgekehrt bei byzantinischen Historikern der Fall ist. Machairas resümiert die Geschichte Zyperns vom 4. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert auf einer knappen Buchseite: die arabische Periode und die nacharabische Periode. In dieser, so Machairas, mussten die Bewohner für den Schutz der Insel durch Geldzahlung selbst aufkommen, die ein Katepano einsammelte. Später schickte der Kaiser regelmäßig einen Dux, und als letzten den Isaak Komnenos.²⁹ Zypern (vor 1191) erscheint in dieser Darstellung als ein steuerlich selbständiger Teil des byzantinischen Reiches (das als Institution nie genannt ist), wohin der Kaiser von Zeit zu Zeit eine Person zur Kontrolle schickte. In Unkenntnis der historischen Vorgänge schreibt Machairas den Verlust Zyperns dem Tode Isaaks zu, "weil es nun niemanden gab, der es verteidigen konnte."³⁰ Aber die Gefahr einer Intervention des byzantinischen Kaisers schien wenigstens für Guy de Lusignan 1192 nicht ausgeschlossen: Das ganze Land war voll von Griechen—Machairas

²⁶ *PLP*, Nr. 21367.

²⁷ *Giorgio Sfranze, Cronaca*, ed. R. Maisano, CFHB 29 (Rom, 1990), cap. 33, 2 und 8, pp. 118 und 122.

²⁸ Zur historiographischen Einordnung der Chronik siehe A. Nikolaou-Konnari, "La chronique de Léontios Machairas," *Études Balkaniques. Cahiers Pierre Belon* 5 (1998), pp. 57–80.

²⁹ Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins § 9, p. 9.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, § 21 (Randnotiz in der Handschrift).

nennt sie Rhomaioi/Byzantiner. “Wenn sie gegen mich rebellieren und den Kaiser von Konstantinopel als Helfer haben wollen, dann können sie mit Gewalt mein Königreich entreißen.”³¹ Die politische Lähmung des byzantinischen Reiches im letzten Jahrzehnt des 12. Jahrhunderts ließ diese Befürchtung nicht Realität werden. Für Machairas gehört Byzanz von nun an der Vergangenheit an. An einer bemerkenswerten Stelle bringt er dies folgendermaßen zum Ausdruck:

Und weil von Natur aus zwei Herrscher in der Welt sind: der eine weltlich und der andere geistlich, so auch auf dieser Insel, der Kaiser von Konstantinopel und der Patriarch des großen Antiocheia, *bevor* die Insel die Lateiner in die Hände bekamen. Aus diesem Grund war es Brauch, dass wir in genereller Weise die Sprache der Rhomaier beherrschen (*và ξέρομεν ῥωμαϊκά καθολικά*), um Briefe an den Kaiser zu senden, und vollständig auch Syrisch. Und so haben (unsere Vorfahren) es ihren Kindern beigebracht, und die Kanzlei war aufgeteilt auf die syrische Sprache und die rhomaische, bis die Lusignan das Land nahmen und von da an begann man, Französisch zu lernen. Der königliche Hof war nämlich eine Gründung des Kaisers der Rhomaier und dort nahmen auch die Dukes ihren Sitz, wenn sie kamen. Und dann nahm ihre rhomaische Sprache barbarische Züge an, wie es heutzutage der Fall ist, und wir schreiben Französisch und Rhomaisch, so dass in der ganzen Welt niemand weiß, was denn mit uns geschehen ist.³²

Das Jahr 1191 ist also auch eine eindeutige Kulturgrenze, die in der Sprache der Kanzlei ihren Ausdruck findet.³³ So ist es eher Zufall, dass Machairas noch ein letztes Mal den byzantinischen Kaiser erwähnt, als er 1372 in Eheverhandlungen mit Peter II. tritt.³⁴

Die späte Geschichte des Amadi kann nur begrenzt für unsere Fragestellung verwendet werden.³⁵ Wir beschränken uns hier auf die Darstellung der *byzantinischen* Geschichte Zyperns. Während Machairas eine Zugehörigkeit der Insel zum byzantinischen Reich erwähnt, die nur durch die Araber unterbrochen worden war, fehlt bei Amadi auch

³¹ Ibid., § 22.

³² Ibid., § 20. Die Passage ist eingeschoben in die Herrschaftszeit Peters I. (1359–1369), doch ohne sichtbaren oder gerade an dieser Stelle notwendigen Bezug.

³³ Zu den Literatursprachen in Zypern, auch mit Hinweis auf die zitierte Stelle (p. 10) siehe A. Nikolaou-Konnari, “Literary Languages in the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus in the Thirteenth-Century,” *Μολυβδοκονδυλοπελεκητής* 5 (2000), pp. 7–17.

³⁴ S. oben S. 401–402. Machairas scheint es an dieser Stelle in erster Linie darum zu gehen, eine Hofintrige breit auszuwälzen.

³⁵ Zu Person und Charakteristik seines Werkes s. F. Thiriet, “Peut-on parler d’un sentiment patriotique chez les chroniqueurs chypriotes du moyen âge,” in *Πρακτικά του Δευτέρου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου*, Bd. 2 (Nikosia, 1986), pp. 185–199.

dieses Element. Die Inselbewohner erbitten nur gegen die Piraten (nicht die Araber) den militärischen Schutz des Kaisers, zur Zeit der “Duces,” deren letzter, Isaak Komnenos, vor Richard Löwenherz geflohen war. Ein grundsätzlicher Anspruch des Reiches auf die Insel fehlt ganz in diesem Geschichtsbild, in dem (ähnlich wie bei Machairas) auch ausführlich darauf hingewiesen wird, dass die Bevölkerung für ihren eigenen Schutz mit Steuern bezahlt habe. Auf dieser Basis konnte, wenigstens in den Augen des Geschichtsschreibers, kein Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit zum byzantinischen Staat vorhanden sein.

Diese Haltung der zypriotischen Geschichtsschreibung wird verständlich und erklärbar durch die Sonderstellung der Insel, die ihr im byzantinischen Reich wegen der Insellage und der Notwendigkeit einer funktionierenden Flotte, wie sie im 12. Jahrhundert nicht mehr existierte,³⁶ immer zukam. Hier ist das Schicksal Kretas mit dem Zyperns vielfach vergleichbar. Byzanz hat mehr als 300 Jahre lang (649–965) den neutralen Status der Insel nicht bestritten³⁷ und bereits hier deutlich die Theorie der begrenzten Ökumene in der Praxis unter Beweis gestellt.³⁸ Mit dem Vordringen der Seldschuken nach Kleinasien seit der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts war Zypern wiederum vom Festland her isoliert. Die Verwaltung durch Ducen, der die zypriotische Geschichtsschreibung sicher zu Recht epochalen Charakter zubilligt, schwächte den Einfluss der Zentralmacht und führte auch zu Aufständen gegen den byzantinischen Kaiser.³⁹ Die fünfjährige autonome Herrschaft des Isaak Komnenos hat die Insel gänzlich vom Zentrum Konstantinopels abgekoppelt.⁴⁰ Die faktische Unmöglichkeit des Kaisers, die Insel militärisch zurückzuerobern, hat sie der Zentralmacht Byzanz gänzlich entfremdet,

³⁶ H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer* (Paris, 1966), pp. 280–297.

³⁷ R. J. H. Jenkins, “Cyprus Between Byzantium and Islam, A.D. 685–965,” in ders., *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries*, Variorum Collected Studies (London, 1970), Nr. XXII.

³⁸ T. C. Lounghis, “Die byzantinische Ideologie der ‘begrenzten Ökumene’ und die römische Frage im ausgehenden 10. Jahrhundert,” *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995), pp. 117–128, und ausführlicher ders., *Η ιδεολογία της βυζαντινής ιστοριογραφίας* (Athen, 1993).

³⁹ Eine gründliche Darstellung dieses Zeitraumes fehlt. Die Studie von A. Demosthenous, *Η βυζαντινή Κύπρος (965–1191). Υλικός και πνευματικός πολιτισμός* (Thessalonike, 2002) widmet sich ganz den im Untertitel bezeichneten Fragen.

⁴⁰ Die politische Verselbständigung von Randzonen ist ein Phänomen besonders des späten 12. Jahrhunderts, vgl. R. Radić, “Oblacni gospodari u Vizantiji krajem XII i u prvim decenjanu XIII veka,” *Žbormik Radova, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti*, n. s., 14–15 (1986), pp. 151–289. Der Fall Isaaks und Zyperns ist hier nicht behandelt.

falls man überhaupt von dieser Form der Abhängigkeit jemals auf der Insel besonders begeistert war.

Byzanz ist vergessen, weil es als Staat nie präsent war, oder nur in negativer Hinsicht, um Steuern zu erheben. Die Herrschaft der Lusignan, die nie einer diplomatischen oder gar militärischen Attacke der Byzantiner ausgesetzt war, ist nur der Abschluss einer Entwicklung, die schon Jahrhunderte früher einsetzte. Zypern unter den Lusignan und Byzanz waren im Verhältnis zueinander auswärtige Staaten.

RELIGION IN CATHOLIC-MUSLIM CORRESPONDENCE AND TREATIES

Benjamin Z. Kedar

As every student of medieval Catholic and Muslim diplomatics knows, Catholic as well as Muslim instruments were permeated with religious concepts and allusions. It is also well known that the concepts and allusions of one of these two civilizations were largely unacceptable, to say the least, to members of the other. Under these circumstances, how was it possible to maintain written communication between entities pertaining to these two civilizations, which displayed, in addition, markedly divergent conventions of verbal expression?

An incident in the 950s exemplifies how easily such communication could lead to a diplomatic deadlock, or worse. When the caliph of Cordova, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān III, sent a mission to Otto I of Germany that was to establish amicable relations between the two, the king's men complained that the caliph's letter contained blasphemies against Christ. This could hardly have been true, as it was a Spanish bishop who conveyed the caliph's letter to the German court. Possibly the letter contained some reference to Islamic tenets that medieval Catholics would consider insulting. In any case, Otto reacted to the alleged blasphemy by sending to Cordova the monk John of Gorze with a letter sternly rebutting the caliph's false beliefs. The caliph's men got wind of the letter's contents and, upon John's arrival in Cordova, prevented him from presenting it to the caliph. They maintained that if John were to do so, the caliph would have been obligated to put him to death, for whosoever attacks Islam must suffer capital punishment. Yet John remained adamant in his intent to deliver Otto's letter to the caliph, and did not budge even when warned that such delivery would entail not only his own death but also that of Muslim Spain's Christians. The impasse lasted well over a year, with John kept in isolation in a villa outside the town. Finally John consented to ask Otto for new instructions and remained in Cordova while the caliph's mission made its way to Germany. Otto decided to send a milder letter (*litterae mitiores*), wishing as he did to obtain the caliph's cooperation in checking Muslim depredations—probably by the Muslims of Fraxinetum. Upon the mission's

return to Cordova, John was released from his almost three-year-long isolation and finally admitted into the caliph's presence. The crisis was over. Otto's original, offensive letter was never officially presented; it became what one would call today a non-paper.¹ Unfortunately, neither the text of Otto's first letter, nor that of the milder second one, has come down to us.

More than a century later, in 1076, Pope Gregory VII chose to adopt a strikingly conciliatory approach in his letter to the Berber ruler an-Nāṣir b. 'Alennās. Intent on maintaining friendly relations with an-Nāṣir—whom he addresses as "Anazir, king of Mauretania"—Gregory uses the word *Deus* no less than seven times in his short letter, avoiding the word *Christus* throughout. Moreover, the pope writes that it was "God, the creator of all" who inspired an-Nāṣir to set free Christian captives, goes on to expound that "Omnipotent God" expects men to love one another, and declares that charity is especially called for in relations between "us and you"—meaning Christians and Muslims. This is so because both groups believe in one God, though in different manners (*licet diverso modo*), and worship him daily as creator and ruler of this world.² Modern historians have acclaimed Gregory's formulation as an early Catholic recognition of Islam's monotheism, and it figures as such in a footnote to the *Declaratio de Ecclesiae habitudine ad religiones non-christianas*, issued by the Second Vatican Council in 1965.³ It should however be noted that in Pope Gregory's letters to Christian addressees he consistently refers to the Muslims as pagans, underlines their cruelty and ferocity, and once even speaks of "impious Saracens."⁴ We may therefore conclude that while the views expressed in the letter to an-Nāṣir were certainly novel, even revolutionary, they should also be appraised within their specific context, that is, as serving Gregory's immediate purpose to facilitate communication with the Berber ruler

¹ *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis auctore Iohanne abbate S. Arnulfi*, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH Scriptores 4: pp. 369–77; E. Ashtor, *The Jews of Moslem Spain*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1973–1984), 1: pp. 170–176.

² *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. E. Caspar, MGH Epistulae selectae 2 (Berlin, 1920–1923), 3. 21, pp. 287–288.

³ R. C. Schwinges, *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz: Studien zu Wilhelm von Tyrus* (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 134–135; *Declaratio de Ecclesiae habitudine ad religiones non-christianas*, art. 3, n. 5 in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche: Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, vol. 2 (Freiburg i. Br., 1967), p. 490.

⁴ *Das Register Gregors VII*, 1. 7, 23, 49; 2. 3, 9, 31; 3. 11; 4. 28; 6. 16, pp. 11, 39, 75, 128, 139, 166, 272, 346, 421.

and win his trust. This is also true of some later expressions of conciliatory attitudes.⁵

Gregory VII's characterization of Islam as monotheistic in his letter to an-Nāṣir b. 'Alennās is striking not only in comparison to Otto I's letter to 'Abd ar-Raḥman III, but also when compared to the letter Pope Innocent III sent in 1199 to the Almohad caliph, another an-Nāṣir. Innocent's is a friendly letter that aims at facilitating the exchange of Christian and Muslim captives by the recently founded Trinitarian Order—yet it refers repeatedly to Muslims as pagans!⁶ Evidently Innocent III did not share the view of William of Malmesbury, who in about 1136 described Christians, Jews and Saracens as “sects” that differ with regard to the Son, but worship God the Father and Creator; or the attitude of Otto of Freising, who observed that all Saracens worship a single God; or the outlook of William of Tyre, who in his chronicle consistently avoided the term *pagani* when speaking of Muslims.⁷ (The translator who read the Arabic translation of Pope Innocent's letter before the Almohad caliph would have been wise to render the Latin *pagani* with *muslimūn*.) It is also noteworthy that Innocent III addressed his letter *illustri Miramolino regi Marrochetano*—evidently, a Latin translation of the caliphal title *amīr al-mu'minīn*—as *dux fidelium*, *princeps credentium* or the like—would have been unacceptable or even blasphemous in the pope's eyes, and therefore recourse was taken to *Miramolinus*, a rough transliteration of the Arabic title. One may surmise that for the same reason the term *Miramolinus* (and its many variants) became a stock ingredient in Christian correspondence with, or concerning, the caliphs.⁸

⁵ See n. 13 below.

⁶ K.-E. Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels*, Studi e Testi 291 (Vatican City, 1981), no. 1, p. 107.

⁷ See B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 87–88.

⁸ See for instance Lupprian, *Beziehungen*, no. 5, 11–12, 13, pp. 116, 127, 128; *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856–1857), 2: pp. 185, 187, 190–191, 3: p. 118; M. Amari, *I diplomi arabi del R. Archivio fiorentino* (Florence, 1863), pp. 262, 264, 267, 269, 283, 285, 295, 303; L. de Mas Latrie, *Traité de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des Chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique septentrionale au Moyen Age*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1866), 2: pp. 27, 43, 55, 122, 125, 127, 187, 189, 203, 211, 216, 232, 244, 280–290, 296, 306.

Pedro Alfonsi, the Spanish Jew who converted to Christianity in 1106, coined the Latin term *Musulmitica religio* when describing Islam's tenets and rites in his *Dialogus*;⁹ the term might have served as an apt Latin translation of the word "Islam." But although the *Dialogus* enjoyed wide diffusion in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the term *Musulmitica religio* did not make its way into the language of chanceries. When an anonymous translator rendered into Latin Saladin's letter of 1189 to Frederick Barbarossa, he used the term *paganismus* where the original Arabic letter, which has not come down to us, must have had *Islam*.¹⁰ The anonymous translator was evidently intent on, and fully capable of, providing an exact translation of Saladin's letter; its Islamic traits included: he rendered correctly the epithets of Allah with which the letter starts, referred to Muhammad as God's messenger and prophet, paraphrased verse 33 of the 9th Sura, and concluded by mentioning Saladin's titles, such as *servitor duarum sanctarum domorum et sancte domus Ierusalem*, which amounts to a precise translation of *ḥādīm al-ḥaramayn aš-šarīfayn wa-ḥādā l-bayt al-muqaddas*, a formula used by Saladin in an inscription of 1191.¹¹ The translator's recourse to the term *paganismus* to denote Islam should therefore not be taken as a sign of professional incompetence or of deep-seated disdain toward Islam; it reflects the absence of an adequate term in the Latin diplomatic language of the age.¹²

Saladin's letter to Frederick Barbarossa was a reply to Frederick's warning that unless Saladin restored the Holy Land he occupied and profaned, Frederick would wage war against him. It is instructive to compare the protocols of the two letters: the emperor, who styles himself *Fredericus dei gracia Romanorum imperator et semper augustus et hostium imperii magnificus triumphator*, tersely addresses his letter *Salahadino presidi Saracenorum*. Saladin, in his turn, addresses the reply *sincero amico magno*,

⁹ *Dialogus Petri cognomento Alphonsi, ex Iudaeo Christiani et Moysi Iudaei*, PL 157, col. 599B.

¹⁰ For a critical edition of the epistolary exchange between Frederick and Saladin, see *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum. Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed. H. E. Mayer, MGH, Schriften 18 (Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 278–288. Omnes reges paganismi: p. 285, lines 1–2; in tempore paganismi: p. 287, lines 24–25; Soldani Sarracenorum et paganorum: p. 288, lines 11–12.

¹¹ E. Combe, J. Sauvaget and G. Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, vol. 9 (Cairo, 1937), no. 3447, pp. 174–175.

¹² Similarly, one may assume that the translator decided to leave the word *Mirmuraenus*—a variant of *Miramolinus*—untranslated because he was aware of its frequent use in Latin letters.

excelso Frederico, regi Alemannie, and later expresses a doubt *sincero, potenti, magno amico, amicabile regi Alimannie* as to whether the menacing letter conveyed to him by Count Henry of Dietz had really been sent by Frederick. In all, letter and reply stand out for their bellicose message; each of them would qualify in another age as an ultimatum; yet the disparity in rhetoric is striking.

A comparison of the protocols of papal letters to Muslim rulers and of the replies of these rulers to the popes, preserved in their translation into Latin, reveals a similar difference. Here are two typical examples. The letter of 1233 by which Pope Gregory IX invites the sultan al-Kāmil of Cairo to convert starts with a concise protocol that hints at the letter's purpose: *Gregorius, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, nobili viro soldano Babilonie, viam agnoscere veritatis*.¹³ But when al-Kāmil's son and successor in Egypt, aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, writes to Pope Innocent IV in 1245, he addresses him as follows:

Presentie pape nobilis, magni, spiritualis, affectuosi, sancti, tertii decimi apostolorum, universalis loquele Christianorum, manutentis adoratores crucis, iudicis populi Christiani, ductoris filiorum baptismatis, summi pontificis Christianorum—confirmet eum deus et det sibi felicitatem.¹⁴

Muslim rulers routinely used such pompous language also in their correspondence with secular Christian rulers. For instance, an Arabic-written letter that the Ayyubid Sultan al-ʿĀdil sent to the consuls (*al-qanāsila*) of Pisa hails them as “brave and valiant knights, lions of Christendom, chiefs of the Frankish people, defenders of the religion of the baptized.”¹⁵ According to a contemporary French translation of a letter al-Malik an-Nāṣir of Aleppo sent in 1264 to the Venetian Doge Ranieri Zeno, the sultan addresses the doge as:

¹³ Lupprian, *Beziehungen*, no. 14, p. 130. Similarly, the letter that Oliver, scholast of Cologne and later bishop of Paderborn, wrote to the Sultan al-Kāmil started (according to a 13th-century MS of Tournai) with the sentence: *Oliverus, Dei gracia Paderbrunenensis episcopus, Mechikemel omnino cognoscere veritatem: Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina, Oliverus*, ed. H. Hoogeweg, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 202 (Tübingen, 1894), p. 296, apparatus. But Oliver's warmth toward the sultan, whom he wishes to convert, does not prevent him from referring elsewhere to the Muslims as “*gens illa perfida*,” *ibid.*, p. 267. A statement's specific context must always be taken into account. This is true also of Usāma b. Munqid's remark about his Templar friends: we should remember that, at the time, the Franks and the Damascenes were allies.

¹⁴ The subsequent *intitulatio* of the sultan is no less effusive. See Lupprian, *Beziehungen*, no. 22, pp. 151–152.

¹⁵ Amari, *I diplomati arabi*, p. 69.

le noble, le grant, le vigoros, le pros, le hardi, le sosteneor des leis de Jhesu Crist, la gloire del peuple de nostre Signor, l'auanceor des generacions de la crois, le honor de [la] partie des Frans, l'apoeior des enfans del baptesme, le uictorien des enfans de Crestiente.¹⁶

The voluminous manual of diplomacy that the Egyptian chancery clerk al-Qalqašandī completed in 1412, but which is based on earlier material, attests that this usage continued also under the Mamluks. This, for instance, is the protocol of letters to be dispatched, according to the manual, to the ruler of Toledo: “Be that God prolong the existence of His Majesty . . . the illustrious, magnanimous king, the courageous and valiant lion, descendant of Caesar, King of Toledo and of the adjacent provinces, hero of Christendom, maintainer of the sons of baptism, standard-bearer of Christianity, equal to *Mār Yūḥannā* [= Saint John the Baptist], *muḥibb al-muslimān* [= friend of the Muslims], favorite of kings and sultans.”¹⁷

According to Matthew Paris, it was a cardinal who rendered the 1245 letter of Sultan aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb to Pope Innocent IV into Latin, translating it from the Arabic *de verbo ad verbum*.¹⁸ Cardinal or not, there was at the Papal Curia of the mid-1240s a man capable of accurately translating an Arabic text; most probably he translated all seven letters that various Ayyubid rulers sent Pope Innocent IV in the years 1245–1246.¹⁹ The anonymous translator attempts to render faithfully the Islamic formulas; for instance, the *ḥamdala* assumes this Latin guise: *Laus deo soli et benedictio eius super dominum nostrum Mahaumetum et super genus ipsius, ipse sit pax nostra*.²⁰ Moreover, he does not shrink from translating long passages that dwell on Muhammad's mission and the tenets of Islam, or from including quotations from the Koran. Even

¹⁶ *Urkunden*, ed. Tafel and Thomas, 3: p. 61; see also *ibid.*, 2: pp. 64, 185, 192.

¹⁷ H. Lammens, “Correspondances diplomatiques entre les sultans mamlouks d'Égypte et les puissances chrétiennes,” *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 9 (1904), p. 165 (translation), p. 375 (text). Al-Qalqašandī writes that he is quoting this formula from the *Tāʾrīf* of al-ʿUmarī, who died in 1348. For similar protocols, see Lammens, “Correspondances,” pp. 167, 176–179.

¹⁸ *Litterae missae a Soldano Babiloniae domino Papae, quas unus cardinalium transtulit de Arabico in Latinum verbo ad verbum fideli interpretatione*: Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols. (London 1872–1883), 4: p. 566.

¹⁹ Lupprian, *Beziehungen*, no. 22–27, pp. 150–175.

²⁰ Lupprian, *Beziehungen*, no. 22, p. 154; cf. no. 23, 24, 25, 25a, 26, pp. 157, 165, 167, 169, 172. For other, mostly less exact renderings of the *ḥamdala* in translated Ayyubid instruments for Pisa and Venice from the years 1179–1244, see H.-A. Hein, *Beiträge zur ayyubidischen Diplomatie* (Freiburg i. Br., 1968), p. 79.

the term *amīr al-mu'minīn*—which, as we have seen, was elsewhere left untranslated—is here correctly transliterated, translated and explained as *emir el muminin, id est imperator fidelium, qui est calīpha*.²¹ And yet here, too, a correct term for Muslims or Islam is missing, with the translator having recourse to the obviously inadequate *lex Sarracenorum*.²² Still, the translation is outstanding, especially when one compares it to the Latin translation of the letter of protection the same sultan, aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, issued in 1244 to the Venetians; in that translation the sultan figures as *Soldanus paganorum omnium*.²³

When did Catholics start dispatching Arabic-written letters to Muslim addressees? Extant correspondence between Pisa and various Muslim rulers proves that, already in the twelfth century, the commune employed scribes capable of writing such letters. These letters deviate from the convention of Muslim diplomatics in one important respect. They routinely employ such Islamic formulas as the *basmala*, that is, the invocation “In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.” For instance, a letter of 1 July 1181 that the Pisans sent to the Almohad Caliph Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf addresses him as *amīr al-mu'minīn, imām al-muwahhīdīn*, and God is asked to allow the caliph’s city of Biḡāya (= Bougie) prosper. Yet the letter makes no reference to the Prophet.²⁴ This conspicuous exclusion of Muhammad recurs in other Pisan Arabic-written letters.²⁵ Even in the letter of 29 March 1215 to al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt, which addresses him as “Sultan of Islam and the Muslims” (*ṣultān al-islām wa-l-muslimīn*), the Prophet goes unmentioned.²⁶ The exclusion stands out against the background of the Arabic-written letters that Muslim rulers and officials sent to Pisa in the same period, which habitually

²¹ Lupprian, *Beziehungen*, no. 24, p. 159; see also p. 163. In a treaty the Venetians made with al-Malik al-ʿĀdil between 1205 and 1218, the term is translated as *Papa Sarracenorum*: Hein, *Beiträge*, p. 34.

²² Lupprian, *Beziehungen*, no. 24, p. 163. In the Latin translation of the agreement Frederick II made in 1231 with the ruler of Tunis, there appear the terms *lex mahometismi* and *lex christianismi*, as well as *Mahometani* along with *Christiani*; and *amir al-mu'minīn* is translated as *imperator fidelium*: *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, ed. J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, 6 vols. (Paris, 1852–1861), 3: pp. 276–280. But, as L. de Mas Latrie observed, this appears to be a modern Latin translation of a lost Arabic original: Mas Latrie, *Traité*s, 2: p. 153, n. 1.

²³ Hein, *Beiträge*, p. 35.

²⁴ Amari, *I diplomi arabi*, pp. 10–13.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 7–9, 70–71.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 81–82.

mention Muhammad.²⁷ In other words, in their letters to Muslim rulers the Pisan scribes were ready to use Islamic monotheistic formulas, as well as the Arabic terms for “Islam” and “Muslims,” but drew the line at mentioning Muhammad or his prophethood. Moreover, the contemporary Latin or vernacular versions of the Arabic-written letters to Muslim rulers could significantly diverge from the Arabic texts. Thus a comparison of the Arabic and Latin versions of the 1181 letter to the Caliph Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf reveals that in the version earmarked for Catholic readers the Pisan scribe suppressed an Islamic formula and even resorted to an ambiguous benediction: while the Arabic version expresses the wish that God grant victory to the caliph, the Latin one skips the mention of victory and wishes the caliph *salutem et fidele servitium in Domino, qui salvat omnes sperantes in se*, which may be interpreted as an oblique call for his conversion.²⁸ Again, the absence of Latin equivalents for the terms “Muslims” and “Islam” led Pisan scribes to simply transliterate them as *Elmuselemin* and *elleselem*,²⁹ while the scribe who prepared the vernacular rendering of the above-mentioned letter of 1215 to al-Malik al-Kāmil chose to address him as *soldan delli Turchi et delli Persi*, a faint counterpart of *sultān al-islām wa-l-muslimīn* of the Arabic version.³⁰

Yet Pisan reticence to mention the Prophet was confined to letters to Muslim rulers: in Latin and vernacular translations of letters that Muslim rulers sent to Pisa, Muhammad’s name and prophethood are repeatedly mentioned. For instance, the Latin translation of a letter an Egyptian vizier sent to Pisa in 1155 avers: *Benedictio Dei sit super avum nostrum Muahacmet, Prophetam nostrum*,³¹ and the translation of Saladin’s letter to Pisa of 1177 has the sultan stating that a previous Pisan message was rendered *in linguam arabicam, cum qua lingua arabica Deus mandavit*

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 17–47, 55–58.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 7, 269.

²⁹ In the Latin translation of an Egyptian letter of 1154, *seif Eliselef* stands for *sayf al-islām*, *Elmuselemin* for *al-muslimīn*, and other Islamic formulas are similarly transliterated; the Latin translation of an Egyptian letter of 1155 has *seif elleselem* and *elmunselemin*; that of a letter of 1156—*ef elisselen*: Amari, *I diplomī arabi*, pp. 241, 251, 254. For a transliteration accompanied by an explication, see the phrase in Frederick II’s 1229 treaty with al-Malik al-Kāmil: *L’emperere ne doit touchier la Geemelaza [= Ġāmi‘ al-Aqṣā], che est le temple Salomon*: MGH, *Epistulae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum*, ed. G. H. Pertz and C. Rodenberg (Berlin, 1883), p. 297.

³⁰ Amari, *I diplomī arabi*, pp. 81–82, 284.

³¹ Ibid., p. 251; see also, *ibid.*, pp. 241, 261, 288.

Prophetam suum, dominum omnium prophetarum.³² Thus the documentation attests to different strategies adopted for dealing with Islamic religious terms: the Prophet and Islamic formulas appear in Latin translations of letters sent by Muslims, Islamic formulas with the exclusion of the Prophet appear in Arabic-written letters to Muslims, and the Islamic formulas are diluted or replaced by Christian ones in the letters' versions intended for Catholics. A similar diversity appears on the Muslim side: whereas official Muslim letters to Pisa are replete with references to the Prophet, Muslims who sent private letters to Pisan merchants evidently chose to take into account their correspondents' sensitivities and refrained from mentioning Muhammad.³³

Arabic-written letters could be translated in full or in part, or just summarized; translations of bilateral treaties, on the other hand, had to render the various stipulations accurately.³⁴ How did Latins cope with the effusive, distinctly Islamic language of Arabic-written treaties?

An examination of a large number of Latin or vernacular renderings of such treaties reveals three basic approaches. The first was to fully translate the Arabic text, retaining its Islamic invocations and verbosity: this is true for instance of Pisa's treaty with Egypt in 1154 and Venice's treaties with Tunis in the years 1231, 1271, 1305 and 1317.³⁵ Such rendering of Islamic invocations must have been a strain for a Christian scribe such as Ranieri Scorialupi, the Pisan who was assigned to write down the vernacular translation of the Pisan-Tunisian treaty of 1264. The translation, which contains such phrases as *lo signore califfo grande et alto, per la gratia di Dio, elmire Momini Buabidelle... cui Dio mantegna, et diali la sua bona volontade, et rimagna a li Saracini la sua benedictione!*, evidently disturbed the good scribe to the point that he decided to ward off the consequences of having to write such sacrilegious sentences by stating at the very outset: *Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia. Ave Maria, gratia plena; Dominus tecum*.³⁶

The second approach was to abbreviate the Arabic text and shorten or even suppress the Islamic expressions. It is easy to observe these

³² Ibid., p. 264.

³³ Ibid., pp. 48–62.

³⁴ For a systematic comparison of the original and translated versions of treaties between Catholic and Maghrebi rulers, see Mas Latrie, *Traités* 1: pp. 269–310.

³⁵ Amari, *I diplomati arabi*, pp. 241–245; Mas Latrie, *Traités* 2: pp. 196–199, 203, 211–221. The treaties bear Christian as well as *hiğrī* dates.

³⁶ Mas Latrie, *Traités* 2: pp. 43–47; the scribe's quandary and solution were noted by Mas Latrie, *Traités* 1: p. 293. This treaty, too, is doubly dated.

abbreviations and suppressions in treaties that are extant in both Arabic and Latin, such as those between Majorca and Genoa in 1181, between Majorca and Pisa in 1184,³⁷ or between Pisa and Tunis in 1353 and 1397.³⁸ The third approach was to construe the text entirely according to Latin diplomatic conventions, excluding all Islamic elements, to the point that not even the *hiġrī* date was spelled out. Genoa's treaties with Tunis in 1236, 1250 and 1272 exemplify this approach.³⁹

While the Latin and vernacular versions of treaties with Muslim rulers thus exhibit diverse grades of incorporation of Islamic elements, the seven truce agreements that the Mamluk Sultans Baybars and Qalāwūn made with various rulers of the Latin Levant show signs of some Frankish impact. These agreements, made in the years 1265–1285, survive only in Arabic: four of them were transcribed by al-Qalqašandī from a work by a clerk in Qalāwūn's chancery; two appear in Qalāwūn's biography written by a chancery clerk, Ibn 'Abd az-Zāhir, who died in 1292; and one is preserved in the chronicle of Baybars al-Manṣūrī, who died in 1325.⁴⁰ Al-Qalqašandī gives the following opinion about these truce treaties made with the Franks:

³⁷ Mas Latrie, *Traité* 2: pp. 109–113, 367–374.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 2: pp. 55–65, 70–87; see also, *ibid.*, pp. 192–195.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 2: pp. 116–121, 122–125.

⁴⁰ The treaties were examined by P. M. Holt in a series of articles: "Qalāwūn's Treaty with Acre in 1283," *The English Historical Review* 91 (1976), pp. 802–812; "The Treaties of the Early Mamluk Sultans with the Frankish States," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43 (1980), pp. 67–76; "Baybars' Treaty with the Lady of Beirut in 667/1269," in P. W. Edbury, ed., *Crusade and Settlement. Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R.C. Smail* (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 242–245; "Mamluk-Frankish Diplomatic Relations in the Reign of Baybars (658–76/1260–77)," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 32 (1988), pp. 180–195; "Mamluk-Frankish Diplomatic Relations in the Reign of Qalāwūn (678–89/1279–90)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1989), pp. 278–289; "Qalāwūn's Treaty with the Latin Kingdom (682/1283): Negotiation and Abrogation," in U. Vermeulen and D. Smets, eds., *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras* (Leuven, 1995), pp. 325–334. These and other treaties are translated and discussed in P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290). Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, 1995). See also U. Vermeulen, "Le traité d'armistice entre le sultan Baybars et les Hospitaliers de Hisn al-Akrād et al-Marqab (4 Ramadan 665 A.H./29 Mai 1267)," *Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica* 19 (1988), pp. 189–195; *idem*, "Le traité d'armistice relative à al-Marqab conclu entre Baybars et les Hospitaliers (1 Ramadan 669/13 avril 1271)," *Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica* 22 (1991), pp. 185–193. For a general discussion of Frankish-Muslim treaties see M. A. Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient: Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin and New York, 1991), esp. pp. 390–418.

None of them is well arranged, [or] clearly expressed with splendid rhetoric, or phrases its terms eloquently... they are vulgarly expressed, not clearly arranged. The like would not be produced by any clerk with the least experience in the craft of phraseology.

Al-Qalqašandī assumes that these deficiencies probably stemmed from the peculiar manner in which the instruments had been drafted. He relates that Franks and Muslims would reach agreement clause by clause, and a clerk of each party would immediately “write it in vulgar, foul words for reasons of speed.” Once the parties had reached consent with regard to all clauses, the clerk of the Muslim ruler would prepare the full text of the treaty on the basis of the rough draft that the clerk of the Franks had written with him. Any improvement of the draft so as to render it more eloquent, or better arranged, would be decried by the Franks as a deviation from the agreed-upon draft, “owing to their [the Franks’] lack of Arabic.” Consequently, the full text conformed to the draft and was characterized by “stupid wording and lack of orderly arrangement,” as al-Qalqašandī contemptuously put it.⁴¹ A present-day historian, however, might appraise the language of these Frankish-Mamluk treaties rather differently. Peter Holt, the leading expert on these agreements, has voiced the opinion that they clearly attest to a Frankish influence on this batch of Mamluk diplomatics.⁴² If so, these Arabic-written instruments exhibiting some Frankish impact provide a mirror image of sorts of the Latin and vernacular instruments that incorporate some Islamic elements.

Jean Richard, who back in 1953 brilliantly analyzed the agreement of 1285 between the Sultan Qalāwūn and Margaret, Lady of Tyre, observed that it was the most complete of the Frankish-Mamluk truce agreements.⁴³ This is correct: only this Frankish-Mamluk agreement begins with the *basmala*, with which all Islamic instruments normally start; only in this agreement does the title “Sultan of Islam and the Muslims” appear. Yet even this epithet is a far cry from the titulature the same Sultan Qalāwūn assumed just five years later, in 1290, in his treaty with Genoa. In the Latin version of that treaty he is described, inter alia, as *soldanus Egypti, altissimus super omnes soldanos, qui omnia cognovit*

⁴¹ I use the translation of Holt, *Mamluk Diplomacy*, p. 7.

⁴² Holt, “Qalāwūn’s Treaty with Acre in 1283,” p. 812.

⁴³ J. Richard, “Un partage de seigneurie entre Francs et Mamlouks: Les ‘casaux de Sur’,” *Syria* 30 (1953), p. 73; reprinted in idem, *Orient et Occident au Moyen Age. Contacts et relations (XII^e–XIV^e s.)*, Variorum Collected Studies (London, 1976), no. XIV.

*et qui diligit justitiam...soldanus Ierusalem et benedictarum domorum, soldanus Syrie et aperitor terrarum quas alii reges ceperunt...soldanus soldanorum et rex regum.*⁴⁴ In short, even the most complete of the seven extant Frankish-Mamluk truce treaties stands out for its relatively terse formulation; this is *a fortiori* true of the other six.

The terseness of the treaties contrasts also with the language of the one Mamluk letter whose translation appears in a Frankish source. This is the letter that Qalāwūn's son al-Malik al-Ašraf sent to the Templar Grand Master Guillaume de Beaujeu a short time before he began his siege of Acre in April 1291. The so-called Templar of Tyre, who translated it from Arabic into French, quotes it in his chronicle in order, he says, to let the readers sample the style of the sultan's greeting. It runs as follows:

Le soudan des soudans, le roy des roys, le seignor des seignors, Melec el Esseraf, le puissant, le redouté, le chasteours de rebels, le chasseour des frans et des tatars et des ermins, aracheour des chastiaus des mains des mescreans, seignor des .ii. mers, serveour de .ii. sains pelerinage, Calohon el Salahie, [a] vous le maistre, noble maistre dou Temple le veritable et sage, salus et nostre boune volenté.⁴⁵

The similarity to Qalāwūn's titlature in the treaty of 1290 with Genoa is remarkable. Evidently, the so-called Templar of Tyre was one Frankish clerk who knew his Arabic quite well.

The Frankish-Mamluk truce treaties retain, in Arabic transcription, several Frankish terms without attempting to translate them. For instance, the Lady of Beirut, Margaret, daughter of Sire Henri, son of Prince Bohemond, is presented in the above-mentioned treaty as the *malika* ("queen"), *dām Marārit*, *bint* ("daughter of") *sīr Hārī*, *ibn* ("son

⁴⁴ S. de Sacy, "Pièces diplomatiques tirées des archives de la république de Gênes," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du roi et autres bibliothèques* 11 (1827), p. 34.

⁴⁵ *Cronaca del Templore di Tiro (1243–1314). La caduta degli Stati Crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare*, ed. L. Minervini (Naples, 2000), § 251, p. 206. Minervini believes (*ibid.*, p. 373) that *Calohon el Salahie* probably amounts to a deformation of Ḥalīl aṣ-Ṣāliḥī. But Qalāwūn habitually styled himself Qalāwūn aṣ-Ṣāliḥī: see the Arabic text of his treaty with Margaret, Lady of Tyre, in E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte écrite en arabe par Taki-eddin-Ahmed-Makrizi*, vol. 2/1 (Paris, 1842), p. 172. In the Latin version of his 1290 treaty with Genoa he appears as *Calaun Salai*: De Sacy, "Pièces," p. 34. Therefore, one may assume that in the original version of the Templar of Tyre's account al-Malik al-Ašraf presented himself as *fis dou Calohon el Salahie*. For a letter of Baybars to the Grand Master of the Hospital, which however lacks a protocol, see al-Aynī in *RHC, Historiens orientaux* 2/1, pp. 237–238.

of”) *al-ibrins Baymund*.⁴⁶ In the treaty of 1271 with the Hospitallers, the Grand Master of the Order is referred to on three occasions as *al-māstir*.⁴⁷ In the treaty of 1283 with the authorities of Acre there appear *as-sinǧāl ūd* (“the sénéchal Eudes”); *ifrayr Nīkūl Lilurn* (“Frère Nicolas Lelorgue”), *muqaddam* (“head of”) *bayt al-isbitār* (“the House of the Hospital”); and *al-maršān* (“the maréchal”) *ifrayr Kūrāt* (“Frère Conrad”), *nāʾib muqaddam bayt isbitār almān* (“deputy head of the House of the German Hospital”).⁴⁸ These transliterations suggest a familiarity, among at least some Muslims, with Frankish internal organization. Similarly, the appearance of the term *fasal* in an Ayyubid inscription of 1210 from the region of Nablus, recently published by Moshe Sharon, attests to Muslim acquaintance with the term “vassal” already during the First Kingdom of Jerusalem.⁴⁹

Religion occupies a major role in only one of the Frankish-Muslim treaties, that of 1283 between the Sultan Qalāwūn and Acre. This is so because in this case the oaths of ratification sworn by the parties have come down to us, each oath listing the religious truths by which the respective party swears and the punishments each party is to incur should it violate the treaty. The oaths are heavily tilted in favor of the sultan. The sultan swears only by God, the truth of the Koran and the truth of the month of Ramaḍān, whereas the Franks have to swear by no less than thirteen truths (one of them being “the truth of the Voice which came down from heaven upon the River Jordan, and drove it back”). And while the sultan promises only that, should he break his oath, he is to make thirty pilgrimages to Mecca, barefoot and bareheaded, fasting all the time except on the forbidden days, the Franks promise that, should they violate the treaty, they will be

⁴⁶ Quatremère, *Histoire*, vol. 2/1, p. 172; the modern French translation appears on p. 213.

⁴⁷ Al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aṣṣā fi šināʾat al-inšāʾ*, ed. M. H. Šamsaddīn, 15 vols. (Beirut, 1987–1989), 14: pp. 54–56; the transliterations have been noted by Holt, *Mamluk Diplomacy*, no. 5, p. 49.

⁴⁸ Quatremère, *Histoire*, vol. 2/1, p. 180 (text), p. 226 (translation). The words appear in incorrect order on p. 179. While the term “Hospital” is transliterated as *isbitār*, the Templar Order is consistently referred to as *bayt ad-daywīya*: Quatremère, *Histoire*, vol. 2/1, pp. 177–180. The origin of the term, used for the first time in Ibn al-Qalānīs’s description of the Frankish defeat in 1157 near Bāniyās, remains unknown. R. S. Humphreys has recently proposed regarding it as an Arabization of the Latin *devotus* or the Old French *devot*: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* [Supplement] (Leiden, 2004), s. v. “Dāwīyya and Isbitāriyya.” I regard the proposal as problematic.

⁴⁹ M. Sharon, “Vassal and Fasal: The Evidence of the Farkhah Inscription from 608/1208,” *Crusades* 4 (2005), pp. 117–130.

estranged from their Christian faith and separated from the Church, as well as obliged to make thirty times the pilgrimage (the treaty uses the Islamic term *ḥāǧǧ*) to Jerusalem and to buy the freedom of one thousand Muslim captives.⁵⁰

Yet while the stipulations are discriminatory, the instrument clearly maintains an equilibrium between the two religions as such. The same equilibrium appears in the treaties of Qalāwān with Alfonso III of Aragon and with the Commune of Genoa, both made in 1290. In the treaty with the king of Aragon, only the penalty in case of Christian violation is spelled out (it is excommunication).⁵¹ In the treaty with Genoa, both parties would incur exclusion from their religious communities, with the penalty with regard to the Genoese apparently expressed in harsher terms;⁵² yet the discrepancy in penalties is far less conspicuous than in the Frankish-Mamluk treaty of 1283. Probably the discrepancy reflects the difference in politico-military might of the contracting parties. The same is true of the marked discrepancy in penalties the victorious Egyptian emirs proposed to King Louis IX during his captivity after the collapse of his first crusade: Joinville writes that while an emir, in case of violation of the agreement, was to go on pilgrimage to Mecca with his head uncovered, take back his repudiated wife, and incur disgrace as if he had eaten pork, the king was expected to swear that, in case of violation, he would be dishonoured

⁵⁰ Quatremère, *Histoire*, vol. 2/1, pp. 184–185 (text), pp. 232–233 (translation). For a less literal translation see Holt, *Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 89–91.

⁵¹ Holt, *Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 132–140. The treaty of 1285 between Qalāwān and King Leo III of Lesser Armenia, while bilateral in form, lets only the Christian ruler list the religious truths by which he swears and lets only him spell out the penalties in case of violation: distribution of all property to indigent Christians and thirty pilgrimages to Jerusalem on foot, barefoot and bareheaded. See Holt, *Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 95–103.

⁵² The Latin and Arabic instruments of 1290 are printed in de Sacy, “Pièces,” pp. 34–46, with the penalty clauses on pp. 40 and 46; a modern French translation of the Arabic instrument appears on pp. 47–52. For a less literal translation of the Arabic text, see Holt, *Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 146–151. For a discussion of the treaty, see *ibid.*, pp. 141–146; also, P. M. Holt, “Qalāwūn’s Treaty with Genoa in 1290,” *Der Islam* 57 (1980), pp. 101–108. Oliver of Cologne reports that in August 1221 Sultan al-Kāmil swore to the leaders of the Fifth Crusade that if he were to violate his treaty with them, he would be *separatus a iudicio futuro ac societate Mahumeth et profitear Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum*: Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, ed. H. Hoogeweg, *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina, Oliverus* (Tübingen, 1894) p. 275. Unfortunately, Oliver, who quotes the sentence in order to demonstrate what he considers as Islam’s unreasonableness, does not spell out what the crusaders swore in their turn.

as a Christian who denies God and His mother, deprived of fellowship with the Apostles and the saints, and dishonoured as a Christian who spits on the cross and treads on it.⁵³ But for the spitting and trampling on the cross, the penalties the king was expected to bear resemble those appearing in the Mamluk-Frankish treaties. The resemblance corroborates Joinville's account (although he was not an eyewitness to the event in question) and indicates that the Mamluks were following an established tradition, attested already for Fatimid times.⁵⁴ Whether the emirs really proposed that the king be dishonoured as a Christian who spits and treads on the cross—a proposal that, according to Joinville, the captive king vehemently rejected—is another matter. Let us recall that Joinville concluded his book in 1309, that is, at a time when the accusation that the Templars used to spit and tread on the cross was on everybody's lips.

Our journey that started in Cordova of the 950s and ended in Acre of the 1280s has thus disclosed an ever-growing intercultural compatibility in the sphere of diplomacy, a compatibility that largely surmounted religious barriers.

⁵³ Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly (new edition, Paris, 1914), §§ 360–65, pp. 150–152. For the background, see J. Richard, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1983), pp. 232–241.

⁵⁴ In February 1154 the Pisan envoy Ranieri Botacci had to swear that if the Pisans were to violate their treaty with Egypt, they would incur excommunication; the Eucharist would become a fire in their bodies; they would not be regarded as believing that Christ rose from the dead and ascended to Heaven; their prayers and fasts would be worthy of acceptance not by God but by the Devil, etc. Amari, *I diplomi arabi*, pp. 244–245.

ÉLITES BYZANTINES, LATINES ET MUSULMANES:
QUELQUES EXEMPLES DE DIPLOMATIE PERSONNALISÉE
(X^E–XV^E SIÈCLES)

Michel Balivet

*Les élites islamo-chrétiennes médiévales entre
bon ton diplomatique et engagement personnel*

Lorsqu'on étudie les relations diplomatiques islamo-chrétiennes au moyen-âge, on constate que les documents qui rendent compte de ces relations sont relativement nombreux, correspondance, rapports de chroniques du temps etc. Dans ces documents, le ton est certes «diplomatique» selon la loi du genre. Hors période de guerre, ce ton est fait de modération et du minimum de «*captatio benevolentiae*», destiné à rendre possibles la discussion et les tractations recherchées, établissement d'une trêve, échange de prisonniers etc.

Mais ce qui frappe dans les rapports diplomatiques entre les élites islamo-chrétiennes médiévales, qu'elles soient civiles ou religieuses, c'est que le ton conciliateur adopté par pragmatisme dans les échanges va souvent beaucoup plus loin que nécessaire, laissant transparaître un réel désir d'établir des relations d'estime plus personnalisées avec l'interlocuteur du monde adverse.

Ce sera le sujet de ce petit exposé que d'attirer l'attention sur l'existence et la continuité de cette diplomatie personnalisée, poussant assez loin une attitude conciliatrice envers l'adversaire officiel. Je choisirai quelques textes connus pour la plupart mais qui ne sont pas toujours mis en perspective chronologique, ce qui peut laisser apparaître une certaine ouverture d'esprit et de connivence—relative, certes, mais bien réelle—communes aux élites byzantines ou latines, arabes ou turques qui se côtoient dans l'orient méditerranéen des alentours de l'an mil jusqu'au Quattrocento.

Je distinguerai, dans mon choix de textes: (a) ceux émanant de la diplomatie officielle des pouvoirs chrétiens et musulmans; (b) ceux produits à l'occasion de circonstances accidentelles, comme la captivité de personnalités chez les ennemis, et les contacts diplomatiques «de terrain» établis à ces occasions; (c) autres cas de diplomatie «spontanée»,

l'initiative de prise de contact interconfessionnel de tel ou tel mystique qui envoie une véritable délégation diplomatique en territoire adverse; (d) et enfin ce que j'appellerai «la diplomatie rêvée» où l'on imagine la réunion d'une véritable «société des nations» ou «concile international des religions»; ce dernier cas, émanant à l'occasion de véritables diplomates doublés d'idéalistes utopistes, est surtout caractéristique de l'époque humaniste.

La diplomatie officielle

Dirigeants religieux byzantins et souverains musulmans

L'exemple le plus ancien que je choisis, il en est beaucoup d'autres depuis l'apparition de l'islam mais il faut se limiter, est puisé dans la correspondance bien connue du patriarche de Constantinople, Nicolas Mystikos, au calife de Bagdad au début du X^e siècle. Nicolas déploya une intense activité auprès des souverains musulmans pour la protection du statut tributaire des Chypriotes soumis à l'islam ou pour le rachat des prisonniers etc. Nicolas écrit par exemple au calife ce qui suit:

Du moment qu'il y a deux souverainetés, celle des Sarrasins et celle des Romains, qui dominent et inondent de leur lumière l'ensemble de la souveraineté terrestre, comme le font les deux grands luminaires dans le firmament, il faut, par cette seule raison, vivre en communauté et en fraternité, et ce n'est pas parce qu'ils sont séparés par les modes de vie, les mœurs et la religion qu'il faut qu'ils soient absolument hostiles l'un à l'autre.¹

Exprimant ainsi une conception géopolitique bipolaire du monde de son temps, selon laquelle les deux Empires arabe et grec auraient une légitimité providentielle, Nicolas Mystikos déclare ailleurs que ces contacts diplomatiques islamo-byzantins apparaissent de son temps comme traditionnels lorsqu'il évoque l'attitude de son maître Photios qui entretenait déjà des relations personnalisées avec des souverains musulmans:

¹ *Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters*, éd. R. J. H. Jenkins et L. G. Westerink, CFHB 6 (Washington, D.C., 1973), lettre 1, l. 14-18 (dans la tradition manuscrite erronément intitulée «à l'émir de Crète»).

Photios, le très grand et très illustre parmi les archevêques de Dieu, mon Père dans le Saint-Esprit, était lié au père de votre noblesse par un amour si fort que personne, pas même parmi ceux qui ont la même foi et même race que vous, n'avait envers vous de telles dispositions amicales. En homme de Dieu qu'il était, et en profond connaisseur des choses divines et humaines, il savait que, même quand la divergence de foi nous sépare comme le ferait un mur, la fermeté de la réflexion, de l'intelligence, de la conduite, la solide humanité, bref, toutes les qualités qui ornent et illustrent la nature humaine allument, chez ceux qui aiment le bien, l'amour de ceux qui sont doués de ces qualités. Et voilà pourquoi ce grand homme aimait ton père, qui était paré de ces qualités que j'ai dites, encore que les séparât la différence de foi.²

Élite laïque byzantine et dirigeants musulmans

Même attitude ouverte et même ton conciliant de la part des élites politiques, comme Michel Psellos au XI^e siècle qui écrit par exemple au sultan seldjoukide Malik Šāh:

J'ai remarqué en beaucoup d'autres circonstances, très glorieux ami, ta magnanimité et ton extrême respect de l'amitié, mais ce qui suscite au plus haut point mon admiration, c'est que, bien que différent de nous sous le rapport de la religion, tu ne réagis pas comme le commun et que tu ne méprises pas notre foi. Au contraire, à l'exemple de votre chef, qui souvent dans ses écrits exalte Jésus et l'appelle un être supérieur, toi aussi tu as de lui une haute conception et tu as pris un sage parti. Le rapport de notre illustre ambassadeur et une universelle renommée proclament ta noblesse d'âme, car tu n'as pas jugé à propos de déraciner dans ton empire notre piété envers Dieu. Au contraire, tu as décidé de favoriser son développement. Ne va donc pas croire que tu as pris cette mesure sans l'aide de la puissance. Comme le dit un de nos théologiens, l'esprit divin habite en tous. Il n'y a pas lieu de s'étonner si tu n'as pas une connaissance complète de notre foi. Mais ce qui suscite l'étonnement, c'est que, quand des étrangers à notre foi ne se convertissent pas, toi tu as porté tes regards vers nous et que tu n'as pas détruit chez toi les églises. Que dis-je? Tu as organisé un débat entre notre envoyé et tes savants, et plein de déférence pour notre religion, tu lui as accordé un libre exercice à l'intérieur de ton Empire. Et ceci est une démarche très belle à l'égard de Dieu que tu as honoré.³

² Ibid., lettre 2, l. 17–27.

³ P. Gautier, «Lettre au sultan Malik Shah rédigée par Michel Psellos», *RÉB* 35 (1977), pp. 71–78.

Diplomatie pontificale et monde musulman

La diplomatie pontificale, elle aussi, n'hésite pas à l'occasion à utiliser envers les souverains musulmans un ton conciliant. Ainsi, quelques années avant la première croisade cette lettre de Grégoire VII au prince Ḥammādidide an-Nāṣir b. 'Alennās, dans laquelle le pape écrit au souverain musulman:

Tu nous as envoyé des présents par révérence pour le bienheureux Pierre prince des apôtres et par amour pour nous, tu as libéré des chrétiens qui étaient prisonniers chez vous. Recommandant nos ambassadeurs à ta magnificence, nous te demandons de faire preuve à leur égard, par amour pour nous, de la même charité que celle dont nous désirons toujours faire montre vis-à-vis de toi et des tiens. Dieu sait en effet que nous t'aimons sincèrement, que nous désirons ton salut et ta gloire dans la vie présente et future, et que nous demandons de cœur et de bouche que Dieu te conduise, après une longue vie, dans le sein de la béatitude du très saint patriarche Abraham.⁴

Même ton conciliateur dans une missive d'Innocent III au sultan d'Alep az-Zāhir au temps de la quatrième croisade, ou dans celle de Grégoire IX au calife almohade ar-Rāšid, en 1233, ou encore dans la lettre d'Innocent IV à l'émir de Tunis Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyā en 1246.⁵

Ambassadeurs musulmans dans les états croisés: une affinité entre élites

Côté musulman, le texte probablement le plus explicite au temps des croisades, de relations personnalisées entre élites arabes et occidentales est le célèbre passage où l'ambassadeur de Damas à Jérusalem au milieu du XII^e siècle décrit ses relations amicales avec les chevaliers du Temple, en distinguant fortement la souplesse des élites locales et le fanatisme des pèlerins venus récemment d'occident:

⁴ Ch. Courtois, «Grégoire VII et l'Afrique du Nord. Remarques sur les communautés chrétiennes d'Afrique au XI^e siècle», *Revue Historique* 185 (1945), pp. 99–101; ici évocation caractéristique de la commune tradition «abrahamique» des chrétiens et des musulmans.

⁵ Innocent III et az-Zāhir d'Alep (1211): K.-E. Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels*, Studi e Testi 291 (Vatican City, 1981), pp. 108–109; Grégoire IX et ar-Rāšid (1233): *ibid.*, pp. 128–129; Innocent IV et Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyā: *ibid.*

Voici un trait de la grossièreté des Francs—Dieu les confonde! Alors que je visitais Jérusalem, j'avais l'habitude d'entrer dans la mosquée al-Aqṣā. Sur un des côtés, il y a un petit oratoire où les Francs avaient installé une église. Quand donc j'entrai dans la mosquée al-Aqṣā, lieu de séjour de mes amis Templiers, ils mettaient à ma disposition ce petit oratoire pour que j'y fasse mes prières. Un jour j'entrai, je dis la formule «Allah Akbar»⁶ et j'allais commencer la prière, lorsqu'un Franc se précipita sur moi, m'empoigna et me tourna le visage vers l'orient en disant: «C'est ainsi qu'on prie!» Tout de suite des Templiers intervinrent et l'éloignèrent de moi tandis que je retournai à ma prière. Mais l'homme, profitant d'un moment d'inattention, se jeta à nouveau sur moi, me retourna le visage vers l'orient en répétant: «C'est ainsi qu'on prie!» De nouveau les Templiers intervinrent, l'éloignèrent, et s'excusèrent envers moi, en disant: «C'est un étranger! Il vient d'arriver du pays des Francs et il n'a jamais vu quelqu'un prier sans se tourner vers l'orient». «J'ai assez prié», répondis-je et je sortis, stupéfié par ce démon qui s'était tellement irrité et agité en me voyant prier en direction de la Qibla!⁷

Diplomaties ayyoubide et Hohenstaufen: souplesse et pragmatisme

Dès la troisième croisade Saladin imprima à son action un équilibre subtil entre offensive généralisée contre les croisés et désir d'établir des contacts diplomatiques avec l'ennemi. Ses successeurs suivirent la même voie, en particulier son neveu al-Kāmil qui, de l'avis des sources chrétiennes elles-mêmes, est un souverain ouvert et généreux. Jacques de Vitry écrit au temps de la cinquième croisade:

La bienveillance des sultans à l'égard des croisés s'accrut si bien que lorsque la trêve qui suspendait les hostilités fut conclue, il rendit la liberté à ceux des chrétiens qui avaient été enchaînés dans ses prisons. Le nombre des prisonniers s'élevait à 30,000. Il leur laissa le choix, soit de retourner dans leur pays, soit de combattre dans son armée. Il fit nourrir les riches contre paiement, et les pauvres et les malades gratuitement.⁸

Et lorsque la souplesse diplomatique d'al-Kāmil en vient à rencontrer le pragmatisme de Frédéric II de Hohenstaufen, promoteur excommunié de la sixième croisade, les relations entre les deux souverains sont guidées par certaine affinité de comportement où domine un désir

⁶ Par laquelle commence la prière canonique musulmane.

⁷ Usāma ibn Munqidh, *Des enseignements de la vie*, éd. A. Miquel (Paris, 1983), p. 297.

⁸ Cité par G. Baseti-Sani, *L'islam et St François d'Assise* (Paris, 1987), pp. 153–154.

manifeste de ménager l'interlocuteur et de ne pas choquer la culture de l'autre. Pendant les tractations qui aboutiront finalement à la cession de Jérusalem aux chrétiens sans verser une goutte de sang, Frédéric s'excuse auprès du sultan de son intervention en orient car, dit-il, «je n'ai aucune visée effective sur Jérusalem ni aucune autre terre». Pour ne pas choquer l'empereur pendant sa visite de la ville sainte, le fonctionnaire ayyoubide qui l'accompagne ordonne au muezzin de ne pas chanter l'appel à la prière. S'en étonnant, l'empereur dit à son guide musulman: «Pourquoi les muezzins n'ont-ils pas appelé à la prière selon la coutume?» «Ton humble esclave», répondit le musulman, «les en a empêchés par égard et respect pour ta majesté». «Tu as mal agi», rétorqua l'empereur, «mon principal désir, en passant la nuit à Jérusalem était d'entendre l'appel à la prière du muezzin».⁹

Le cas diplomatique chypriote: Les Lusignan entre Turcomans et Mamluks

On peut se demander s'il y a un style particulier qui régit les relations diplomatiques des Lusignan de Chypre avec les potentats musulmans voisins, eu égard à la position géographique de l'île, bornée au nord par les émirats turcomans d'Asie-Mineure, et face, à l'est et au sud, aux sultans ayyoubides puis mamlûks en Syrie et en Egypte. Ce style diplomatique chypriote semble fait de pragmatisme et de modération ainsi que de liens très personnalisés entre les deux partis si l'on en croit du moins certaines sources du temps.

Guy, le premier de la dynastie Lusignan, n'adopta-t-il pas, dès les origines du royaume une position originale envers Saladin? Selon le chroniqueur chypriote Makhairas, Guy aurait dit à Saladin:

Veuille considérer que tout vient de Dieu, que les peuples aiment leurs voisins, et par la grâce de Dieu nous sommes des voisins. Je te prie donc de faire alliance avec moi; je te promets d'être toujours un ami cordial, regardant tes amis comme mes amis chéris et tes ennemis comme mes ennemis mortels.¹⁰

⁹ Ibn Wāṣil, dans F. Gabrieli, *Chroniques arabes des croisades* (Paris, 1977), pp. 297–298.

¹⁰ Leontios Makhairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled "Chronicle"*, éd. R. M. Dawkins, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), 1: pp. 20–21.

Autre cas: d'après le voyageur bourguignon Bertrandon de la Brocquière, à la mort du roi Janus de Lusignan en 1432, deux gentilshommes de Chypre, dont un était «Lyon Machère», c'est-à-dire Makhairas, Léonce lui-même vinrent en ambassade en Anatolie, de la part du nouveau roi de Chypre Jean II, pour renouveler l'alliance avec l'émir de Karaman, Tāğ ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm. «De son vivant», rapporte le Bourguignon, «le roi Janus avait toujours eu trêve avec le Grand Karaman envers lequel le jeune roi de Chypre et son conseil envoyaient des ambassadeurs pour reprendre et reformer des alliances... L'ambassadeur après les dons de présents habituels fit dire par interprète à l'émir que le roi de Chypre... le voulait prendre en amitié et le dit émir demanda comment allait son frère le roi de Chypre».¹¹

Quand on songe à la force du concept de fraternité (*kardeşlik*) qui peut aller souvent chez les Turcs jusqu'à un échange de sang, on peut supposer des liens très personnalisés entre le roi Lusignan et l'émir de Karaman comme cela pouvait se passer sous d'autres cieux, par exemple, dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle, entre l'empereur byzantin Andronic III et l'émir de Smyrne Umūr Aydınoğlu.¹²

Des relations aussi intimes caractérisent également les liens qui unissent le cheikh Muḥammad b. Qudaydār de Damas avec le roi Janus. Selon Makhairas, qui consacre un très long passage de sa chronique à l'action diplomatique pacifique, au caractère irénique de Qudaydār et à son amitié pour Chypre, dans une lettre de Qudaydār à Janus en 1425–26, le cheikh damascène sur un ton familier appelant le roi «παίδί μου», lui dit:

Je te parle comme un père à son fils, je t'écris par amour pour toi, au détriment même de mon maître le sultan (Barsbāy). Si le sultan apprend que je t'ai informé (de ses projets de conquête de Chypre), il me punira. Mais mon amour pour toi me contraint à faire cela. Je prie Dieu de vous délivrer des mains des musulmans.¹³

Les sources musulmanes comme la chronique mamlûke de Ibn Ḥağar ou les documents diplomatiques des Hospitaliers confirment l'influence

¹¹ Bertrandon de la Brocquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, éd. Ch. Schefer (Paris, 1892), pp.112–113.

¹² L'empereur Andronic et l'émir d'Umur «...devinrent frères» (*kardaş olur*): *Le Destân d'Umur Pacha*, éd. I. Mélikoff-Sayar (Paris, 1954), p. 85, et la note 1 sur le rite de l'échange de sang.

¹³ Makhairas, *Chronicle*, pp. 638–647.

modératrice de Qudaydār dans les relations étatiques islamo-chrétiennes. Ibn Ḥaḡar précise: «Les paroles du cheikh avaient de l'effet sur les Francs, il leur écrivait pour la cause des musulmans et les Francs l'écoutaient».¹⁴

Les diplomaties parallèles

Diplomatie d'Etat, diplomatie privée: le commerce

Je ne donnerai ici qu'un bref exemple de contacts établis entre musulmans et chrétiens à l'occasion des échanges commerciaux car cette vaste question mériterait des développements qui excèdent le cadre de cet article. Italiens ou Catalans bien que condamnés souvent par les papes pour ces faits n'hésitaient pas à fréquenter les marchés musulmans de Méditerranée soit à titre privé, soit à l'occasion, en affichant ouvertement et officiellement la politique commerciale «islamotrope» menée entre autres par Venise, Gênes ou les ducs catalans d'Athènes. L'indifférence des marchands à l'égard des conflits politiques et religieux est particulièrement bien exprimée par le voyageur arabe Ibn Ḡubayr dans la deuxième moitié du XII^e siècle: en Syrie en pleine guerre entre Arabes et Francs

... les allées et venues des caravanes chrétiennes vers le territoire musulman n'étaient pas plus interrompues que celles des musulmans allant en pays chrétien. Entre marchands chrétiens et musulmans, l'entente est parfaite et l'équité est observée en toute circonstance. Les gens de guerre sont occupés à leur guerre, le peuple demeure en paix. Telle est la conduite des gens de ce pays dans la guerre. La guerre n'atteint ni les peuples ni les marchands.¹⁵

La diplomatie «spontanée»: des captifs aux mystiques

Tel ou tel individu à l'occasion de circonstances exceptionnelles comme une captivité chez l'ennemi profite de cette situation pour établir spon-

¹⁴ Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Anbā' al-ḡumr fī abnā' al-'umr*, t. 8 (Hyderabad, 1975), pp. 293–295 (836 A.H.). Qudaydār est appelé “Hagi Mahomet” dans les sources hospitalières, J. M. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes (1310–1421)* (Londres, 1974), p. 291.

¹⁵ Ibn Jobair, *Voyages*, trad. et annot. par M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, troisième partie, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 6 (Paris, 1953), p. 335.

tanément des contacts qui peuvent s'avérer curieusement très iréniques. Ainsi, lors de la cinquième croisade, le chanoine Olivier de Colonia, libéré de sa captivité chez les musulmans, écrit au sultan ayyoubide al-Kāmil pour rappeler les excellentes relations qu'il avait nouées avec le souverain:

Moi ton prisonnier libéré, ton serviteur racheté, j'aurai toujours de la gratitude pour tes bienfaits! On ne connaît pas pareil exemple de générosité envers des prisonniers ennemis. Lorsque le Seigneur a permis que nous tombions entre ses mains, nous n'avons pas eu l'impression d'être soumis à un tyran et à un maître; mais plutôt sous l'autorité d'un père qui nous a comblés de bienfaits, qui nous a secourus dans le danger, qui nous a rendu visite dans l'épreuve, et qui a supporté aussi nos murmures. Tu as soigné nos malades, tu as puni sévèrement ceux qui se sont moqués de nous. Il est juste qu'on te nomme «Kamil» qui signifie en arabe «le parfait», car tu gouvernes avec sagesse.¹⁶

Autre prisonnier, autre initiative de «diplomatie privée», l'archevêque byzantin Grégoire Palamas profite de sa captivité chez des Turcs dans la ville de Nicée au milieu du XIV^e siècle, pour tisser des liens avec des musulmans de la cité dans le cadre d'une discussion théologique spontanée dont le ton est particulièrement modéré. Après avoir suivi avec intérêt un enterrement musulman, le prélat félicite l'imam qui présidait la cérémonie pour les prières que ce dernier a adressées à Dieu pour le salut du défunt. Ayant convenu de la croyance commune des chrétiens et des musulmans concernant le Jugement Dernier, les deux interlocuteurs, tout en constatant les différences dogmatiques insurmontables entre les deux religions, concluent cependant leur discussion sur une note optimiste. Le Byzantin déclare «... si nous étions tombés d'accord dans nos propos, nous partagerions la même religion». L'un des musulmans dit alors «le temps viendra où nous serons d'accord entre nous». Et l'archevêque d'approuver en déclarant: «J'en convins et je souhaitais que ce temps arrivât vite».¹⁷

Outre le cas des prisonniers, certains mystiques plus ou moins exaltés prennent des initiatives audacieuses en organisant à titre personnel de véritables ambassades pour aller discuter dans le camp ennemi des mérites comparés de l'islam et du christianisme. Ainsi, en 1219, François d'Assise quitte-t-il avec deux compagnons l'armée chrétienne

¹⁶ Olivier de Colonia dans Baseti-Sani, *L'islam et St François*, p. 154.

¹⁷ A. Philippidès-Braat, «La captivité de Grégoire Palamas chez les Turcs: dossier et commentaires», *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979), p. 160.

de la cinquième croisade malgré l'opposition du légat pontifical, pour aller rencontrer le sultan al-Kāmil:

Quand ils vinrent devant le soudan, si le saluèrent; li soudan les salua aussi, puis lor demanda s'ils vouloient estre sarrasins, ou s'ils estoient venus en message. Et ils répondirent que sarrasins ne seroient jamais; mais ils estoient venus à lui en message de la part de dame Dieu.

Après une tentative de discussion avec les oulémas, qui conseillent au sultan d'exécuter les moines, al-Kāmil refuse de le faire, et propose à François et ses compagnons de demeurer avec lui. Sur leur refus:

...lor dist li soudan que volontiers les feroient conduire en l'ost des chrétiens sauvement. Li soudan leur fist donner à manger, si prirent congé au soudan et il les fist conduire salvement jusqu'à l'ost des crestiens.¹⁸

Démarche encore plus audacieuse que celle d'un soufi turc du début du XV^e, qu'une délégation de moines vient rencontrer à Smyrne pour l'inviter à une rencontre islamo-chrétienne dans l'île de Chios. Ces moines font d'emblée devant le cheikh turc profession d'universalisme religieux en disant selon le texte du *Manāqib nāme* en turc consacré à la vie de ce cheikh:

Au nom du vrai Dieu, au nom de la communauté de Muhammad dont tu fais partie, au nom aussi de Jésus et de Moïse, accepte notre invitation... nous sommes venus à toi, ne nous déçois pas. Si nous sommes séparés par la religion, qu'est-ce que cela peut faire? Nous n'avons qu'un seul Dieu et nous sommes tous les serviteurs de Dieu (*dinde ayryrsak nola... Rabbimüz birdür, kamumuz abd-i Hak*). Ils l'ont supplié humblement et le cheikh a donné son accord. Ils étaient sept moines et lui parlaient en arabe; tout cela faisait très plaisir au cheikh, il est monté avec eux sur le bateau et partit vers l'île.

Accueilli par le gouverneur génois de l'île, le soufi organise une cérémonie (*âyîn*) où lui-même et ses compagnons se mettent à danser devant le public des chrétiens dont certains à l'issue de la cérémonie deviennent les disciples du cheikh.¹⁹

Conséquence probable à ce séjour du mystique musulman dans l'île de Chios, invité par des chrétiens, un de ses disciples organisera plusieurs missions dans l'île prêchant une doctrine de partage des biens

¹⁸ Dans Baseti-Sani, *L'islam et St François*, pp. 155–156.

¹⁹ Halîl bin İsmâîl bin Şeyh Bedrüddîn Mahmûd, *Smavna Kadısoğlu Şeyh Bedreddîn Manâkıbı*, éd. A. Gölpinarlı et İ. Sungurbey (Istanbul, 1967), p. 90.

entre tous, et enjoignant aux foules, d'après le témoignage d'un chroniqueur byzantin, «...de mettre, excepté les femmes, tout en commun, la nourriture, les vêtements, les troupeaux et les terres. Moi, disait-il, je me sers de ta maison comme si elle était mienne, et toi, de la mienne comme si elle était à toi, à l'exception des femmes». Ce derviche turc adopte une attitude audacieusement concordiste en direction des chrétiens. «Abusant les paysans par cette doctrine, il pratiqua une amitié trompeuse envers les chrétiens: si un Turc, soutenait-il, dit que les chrétiens sont des impies, c'est lui-même qui fait preuve d'impiété. Et tous ses disciples, quand ils rencontraient un chrétien, l'accueillaient avec amitié et l'honoraient comme un envoyé de Dieu». Selon le texte grec, ce mystique organisa de nombreuses ambassades à Chios, «envoyant ses apôtres aux dirigeants et hommes d'Église pour leur expliquer sa doctrine selon laquelle il n'est de salut pour tous que dans un accord (ὁμόνοια) entre musulmans et chrétiens».²⁰

La diplomatie «révée» des humanistes

Au concordisme affirmé par les milieux soufis que l'on vient de décrire, semble répondre en écho les théories interreligieuses conciliatrices de plusieurs intellectuels, hommes d'Église et philosophes, au temps de l'humanisme très ouvert qui fut celui du Quattrocento. Diplomates pontificaux et princes de l'Église, deux cardinaux romains se distinguent par leurs rêves de concorde religieuse universelle qu'ils échafaudèrent non seulement dans de contacts directs avec des musulmans, mais par des écrits utopiques prônant une sorte de «société des nations» interconfessionnelle au sein de laquelle les représentants des diverses croyances se réuniraient pour discuter pacifiquement. Juan de Ségovie, professeur à l'université de Salamanque en 1432, cardinal du pape Félix V en 1440, se donna pour tâche de réformer radicalement les méthodes chrétiennes d'approche de l'islam. Selon le cardinal espagnol, les dogmes musulmans doivent être compris dans les quelques points qu'ils ont en commun avec le christianisme. Les apologistes chrétiens doivent donc acquérir une connaissance sérieuse des traditions et coutumes musulmanes. Pour cela, il faut réunir une «conférence» avec des représentants autorisés de la religion adverse. Cette réunion, selon Juan de Ségovie,

²⁰ Ducas, *Istoria Turco-Bizantina (1341-1462)*, éd. V. Grecu, *Scriptores Byzantini* 1 (Bucarest, 1958), p. 151.

sera utile même si elle n'aboutit pas à la conversion des infidèles, car, dit-il, mieux vaut dialoguer que combattre avec les armes.²¹

Un autre cardinal, l'Allemand Nicolas de Cues, ami et correspondant de Juan de Ségovie, a les mêmes conceptions iréniques. Fin diplomate et négociateur au concile de Bâle en 1433, il est envoyé en 1437 par Eugène IV à Constantinople, pour en ramener une délégation grecque qui devait participer au concile d'union des Eglises de Ferrare-Florence. Pendant son séjour byzantin, il conçut le projet d'un « congrès international » où Turcs, Arabes, Persans, Tartares viendraient volontairement pour élaborer avec les chrétiens un credo commun.

Le choc créé en lui par la chute de Constantinople en 1453 le pousse à exposer dans deux de ses œuvres ses conceptions sur la concorde entre les religions; il s'agit de « La Paix de la Foi » (1453) et de « l'Examen Critique du Coran » (1461). Le premier traité est un dialogue imaginaire entre les représentants des différentes religions humaines: le cardinal y exprime la conviction que «... grâce à l'accord d'un petit nombre de sages et de savants choisis parmi les dirigeants des diverses religions qui se partagent la surface du globe, on pourrait arriver facilement à un concordat universel et à une perpétuelle paix religieuse. Aux diverses nations, divers prophètes... », mais les hommes opposent ces prophètes entre eux.

S'adressant à Dieu, un des interlocuteurs du dialogue, utilisant des termes très proches de ceux employés par une certaine mystique musulmane, s'écrie: « c'est donc Toi qu'à travers la diversité des rites, ils semblent chercher diversement, et à travers la diversité des noms divins, c'est Toi qu'ils nomment... Si Tu consens à remplir notre vœu, tous sauront qu'à travers la diversité des rites, il n'est au vrai qu'une religion ». Le but ultime du Congrès des religions est «... que toutes les diversités religieuses, par le consentement commun de tous les hommes, soient ramenées harmonieusement à une religion unique désormais inviolable ». A quelqu'un qui se demande s'il est possible de convaincre les diverses nations de changer de foi, il est répondu: « Il ne s'agit pas de changer de foi. Vous verrez que c'est partout la même foi qui est présumée ». Car «... il ne peut y avoir qu'une seule sagesse. S'il était

²¹ Cité par M. Balivet, *Pour une concorde islamo-chrétienne. Démarche byzantine et latine à la fin du moyen-âge* (Rome, 1997), p. 14.

possible qu'il y en eût plusieurs, il faudrait qu'elles vinssent d'une seule, car, avant toute pluralité, on trouve l'unité».²²

Dans son «Examen Critique du Coran», l'originalité méthodologique de Nicolas de Cues consiste à ne pas attaquer la validité du coran pour défendre l'évangile mais de «...montrer la vérité de l'évangile à travers le témoignage même du coran». Cues parle de Mahomet avec une modération frappante, légitimant l'utilité de la venue du prophète des musulmans: «Quant aux voies d'accès vers Dieu, Moïse en décrivit une, mais elle n'a pas été reçue ni comprise par tout le monde. Cette voie, le Christ l'éclaira et la perfectionna, mais jusqu'à ce jour, beaucoup d'hommes sont encore restés in crédules. C'est cette même voie que, pour la rendre accessible à tous, même aux idolâtres, Mahomet s'efforça de décrire plus facile».²³

Aussi audacieuses que pouvaient être les théories concordistes des cardinaux humanistes, ces derniers, tenus par leurs fonctions officielles, ne pouvaient pas pousser aussi loin leurs idées que le firent des laïcs plus libres de leurs mouvements. Ainsi, Georges de Trébizonde, philosophe byzantin au service des papes glissa-t-il progressivement dans un rêve turcophile de domination du monde par le sultan maître de Constantinople, dont la fonction providentielle devait être, selon lui, d'unifier l'univers sous une seule loi et une unique foi. Au moment même où en 1453 Nicolas de Cues écrivait sa «Paix des la Foi», Georges de Trébizonde envoyait au sultan Mehmed II, conquérant de Byzance, un curieux traité où il cherchait à montrer que les différences doctrinales entre islam et christianisme étaient minimes, et qu'il ne tenait qu'à la bonne volonté du jeune souverain turc de devenir le maître absolu d'un ordre politico-religieux, où chrétiens et musulmans fusionneraient dans une société radicalement nouvelle. Georges de Trébizonde écrit à Mehmed II:

O Roi des Rois et Sultan Sérénissime, sois attentif à mon discours et après l'avoir fait traduire, recherche avec soin en quoi mon traité, par l'intermédiaire des sages de chez toi, s'accorde avec le coran et avec la vérité tout court. Et si tu trouves que les idées consignées dans ce traité correspondent au coran et à la vérité, mets ta vertu et ton intelligence au service de l'unification du monde. Tu deviendras ainsi, comme il te sied,

²² Ibid., p. 15.

²³ Ibid., pp. 16-17; éditions des deux traités de Nicolas de Cues: *La Paix de la Foi*, éd. R. Galibois (Sherbrooke, 1977); *Cribratio Alkorani*, éd. L. Hagemann, *Nicolai de Cusa Opera Omnia*, t. 8 (Hambourg, 1986).

Empereur de l'Univers. On peut comprendre d'une part que les musulmans et les chrétiens s'accordent sur les principes les plus importants, et que, d'autre part, s'ils s'ignorent les uns les autres, c'est par exclusivisme et par esprit partisan. Ils sont d'accord sur un point essentiel: tous nous croyons en un Dieu unique....

Et le philosophe conclut son traité de la manière suivante: «Le plus humble de tes serviteurs, Georges de Trébizonde, forme le vœu de te voir souverain de l'univers».²⁴

Un siècle plus tard, pour l'humaniste français Guillaume Postel (1510–1581) l'union de tous les hommes, *Panthenosia*, viendra à travers la connaissance des langues étrangères, par la réconciliation religieuse entre chrétiens, juifs, musulmans, indous etc. Et c'est seulement ainsi que s'établira une durable *Concordia Mundi* dont Postel souhaite la venue rapide en signant ses œuvres de son nom suivi du titre de Citoyen du Monde (Cosmopolite).²⁵

Hyper-utopie, ultra-réalisme et juste milieu diplomatique

Avec les penseurs évoqués ici, certains étant des diplomates officiels comme Juan de Segovie et Nicolas de Cues, d'autres n'étant que de simples intellectuels aux initiatives audacieuses comme Guillaume Postel, Georges de Trébizonde, ou même les derviches turcs dont il a été question, nous atteignons un degré de concordisme intercivilisationnel extrême, assurément peu partagé par la majorité des contemporains de ces penseurs plus convaincue de la réalité des affrontements guerriers entre les cultures que de la possibilité de l'établissement d'une *Concordia Mundi*, d'une Paix Universelle ou, comme dit Postel, d'une *Panthenosia* dont rêvaient les humanistes. Utopie donc, *ou topos* «qui est sans lieu», donc sans existence.

Et pourtant! Cette aspiration en une entente minima entre les peuples exposée par un cardinal romain, un philosophe grec ou un orientaliste français de la Renaissance, est-elle vraiment un rêve inaccessible? N'est-ce pas plutôt le seul moyen réaliste de cohabitation entre les peuples, voire de survie de l'humanité?

²⁴ Le Traité de Georges de Trébizonde est traduit dans Balivet, *Concorde*, pp. 37–77.

²⁵ *Des Histoires Orientales et principalement des Turks ou Turchiques... par Guillaume Postel, Cosmopolite* (Poitiers, 1575), rééd. J. Rollet (Istanbul, 1999).

Entre hyper-utopie et ultra-réalisme, les extrêmes ne se rejoignent-ils pas en un juste milieu « diplomatique » commun aux élites de mondes supposés ennemis? C'est ce dont avaient probablement conscience les auteurs des textes médiévaux évoqués ici.

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